

















# MANAVAKALPA-SÜTRA;

BEING A PORTION OF THIS ANCIENT WORK ON VAIDIK RITES,

EDITED WITH

THE COMMENTARY OF KUMÁRILA-SWÁMIN.

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WITH A PREFACE

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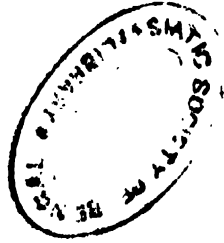
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TO

RUDOLF VIRCHOW,

THE GREAT DISCOVERER AND DEFENDER OF SCIENTIFIC TRUTH,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION,

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THEODOR GOLDSTÜCKER.





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A further glance at the Champions.—The hidden reasons of the "editor" of Pāṇini.....	265
Conclusion .....	266



# ERRATA.

## IN THE PREFACE:

FOR	READ
Page 15, line 1 of note 12,	Prātisākyā,
P. 21, l. 13,	<i>Pāṇiniyāyāśāstrībhāṣyam</i> ,
P. 36, l. 16, before "da-kāra,"	insert "śha-kāra, P. on VII. 4, 46."
P. 61, l. 6 of note 62,	क्व !
P. 100, l. 4 of note 114,	(Kār. l. a. b.)
P. 105, l. 14 of note 120,	इन्द्रस्वामिन्पोरपीति
P. 112, l. 14 of note 130,	निदिशो
P. 210, l. 11,	Dakṣaśāstra,
P. 227, l. 14,	avasthāhi—
P. 229, l. 10 of note 266,	वाः पूषा
P. 252, l. 11, 12,	not to understand the Veda such as it was current, ing of the Veda which was current.

## IN THE FAC-SIMILE:

[In several copies only some of the following errors will be met with.]

FOR	READ
P. 9 a, l. 5,	वचं
P. 16 b, l. 9,	चेति
P. 26 a, l. 7,	खात्
P. 27 a, l. 6,	सीर्षं
P. 28 b, l. 1,	युवाति
P. 30 a, l. 8,	स्त्राणं (i.e. खाणं)

## FOR

P. 47 b, l. 4,	द्राघीवांसं
P. 47 b, between l. 4 and 5,	प
P. 48 b, l. 10,	खाकाः
P. 51 b, l. 7,	निष्माति
P. 57 b, l. 6 (last word),	ब्राह्म
P. 59 a, l. 5,	खापन
P. 61 b, l. 1,	गुरुं
P. 74 b, l. 3 (last word),	चानि
P. 75 a, l. 4,	तस्मात्सबः
P. 78 b, l. 6 (last syllable),	चा
P. 79 a, l. 10,	खितामंसं
P. 89 a, l. 8,	वर्तत
P. 94 b, l. 10,	वपाव्वादित
P. 97 b, l. 5,	निव
P. 98 a, l. 2,	धार्मुकेष
P. 98 b, l. 4 (last word),	गार्ध
P. 103 a, l. 1,	खजर्षेत्साव
P. 103 b, l. 9 (last syllable),	न
P. 104 b, l. 5 (last syllable),	रा
P. 106 a, l. 3,	देव
P. 114 b, l. 1,	क्रौं
P. 114 b, l. 3,	मरुतो
P. 117 b, l. 8,	परपीन

## READ

द्राघीवांसं	
खाकाः	
निष्माति	
ब्राह्म	
खापन	
गुरुं	
चानि	
तस्मात्सबः	
चा	
खितामंसं	(The Anusvara is in the MS., but a stroke is drawn through it.)
वर्तत	
वपाव्वादित	
निव	
धार्मुकेष	
गार्ध	
खजर्षेत्साव	(but the last letter is not distinct in the MS.)
न	
रा	
देव	
क्रौं	
मरुतो	
परपीन	

## PREFACE.

**WHEN** collecting materials for a History of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, I happened to find in the Library of the East India House a Manuscript (No. 17), formerly belonging to the collection of Mr. Colebrooke, which bore on its outer page the remark : “**अनिरुक्तमन्त्राणां २२००**,” (*i.e.*, “the number, of 32 syllables, in this commentary of Kumārila on the R̥gveda is 2,200”), and ended on leaf 120 with these words : “**संक्षेपम् ॥ २२०० ॥ अ ॥ कुमारिलमन्त्राणां समाप्तं ॥**” (*i.e.*, “the number, of 32 syllables, in the book is 2,200 ; end of the Commentary of Kumārila”). The remark of the title, which differs in its handwriting from the rest of the book, seems to have been made by a Hindu, who, with much exactness, counted the number of the syllables for the copying of which he had to pay his scribe ; but it certainly did not come from one conversant with Sanskrit literature. Nor can a better opinion be entertained of the Shaikh who

finished copying this volume—“Samwat 1643 (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing south of the equator, in the autumn season, during the light fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November), in the city of Benares, for the perusal of Devayśka (Devakiya?), the son of Jānī and Mahīdhara”—or of the writer of his Manuscript,—since the Shaikh professes to have copied the latter with the utmost accuracy, faults and all ;—for neither were the contents of this volume a commentary on the R̥gveda, nor would a learned man have mis-spelt several words, and very common ones, too, of his own composition, and, above all, the name of one of the most celebrated authors of India. In short, the Manuscript in question contained no other matter than a portion of the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, together with a commentary of Kumārila-Swāmin, the great Mīmāṃsā authority.

A discovery of this ritual work, which had thus remained latent under a wrong designation, would at all times have been welcome to those engaged in the study of Vaidik literature; it gained in interest from the facts that a doubt had been raised, I do not know on what grounds, whether a copy of it had survived, and that a commentary of Kumārila on these Sūtras, had, so far as my knowledge goes, never yet been spoken of in any European or Sanskrit book.

It was but natural, under these circumstances, that I should think of making the knowledge I had obtained generally available, by editing this manuscript; but, to my utter disappointment, I soon perceived, after having examined it in detail, that it belonged to that class of written books, the contents of which may be partially made out and partially guessed, but which are so hopelessly incorrect that a seeming restoration of their text would require a greater amount of conjecture than could be permitted to an editor, or might be consistent with the respect due to the author of the work itself.

When, therefore, another copy of the Mánava-Kalpa-Sūtras with the Commentary of Kumārila was not to be procured, and when I began to surmise that the volume in the possession of the East India House was a unique copy of this rare work, I resolved, with the consent of Professor Wilson, to have a facsimile of it lithographed and printed. This resolution was strengthened by the consideration that even a correct text of these Sūtras would be serviceable only to the few scholars who are familiar with this branch of the oldest Sanskrit literature, and that they would be able, by the aid they might get from other existing Sūtras on the Vaidik ritual, and the Mīmāṃsā works, to turn to account even this incorrect manuscript, in spite of the many doubts it leaves. It was strengthened, too, by the conviction I entertain, that unique manuscripts, or those which are rarely met with,—every existing copy of which consequently possesses a literary value much exceeding that of ordinary manuscripts,—ought to be saved from possible casualties by mechanical contrivances, the most practical of which, as

answering the requirements of the case and entailing the least expense, seems to be that which has been used in the production of the present fac-simile.

I must, however, confess that after several disappointments in trying to secure the necessary aid, I should probably have been compelled to abandon my plan, had I not been able to avail myself of the assistance of a talented young lady, Miss Amelia Rattenbury, who, while devoting herself to the study of Sanskrit, came to my rescue, and, with much patience and skill, accomplished the tracing of the original.

Her work may, indeed, in some parts, be still open to criticism, so far as the exact thickness of the letters on a few pages is concerned, or if some shortcomings, especially those which are noticed in the Errata, be too much insisted upon; but I must in fairness state that several omissions of Anuswáras or strokes, as pointed out in the Errata, are not her fault, but the result of accidents which occurred in transferring the fac-simile to stone; and such defects could not, it would seem, have been wholly

avoided, notwithstanding the careful attention which was paid to the work by the lithographic printers, Messrs. Standidge and Co., and, I may add, in spite of the great trouble I took myself in revising the proofs on the stones, and in thus combining the work of a Sanskritist with that of an apprentice in lithography. Several sheets which failed to show distinctly some Anuswáras or parts of the letters themselves, though transferred to the stone and originally visible there, I cancelled at once; but this expeditious process became, by frequent repetition, so little convenient, that I had to submit at last, though reluctantly, to a list of Errata which, however small, seems to be at variance with the notion of a fac-simile.

On the whole, however, and after this censure, the severity of which, I trust, no one will see occasion to increase, I must express my belief, that the text which is laid before the reader is, when amended by the aid of the Errata list, not merely a thoroughly correct representation of the contents of the special manuscript from which it is copied, but, at the

same time, a good specimen of a fac-simile of a Sanskrit manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

Of the work itself I have but little to say, for the Sanskrit scholars who will take an interest in it are well acquainted with the general characteristics of those ritual books which bear the name of Kalpa-Sûtras, and they know, too, that the Mánava-Kalpa-Sûtras teach the ceremonial connected with the old recension

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to observe that the original, in its actual bound condition, measures 9½ inches in length and 3½ inches in breadth, with the exception of fol. 62 which is 4 inches broad. The surplus of margin in the fac-simile belongs, therefore, to the latter. The binder, in reducing the leaves of the original to the size stated, has in various instances encroached upon the writing, and cut away either portions of letters or even whole letters; which circumstance will account for the defects in the marginal additions of, especially, fol. 1, 3 a, b, 5 b, 11 a, 12 a, 13 a, 14 a, 25 a, 26 a, 32 b, 33 a, 34 a, 48 a, b, 50 b, 52 a, 53 a, 54 a, 58 a, 60 a, 61 a, 62 a, 66 b, 68 a, 70 b, 74 b, 80 b, 81 a, 86 b, 89 b, 107 b, 108 b, 113 a. Another destructive animal, the white ant, has also added to the work of devastation in the interior of the MS., but much more rarely; on the margin of fol. 16 a two strokes ( = ) indicate the eaten portion. Towards the end of the MS., especially from fol. 90 upwards, the

of the Yajurveda, the Taittiriya-Saṃhitā. The portion of these Sûtras contained in the present fac-simile comprises the first four books of the whole work: the first or *Yájamāna* book, in two chapters (from fol. 1 to 54 a, and 54 a to 55 b); the second on the *Agnýádhána* (from fol. 55 b to 84 b); the third on the *Agnihotra* (from fol. 84 b to 106 a); and the fourth on the

original has the appearance of having been smeared or powdered over; and this carelessness, caused no doubt by putting the leaves together before the writing was dry, has produced in several instances the errors of the fac-simile, especially as it became sometimes difficult or even impossible to tell whether a dot represented an original *anavāra* or a smear. I have to mention, besides, that the leaves of the original are bound so as to read downwards, and that the same arrangement has been preserved in the present work in order not to allow it to deviate from the appearance of its modern prototype. There is good reason, however, to suppose that the ancient Hindus had the leaves of their MSS. arranged so as to read in the reverse or upward direction. For one liberty which has been taken in the fac-simile, I am personally answerable. The remark on the outside page, mentioned above, with its mis-spelling of the name of Kumārila and its literary error, will not be found in this volume; its place is filled by the likeness of the god of literary accuracy who is invoked in the commencement of the work.





that he finished copying "the fifth part of the *Agnishtoma* book of the *Mánava-Sútra*, Samwat 1643 (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing north of the equator, in the winter season, during the light fortnight of the month *Pausha* (December-January), on the fifteenth lunar day, in the city of Benares"; and the next syllable, immediately succeeded by a blank in the MS., makes it probable that he wrote this portion, too, for the perusal of the son of Mahidhara. His conscience, however, seems to have been more sensitive regarding the accuracy with which he had performed his task, at the end of the *Agnishtoma* portion, than it was before, since he makes a very touching appeal to the indulgence of the reader, and

मीव, जयीन्द्र (एङ्गाणि), क्षादिति, क्षपांयन्तु, क्षपोनम् (क्षपोनमीय), क्षायिन्द्र, क्षायिव, क्षादित, क्षायिव, इन्द्र, रङ्गाबी, ऐन्द्र, ऐङ्गाप, नवर्ष, तनुपाह, त्र्यम्ब, देव, देवता, पूषण, नवर्ष, यजुदेवत, मुहुर्यति, मरुत (मारुत), महेन्द्र, मीनारव, मीनारव, रव, इन्द्र, यरव (मारव), वायु, विन्देदेवाः (विन्देव), विष्णु, देवानर, युर्व (वीर्व), सोम, सीमयौष, सोर्वारव, हिरण्यवर्ग.

is even modest enough to count himself amongst the scribes of limited intellect.<sup>3</sup>

The contents of this latter manuscript, viz., the description of the Agnishtoma rites in five Adhyāyas,<sup>4</sup> now, too, explain the meaning of the concluding words of our MS. (fol. 120 b):

<sup>1</sup> I subjoin a literal copy of the last page (37) of this MS. with *all the faults*, which will give some idea of the unhappy fate of these Mānava-Sūtras in the hands of their ignorant transcriber: चादुर्घं पुण्यत्वं दृष्ट्वा । तादुर्घं विनितं मया ॥ चरिदं मुचममुचं वा मम दोषो न दीवते ॥ १ ॥ चदृष्टभावात्कवि विष्णुमाज्ञा । यदर्थहीनं विनितं मयाच । तत्सर्वमार्थैः परिशोधनीयं कोप न कुत्रोद्यतु शेवकस्य ॥ २ ॥ यावदुक्तो पि सो वक्ता नावाशास्त्रविशारदः । मुञ्चति विषमानी पि किं पुनः स्वल्पमुचयः ॥ कौ स्वसि ॥ संवत् १६४३ वर्षे श्राव्हे . . . . . प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे हेमन्त ऋतौ महानांनक्षत्रदः . . . . . । विनितं । शेवकस्य काशियाख्यं मोहघातीयं । वा . . . . . । विनितं । विनितं । शेवकपाठकयोः मुमं भवतु । मानववृक्षस्य चविष्टो- माख्यस्य पंचमभाष्यस्य पुण्यकर्मवैशि । श्रीः ॥ ३ ॥ ३ ॥ च । चमयाभ्यर्चयः । होता १ ब्रह्म । २ उद्गता ३ यक्षमानः । ४ प्रशालः । ५ ब्राह्मणार्हदसि ६ पीता । ७ वैष्ट । ८ क्षापी- प्रः । ९ चक्षुषावकः । १० एते दस्य चमयाभ्यर्चयः ; and after this last piece of scholar- ship is added in a different hand : “ खण्यकस्यं । सीमवचं ” चक्षुषः ५ ” (!).

‘ Whether the work which is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. at



मानसोद्देशायं संपूर्णे (which ought to be मानसोद्देशायं), for they clearly point to a continuation, treating on the Soma rites, which continuation is given in the MS. 599, so far as the text of the Sūtras goes, though this MS. does not contain any further commentary of Kumārila.

The text of the first four books of the Sūtras in our MS. is, unhappily, only fragmentary. Sometimes, but rarely, a Sūtra is given in full before the gloss of Kumārila; for the most part, however, the copy of the text, as is the case with many manuscripts of Commentaries on Sūtras, starts from the assumption that the reader possesses a MS. which contains the words of the Sūtra, and refers to them by merely giving the first and the last word of the sentence which is the subject of the commentary. Now and then, it is true, some further words of the Sūtra emerge from

Benares, p. 118, under the title सोमसुषुप्तविधानम् (No. 2503) be the same as the Agniṣṭoma portion of the Mānava-Sūtras, I have had no means of ascertaining. The same Catalogue records the existence of the मानवसूत्रम् (p. 78, No. 761), but without naming the Commentary of Kumārila.

the gloss of Kumārila, but, though it is possible to understand the purport of his comment, it would be a fruitless task to try to construe from it the full detail of the text, since much of the latter is left unnoticed, as requiring, apparently, no gloss.

The interest connected with the present volume centres, therefore, chiefly in the commentary of Kumārila, and in the fact itself that it is this great Mīmāṃsā writer who composed a commentary on the Mānava-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā. For, since in Sanskrit literature, commentaries on works which involve scientific convictions or religious belief were, as a rule, written by those alone who shared in these convictions or meant to defend this belief, it is a matter of significance that this celebrated representative of the Mīmāṃsā doctrine, who lived before Śaṅkara, the commentator of the Vedānta-Sūtras,<sup>5</sup> should have attached his remarks to a Sūtra belonging to the Black-Yajus School.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the Preface to the first edition of Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. xviii *seqq.*

That this circumstance cannot be accidental is rendered probable by collateral facts. Kumārila quotes on two occasions (fol. 14 a and 85 b) the opinion of Śabara-Swāmin on passages in the Sūtras, and as it is not the commentary of this author on the Jaiminī-Sūtras to which he refers, his quotation can only imply that Śabara had composed, besides, a gloss either on the Mānava-, or on other Sūtras of the same school. Śabara, however, is, like Kumārila whom he preceded, one of the principal authorities of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy.<sup>6</sup> Mādhava also, the commentator on the Vedas, who may be considered as the last writer of eminence on the Mīmāṃsā, composed or indited a commentary on another Sūtra work of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, the Sūtra of Baudhāyana. Of commentators on other

<sup>6</sup> I may mention, on this occasion, other quotations made by Kumārila. He speaks several times of other Sākhās, without, however, specifying them (fol. 9 b, 17 a, 33 a, 36 b, 41 b, etc. etc.), once even of a Krāśāśkhā, (fol. 50 a); of older teachers (Pūrvāśākyas, fol. 43 b—44 a, 83 a, Viddhāśākyas, 119 a), of the Vārha Sūtras (fol. 75 a, 93 b, 120 b), the Bhāṣhyakāra, who is probably the same as Śabara (fol. 115 a), the Brāhmaṇabhāṣhyakāra (fol. 60 b, 63 a, 75 b), the Grhyabhāṣhyakāra (fol. 60 a), the

Sūtras of the Black-Yajur-veda I do not speak, since they have not attained a prominent rank among the Mīmāṃsists. But it ought not to be left unnoticed, on the other hand, that neither the Kalpa works connected with the R̥gveda, nor those belonging to the Sāma-, or White-Yajur-veda, had commentators who, at the same time, wrote Mīmāṃsā works.

It would seem, therefore, and I shall have to advert to this point in detail in a more appropriate place, that the Kalpa-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā represented or countenanced, more than other Kalpa-Sūtras, the tenets and decisions of the Mīmāṃsā philosophers.

This intimate connection between the two will enable us, then, not merely to remove all doubt, if any exist, as to the identity

Hārītabhāṣhyakṛit (fol. 75 b); he names the Bahvichās (20 a, 23 b); the Yajurveda (fol. 9 a and b), and Yajurvedika (fol. 12 b, 67 a), the Kāthaka (fol. 9 a, 98 b), the Taittirīyaka (fol. 60 a, 61 b, 66 b), a Brāhmaṇa (fol. 114 b); and the Sāmaveda (fol. 9 b); Manu is usually called by him Sūtrakāra or Sūtrakṛit (e.g. fol. 43 b, 71 b, 75 b, etc., 29 a, 32 a, 35 b, etc.); other authors of Sūtras, Sūtrakāras or Sūtrakṛitas (fol. 38 a, 77 b).

of the author of the present commentary with the author of the Várttikas on the Jaimini-Sūtras,—even if this identity were not proved by the peculiar style of Kumárika's composition, by his writing alternately in prose and śloka, by his pithy remarks, and his strong expressions ; but it will throw light, too, on the nature of the commentary itself.

It is not a commentary in the ordinary sense, merely explaining obsolete or difficult words, and giving the meaning of the sentences ; it is often nothing else than a regular discussion and refutation of divergent opinions which were probably expressed in other Kalpa works. And the constant use it makes of current Mímánsá terms, in their Mímánsá sense, such as *apírva*, *pará-nápírva*, *úha*, *bádha*, to which may be added also, *vidhi*, *anuváda*, *arthaváda*, *purushártha*, *kratvartha*, *bheda* (*mantrabheda*, *vákya-bheda*), on account of the frequent application these latter words find in the Mímánsá writings,—impresses on the discussions of Kumárika the full stamp of a Mímánsá reasoning.

There is one fact which deserves special mention, though

it has only an indirect bearing on the present work. In the Sūtras, I. 3, 10-12, Jaimini treats of the question whether the Kalpa works have the same authority as the Veda or not ; in other terms, whether they must be ascribed to divine or to human authorship, and decides in favour of the latter alternative. Kumárika, in his Várttikas on this chapter, gives instances of the works of several authors which would fall under this category ; he names, in the course of his discussion, the Sūtras of Baudháyana, Varáha, Másaaka, Áśwaláyana, Vajjavápa, Bráhyáyana, Látyáyana, Kátyáyana, and Ápastamba ; but though his “*et cætera*” imply that he did not intend to give a complete list, it is certainly remarkable that he should not have named the Mánava-Sūtras, which he has commented upon, more especially as he makes reference to the Dharmasástra of Manu.

Śabara, also, his predecessor, who mentions, in his Bháshya on the same Sūtras of Jaimini, the Másaaka-, Hástika-, and Kaundinya-Kalpa-Sūtra, does not speak of the Mánava. And, to conclude, the same omission strikes us in the Jaiminiya-nyáya-málá-vistara of

Mádhava, who names the Baudháyana-, Ápastamba-, Áśwaláyana-, and Kátyáyana-Kalpa-Sútras, but makes no allusion to our work.

It may be, and it even is probable, that Kumárála wrote his gloss on the Mánava-Kalpa-Sútra after he had finished his Várttikas on the Sútras of Jaimini. But this circumstance alone cannot account for the omission of this Kalpa work from his Várttikas, nor does it offer any explanation of the general silence in regard to it of the other renowned writers on the Mímánsá philosophy.

I believe that the reason for this silence must be sought for in the decision of Jaimini, and in the legendary character of Manu, the reputed author of our Kalpa work. At the time of Śábara, Manu was no doubt already viewed by his countrymen in the same light in which he appears in the Dharmasástra that bears his name but professes distinctly not to be the immediate work of Manu himself, and, consequently, could be safely alluded to. This mythical character, however, of Manu results from the legends connected with a personage of

this name in the Śatapathabráhmana and the Rigveda itself. To prove, therefore, on the one hand, that the Kalpa-Sútras are human work, and to hold before the reader's eye the name of an individual who, if less than a god, was, at all events, believed to be more than a man, would have been a proceeding which might either have shaken the conviction which it was intended to produce, or tinged the doctrine of the propounders with a hue of heresy which certainly neither Śábara, nor Kumárála, nor Mádhava meant to impart to his commentary. Probably, therefore, it appeared safer to evade this awkward illustration of the human character of a Sútrakára, and to be satisfied with instances of a more tangible and less delicate kind.

From our point of view, however, and I conclude from the point of view of the Mímánsists themselves, there is no reason to doubt that *a* Manu, the author of the present Sútras, was as much a real personage as Baudháyana and the other Sútrakáras who were never raised to a superhuman dignity. I can no more

see a valid argument for doubting the existence of this Manu, because his name would mean, etymologically, "a thinking being, a man," and because mythology has lent this character to the father of the human race, also called Manu, than there would be for doubting the real existence of the Brāhmaṇa caste, merely because they ascribe their bodily origin to the Creator of the World. And as to the name of Manu (man) itself, it does not seem more striking or even more strange than other proper names in the Vaidik time; than, for instance, the proper names Prāna, *life*; Eka, *one*; Itarā, or Anyatarā, *either of two*; Panchan, *five*; Saptan, *seven*; Ashtan, *eight*; Śīras, *head*; Loman, *hair*; Vīndu, *drop*, etc.

To assign a date to the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, even approximately, is a task I am incapable of performing; though, judging from the contents of this work, it may seem plausible to assert that they are more recent than the Sūtras of Baudhāyana and older than those of Āpastamba. But I have not any means of ascertaining when these latter works were composed.

It may not, however, be superfluous to add that they were either younger than Pāṇini or, at least, not so much preceding his time as to be ranked by him amongst the old Kalpa works. For in an important Sūtra of his grammar he states that the names of old Kalpa works are formed with the affix *in*, and it follows therefore that none of the works of this kind, which are likely to be still in existence, and amongst them the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, are, from Pāṇini's point of view, old Kalpa works.<sup>7</sup> And when I express the opinion that there is no tenable ground for assigning to Pāṇini so recent a date as that which has been given to him, viz., the middle of the fourth century before Christ, but that there is on the contrary a presumption that he preceded the time of the founder of the Buddhistic creed,—I have advanced as much,

<sup>7</sup> Pāṇini, iv. 3, 105. This Sūtra is comprised under the head rule iv. 3, 101, which extends as far as 111. In the gloss on some of these Sūtras the Kāśikā, the Siddhānt, and the Calcutta Paṇḍits who composed or compiled the printed commentary, have introduced the word *अधीयते* in addition to *प्रीत्यते*. I hold, arbitrarily,—since it is neither indicated by the head rule, nor met with in the Mahābhāṣya.

or as little, as, I believe, can be safely advanced on the date of the present Kalpa work.

After the foregoing lines, were written I received Professor Max Müller's "*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmans* (1859)."<sup>6</sup> To acknowledge the merits of this work, which shows the great importance of the religious development of India; to acknowledge the light it throws on the obscurest parts of Hindu literature, and the comprehensive learning it has brought to bear on many an intricate topic connected with the rise and progress of Hindu grammar, law, and theology, must be the first and not the least gratifying feeling of every one interested in Sanskrit, and more especially in Vaidik philology. The greater, however, this new claim of the editor of the *Rigveda* to our gratitude, the more does his work impose on us the duty of examining, among the topics of which it treats, those which seem to require additional

evidence before they can be considered as having attained a definite settlement. I take advantage of this opportunity, therefore, to re-open the discussion on two points, which seem to me to fall under this predicament, especially as they concern every work of the Vaidik literature, and equally bear on the present ritual book. I mean the question of the introduction of writing into India,<sup>8</sup> and the general question of the chronology of Vaidik works.<sup>9</sup>

Müller's view on the first of these questions is contained in the following words (p. 524): "If writing came in towards the

<sup>6</sup> Müller's History, p. 497—524. This chapter is reprinted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. ii. 1859), with the following note which became my first inducement to treat the matter on this occasion: "This paper is an extract from a work now in the press on the history of ancient Sanskrit literature. Professor Müller has sent it for the Society's Journal in the hope of eliciting some fresh information from European or native scholars in India on the interesting questions which it discusses."

<sup>9</sup> The same, pp. 244, 313, 435, 572.

latter-half of the Sâtra period,<sup>10</sup> it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Brâhmanas to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Brâhmaṇa literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only;" and (p. 507): "But there are stronger arguments than these (viz., the arguments alleged by him, pp. 497-507), to prove that, before the time of Pāṇini, and before the first spreading of Buddhism in India, writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown. If writing had been known to Pāṇini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing etc."

Müller maintains, therefore, that not merely *before* the time of Pāṇini, but to Pāṇini himself, writing was unknown; and as

<sup>10</sup> This period extends, according to his views, from 600 to 200 B.C. (p. 244).

according to his view, "Pāṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C." (pp. 245, 301 ff.),<sup>11</sup> it would follow that, according to him, India was not yet in possession of the most useful of arts at the time when Plato died and Aristotle flourished.

I must confess that I could not, and cannot, look upon this assertion otherwise than as a splendid paradox, which, it is true, makes up for its want of power of convincing by the ingenuity of the defence with which it is supported, and the interest which may be derived from the extraneous matter it has brought to its aid; and, had I happened to read this chapter before the rest, I should probably have thought that the idea of conceiving India without read and ink until, or after, Pāṇini's death, did not originate with Müller before the close of his learned work, and then only that he might crown, as it were, its merits by some extraordinary feat. But though justice requires me to admit that such is not the case, —that, on the contrary, the same opinion pervades the earlier por-

<sup>11</sup> This date will be the subject of ulterior remarks.

tions of his book," I must still say that it does not seem to have taken root in his mind with that strong conviction which produces an impression on others, for it appears psychologically doubtful that an author, having that conviction, could even metaphorically speak of the "prayer-book" of the Hotris (pp. 187, 473), or say that Kātyāyana, whom he defines as "the contemporary of Pāṇini" (p. 138, and elsewhere), "*writes* in the Bhāshya" (p. 138), "*wrote* the Vārtikas" (p. 148), "*writes* in prose" (p. 229), or that he could call the Sūtrakāras "*writers* of Sūtras" (p. 215).

No one, I believe, will easily imagine a civilized people who at the time of the Mantras (the period prior to that of the Sūtras

and Brāhmanas), were such as to possess "arts, sciences, institutes, and vices of civilized life, golden ornaments, coats of mail, weapons of offence, the use of precious metals, of musical instruments, the fabrication of cars, and the employment of the needle . . . . the knowledge of drugs and antidotes, the practice of medicine, and computation of the divisions of time to a minute extent, including repeated allusions to the seventh season or intercalary month" . . . and again, "laws of property," "laws of inheritance, and of simple contract, or buying and selling," "*—having a civilization which Professor Wilson characterizes in the preface to his excellent Translation of the R̥gveda* (vol. ii, p. xvii), as "differing little, if at all, from that in which they were found by the Greeks at Alexander's invasion,"—no one, I believe, will easily imagine a people in such a state of civilization unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art

<sup>13</sup> See Wilson's Translation of the R̥gveda, vol. ii. p. xvi.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. xvii.

<sup>15</sup> *E.g.* p. 137, "the rules of the Prātiśākhya were not intended for written literature;" p. 200, note, "the question whether the Hindus possessed a knowledge of the art of writing during the Sūtra period, will have to be discussed hereafter;" p. 362, "if we remember that in these old times literary works did not exist in writing" [to 'remember' this on p. 362 is difficult, since the theory is propounded p. 497—524]; p. 311, "in India, where before the time of Pāṇini we have no evidence of any written literature, etc."



be made in the hymns to the gods. And is it really plausible that even 600 or 700 years later, the greatest grammarian of India composed a most artificial and most scientific system of grammar, utterly ignorant of the simplest tool which might have assisted him in his work? Should it be possible to realize an advanced stage of social development without a knowledge of writing, then it is needless, of course, to refer to the arts, sciences, measures, and coins mentioned in the Sûtras of Pânini; yet I will advert, within the limits of these preliminary remarks, to one fact, at least, which it may be as well not to overlook.

We know from Herodotus that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, subdued the Hindus;<sup>15</sup> and we have inscriptions of this king himself which tell us that amongst the nations subdued by him were the Gadara and Hidhu or the Gandhâras, and the peoples living on the banks of the Indus.<sup>16</sup> Could Pânini, therefore, who was

<sup>15</sup> iv. 44 : μετὰ δὲ τοίνους περιλώσαντας Ἰνδοῦς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρείος, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Compare Lassen's Ind. Alterth. i. 422; ii. 112, 113, and the quotations given there.

a native of Gandhâra, had he lived after Darius, as Müller supposes to be the case, have remained ignorant of the fact that writing was known in Persia? And if not, would he not, in composing his work, have profited by this knowledge, provided, of course, that he was not acquainted previously with this art, independently of his acquaintance with the Persian alphabet? This question is answered, however, I believe, by a word which is the subject of one of his special rules (IV. 1, 49), the word *yavanâni*, explained by Kátyâyana and Patanjali as meaning the "*writing* of the Yavanas." Both Weber and Müller mention this word, the former as meaning "the writing of the Greeks or Semites (Ind. St. I. p. 144), or, as he later opines, of the Greeks alone (IV. 89); the latter (p. 521) "a variety of the Semitic alphabet, which, previous to Alexander, and previous to Pânini, became the type of the Indian alphabet." It would seem to me, that it denotes the writing of the Persians, and probably the cuneiform writing which was known already, before the time of Darius, and is peculiar enough in its appearance, and different enough from the alphabet of the

Hindus, to explain the fact that its name called for the formation of a separate word.

While I intend to address myself now to the special arguments offered by Müller, for the theory that writing was unknown to Pāṇini, I find myself, as it were, arrested by his own words; for, after having proposed his reasons in support of this theory (from page 497 to page 520), he makes the following remark on the word *lipikara*, "a writer or engraver," which I quote in full:—"This last word *lipikara* is an important word, for it is the only word in the Sūtras of Pāṇini which can be legitimately adduced to prove that Pāṇini was acquainted with the art of writing. He teaches the formation of this word, iii. 2, 21." Whether it is the only word which can be legitimately adduced for such a proof, I shall have to examine. But even on the supposition that it is, I must really question the purport of the whole discussion, if Müller himself admits that Pāṇini would have pointed to this word *lipikara* had it been his task to defend himself against the imputation of being ignorant of the art of writing.

For it becomes obviously immaterial whether the word *lipikara* occurs once or a hundred times in the Sūtras,—whether another similar word be discoverable in his Grammar or not; one word is clearly sufficient to establish the fact, and to remove all doubt. This admission of Müller, which upsets all he has tried to impress upon our minds, is doubtless very creditable to his candour; for it shows his wish to elicit the truth, and fully confirms our faith in what he says at the end of his essay: "It is possible I may have overlooked some words in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras, which would prove the existence of written books previous to Pāṇini. If so, it is not from any wish to suppress them." But since he has not even tried to invalidate by a single word the conclusion which necessarily follows from this admission, it would be like carrying owls to Athens if I endeavoured to prove what is sufficiently proved already by himself.

Nevertheless, I will do so; not only out of respect for his labour, but because the observations I am going to make may tend to show that there is much more evidence in Pāṇini than

this solitary word for the assumption that he was not merely conversant with writing, but that his Grammar could not even have been composed as it is now, without the application to it of written letters and signs.

The chief argument of Müller is a negative one: the absence of words which mean book, ink, paper, and the like. Thus he says of the Vaidik hymns (p. 497): "Where writing is known, it is almost impossible to compose a thousand hymns without bringing in some such words as, writing, reading, paper, or pen. Yet there is not one single allusion in these hymns to anything connected with writing;" or (p. 512) "If we take the ordinary modern words for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., not one of them has yet been discovered in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity." <sup>17</sup> I do not think that such an argument, in its generality, can ever be held to be a conclusive proof. It is not the purpose of the Vaidik hymns to tell us that pen and

ink were known to the Āryas; it becomes, therefore, entirely a matter of chance whether so prosaic an object be mentioned in them or not,—whether the poets borrow their figures from paper and book, or from the life of the elements. The very instances Müller has adduced from the Psalms will probably leave in every one's mind the impression that these songs might easily have existed, without any damage to their reputation, even if they had not contained the three verses which bespeak the scholarship of their authors; and the book of Job too, if it had not that literary longing which is contained in Müller's *happy quotation*: "Oh that my words were now written! oh, that they were printed in a book!" But what applies to poetical songs, avails with still greater force in a grammatical work. Pāṇini's object is to record such phenomena of the language as are of interest from a *grammatical* point of view. Sometimes the words which belong to his province, will be at the same time also of historical and antiquarian interest; but it does not follow at all, that because a word of the latter category is omitted in his rules, it is absent

<sup>17</sup> Not even *lipi*?

from the language also ; the extreme conclusion would be that it is a word of no grammatical interest ; and this conclusion itself, to be correct, would imply that Pāṇini was a perfect author, and did not omit any word or words which ought to have been noticed by him on grammatical grounds. ✓

"There is no word," says Müller, "for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity" (p. 512). Of *lipi*, "to write," I need say no more, since it is the base of *lipi*. I agree with him that the verbs *adhi* or *vach* (in the caus.) which are used in the sense "to read," contain no proof of their applying to a written work, since the former means literally "to go over mentally, to acquire," and the latter "to cause to speak." I am equally willing to admit that the divisions of literary works which are frequently met with, such as *anuvākas*, *prāśnas*, *maṇḍalās*, *-pāthas*, *vargas*, *sūktas*, etc., cannot be compared with such words as "*volumen*, a volume, *liber*, i. e. the inner bark

of a tree ; or *βιβλος*, i. e. *βίβλος*, the inner bark of the papyrus ; or *book*, i. e., beech-wood" (p. 515). But I cannot admit that there is no word of genuine antiquity meaning book, or division of book, which cannot be compared with those latter words of the cognate languages. One word is indeed supplied by Müller himself, at the end of his essay ; it undoes, as it were, all that precedes on this subject, in the same way as *lipikara* undid his arguments against Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing.

After the words I have quoted above, "if so, it is not from any wish to suppress them," he continues (523): "I believe, indeed, that the Brāhmaṇas were preserved by oral tradition only, but I should feel inclined to claim an acquaintance with the art of writing for the authors of the Sūtras. And there is one word which seems to strengthen such a supposition. We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters, called *pataḥ*. This is a word never used for the subdivision of the Brāhmaṇas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane ; it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem

<sup>18</sup> Thus Pāṇini himself says, V. 2, 84, ओचिर्वरहो ऽसीति.

to be almost synonymous with *liber* and *βιβλος*, and it would mean *book*, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees." But he seems to have entirely overlooked—no doubt on account of its common occurrence—the word *kāṇḍa*, which is the name of a division of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā and -Brāhmaṇas, not to speak of the frequent application it has found at a later period in denoting chapters of ritual books, or ritual books themselves, such as *kāmyeshīti-kāṇḍa*, *kānyapaśu-kāṇḍa*, *paurolśika-kāṇḍa*, *agneya-kāṇḍa*, *hautra-kāṇḍa*, *adhvaryu-kāṇḍa*, *yajamāna-kāṇḍa*, *sattra-kāṇḍa*, etc. And *kāṇḍa*, before meaning *book*, means "the part of the trunk of a tree whence the branches proceed,—a stalk or stem;"—it is, therefore, a fair representative of our word *book*. But, if such is the original purport of *paṭala*, and of the more frequent *kāṇḍa*, I cannot conceive on what grounds Müller founds his doubt (p. 513) of *patra* meaning the leaf of a book, in works of genuine antiquity, since *patra* means, originally, the leaf of a tree, and since palm-leaves, even now, bespeak the

use which has been made of them for literary purposes. For, though Urvāśi writes her amatory letter on a "birch-leaf,"—which, then, is called, not merely *patra*, but *bhūrja-pattra*,—it does not follow that ordinary letters of literary works must also have been engraved on what was probably a rarer material than the leaf of a palm-tree or of a lotus.

Besides *kāṇḍa* and *paṭala*, there are, however, two other important words, in the sense of work, which could not but attract the attention of Professor Müller—the words *sūtra* and *grantha*. The former, which means, literally, "string," has become, according to him (p. 512), the well-known name of an extensive class of works, by assuming the figurative sense, "strings of rules." The latter, he says (p. 522), "is derived from a root *grath*, which means *nectere*, *serere*. *Grantha*, therefore, like the later *sandarbhā*, would simply mean a composition. It corresponds etymologically with the Latin *textus*. Thus it is used by the commentator to Nir. i. 20., where he says that former teachers handed

down the hymns, *granthato 'rthataścha*,<sup>19</sup> 'according to their text, and according to their meaning.' In the later literature of India, *grantha* was used for a volume, and, in *granthakuṭi*, a library, we see clearly that it has that meaning. But in the early literature *grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book; it means simply a composition, as opposed to a traditional work."

That "sūtra" may have assumed the sense of "string of rules," before it became the name of a book, is possible; but that it must have gone through *this* metaphorical process, and no other,—as the certainty with which Müller explains the term would imply,—<sup>20</sup> is not corroborated by any proof he has given; nor is it even plausible. Before, however, I give my own opinion on this word, it will be necessary, first, to ascertain whether the word *sūtra*,—

<sup>19</sup> Similarly, *c. g.*, Kullūka or Maun, VII. 43, चिदिदीमर्षतो सञ्जतञ्चावसेत्. See also, "Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. ii. p. 175.

<sup>20</sup> "We meet with *Brāhmaṇas*, the sayings of Brahmins; with *Sūtras*, i. e., the strings of rules." (p. 312.)

which is used in the singular both as a name for a whole collection of rules, and as a name for a single *sūtra*,—denoted, originally, the latter, and then became the designation of the former, or *vice versa*. Thus, the Kāśikāvṛtti calls Pāṇini's Sūtra, V. 4, 151, *gāṇa-sūtram*, and speaks of the *five Sūtras*, I. 3, 72—76, *svartānīta iti pāñchabliṣ sūtrair ātmanepadam*, etc. . . . . *evam panchasūtrīyām udāhāryam*; and Patanjali says, in the introduction to Pāṇini, *Sūtrāni chāpyadhīyāna ishyate vaiyāk.rāṇa iti*, "he who studies the *Sūtras* is termed a grammarian." But if we examine the use which Pāṇini himself makes of this word, we find that he always uses *sūtra* as a term for the whole collection of rules, and not as an expression for a single Sūtra: IV. 2, 65, "Sūtrāch cha kopadhāt;" IV. 3, 110, "Pārāśaryaiśātibhīyām bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoh" (where the dual shows that the analysis requires *bhikṣusūtre* and *naṭasūtre*). In his Rules, IV. 2, 60, and V. 1. 58, the number of the word is less clear, since it is part of a compound; yet the instances of Patanjali to the Vārtikas, and some explanations of the Kāśikā (*c. g. Kālpasūtram adhīte, Kālpā-*

*sūtrah*, and *ashṭāv adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya ashṭakam pāṇinīyam*) leave little doubt that it is likewise to be taken there as a singular. In a similar manner it is used in Patanjali's comment on II. 3, 66, v. 2, "*Śobhanā khalu pāṇineḥ sūtrasya kṛtiḥ*."<sup>21</sup> It

<sup>21</sup> In the Sūtra VIII. 3, 90, and the Gaṇa to V. 4, 29, its sense is the literal one; it is mentioned, too, as a masc. and neuter in the Gaṇa to II. 4, 31.—It is necessary for me to observe, that in the quotations from Pāṇini I always distinguish between the text of the Sūtras, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, and those alone can be held to be Kātyāyana's Vārtikas which appear in the Mahābhāṣya.—Patanjali's Commentary, the Vārtikas found in the Kāśikā and in the Siddhāntakaumudī, and these latter works. The importance of this distinction requires no remark, since all conclusions must become unsafe if the observations or instances of one writer are given as evidence for or against another, especially before it has been decided whether, for instance, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were contemporaries or not. I regret that Professor Müller has paid little attention to this circumstance, for he has frequently confounded the Commentaries, even the latest, with the text of the Sūtras of Pāṇini; and the very circumstance that he has sometimes pointed out the commentary as distinct from the text, and *vice versa*, creates still more confusion where he has omitted to do so. Thus, he quotes correctly (p. 44, note 2), "VIII. 3, 95 (*text*)," or, "IV. 1, 176 (*text*)" or, (p. 45, in the same note), "IV. 3, 98 (*text*);" and I admit that an attentive reader

would seem, therefore, since no higher authority than Pāṇini can be quoted, that *sūtra*,—when used in the sense of a single rule,—is will conclude that the quotations not marked "*text*" are taken from the commentary; yet, "VI. 3, 75," is not commentary but text. And what does the word "*commentary*" mean? Patanjali, Kāśikā, Siddh.-k., or the Calcutta Paṇḍits? Again, when he says (p. 69, n. 1): "It is remarkable that, in Pāṇini also, the word *śloka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature," not one of his quotations given to prove this important point, viz., IV. 2, 66; "IV. 3, 102, 1;" IV. 3, 107; "I. 4, 21," belongs to Pāṇini, but the two former to Patanjali; and the two latter to the Kāśikā. On p. 347, n., the Saulabhāni Brāhmaṇai are attributed by him to Pāṇini himself, but Pāṇini says nothing about them. The instances to the quotations, of page 361, n. 3, ("IV. 3, 101; IV. 2, 64"), and those to n. 4. (IV. 3, 108), belong to the Kāśikā,—none to Pāṇini. Nearly all the instances referred to, p. 364, n. 3, belong to Patanjali; and p. 369, n., where "*com.*" and "*text*" are contradistinguished, "VI. 2, 10" is not Pāṇini. P. 370, n. 10, "IV. 3, 104," ought to have been marked "*com.*" and a similar confusion exists, pp. 362, 371, 521, 522, etc.; while, on the other hand, the *commentary* is correctly quoted in most of the instances of p. 184, 185, 193, 252, 330, 339, 353, 357, though without any mention whether the commentary of Patanjali, or of the Kāśikā, etc., be meant. The *text* is marked correctly, pp. 125, n. 2; 340, 368, n. 1 (IV. 3, 128), 5; 369, n. 1, 3; 371, n. 2, 6; 372, n. 2, 8; 373, n. 3; and the *gaṇas* correctly, p. 369, n. 6; 370, n. 7, 8, 9, 10; 372, n. 8; 373, n. 8. I do not altogether think that this want of accuracy,

*pars pro toto*, and that its original sense is that of a whole collection

in a writer like Professor Müller, is entirely the result of oversight; it seems to me, on the contrary, that the reason for it lies in the words of his note to p. 46 :—"It was impossible to teach or to use Pāṇini's Sūtras without examples, which necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great Commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Prātiśākhya's and in Pāṇini, show that these examples were by no means selected at random, but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching." This coincidence, to be of that value which is described in the words quoted, would require first the proof that the Prātiśākhya's, viz. the existing ones of Saunaka and Kātyāyana, are *older* than Pāṇini; otherwise, it ceases to be of any consequence, as regards Pāṇini. As to his statement in general, however, I must observe, that it can surely not be received as authoritative in the absence of all proof. I must myself, on the contrary, quite demur to its admissibility. The coincidences, in the first place, between the instances of the existing Prātiśākhya's and those in the Commentaries of Pāṇini, considering the great bulk of the latter, are perfectly trifling. Again, as to the other instances, about 2000 Sūtras of Pāṇini are not criticised by Kātyāyana, nor commented upon by Pāṇinī; with regard to the instances, therefore, in this considerable number of rules, our oldest authority is nearly always the Kāśikā, the infallibility of which Commentary I have had, sometimes, reason to doubt. Scarcely any instances of this category can be traced to the Prāti-

of rules.<sup>22</sup> If such be the case the question arises, whether it is

śākhya's, and, unless it can be proved by Müller that these instances belong to *antiquity*, I do not consider it at all safe to found any conclusions on them, as regards *antiquity*. But on no account can it be consistent with critical research to use even the instances of Pāṇinī as evidence for or against the Vārtikas, and much less for or against the Sūtras of Pāṇini, since Kātyāyana *never* gives *instances*, but, like Pāṇini himself, either lays down a general rule, or specifies the words which are the subject of his rule.

<sup>22</sup> Compare also the following passage of the Mahābhāṣya (ed. Ballantyne, p. 68).

Pāṇinī : अथ आकरणमिदं शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः । मुबम् ॥ Kātyāyana : सूत्रे आकरणे यवर्चोऽनुपपन्नः ॥ Pāṇinī : सूत्रे आकरणे यवर्चो नोपपद्यते आकरणास्य सूत्रमिति । किं तदन्वत्सुवाङ्माकरणम् । वखादः सूत्रं स्यात् ; Kātyāyana : यवर्च इति । साधामपि शब्दाध्यामाङ्माखाः प्रतिपादनाद्विनिर्वाहः । सामान्यविशेषशब्दतया तु द्वयोः प्रयोजो न विरुध्यते । यदा लघ्याध्यामेकदेशः सूत्रशब्देनोच्यते तदा यवर्चोऽनुपपद्यते ; Nagajihvā : ननु सूत्रसमुदायस्य आकरणास्येदं सूत्रमिदमुपपद्यते इति आह । साधामिति । सूत्रपदेनाव्यष्टाध्यामेव यदोच्यते तदापीत्येवं प्रतीयते : स न सिद्धेदित्यर्थः । ननु किमुच्यते यवर्चोऽनुपपन्न इति प्रतीयतया । सहप्रयोजोऽपि न स्यादत आह । सामान्यविशेषेति । सूत्रं सामान्यं आकरणां विशेषः । सूत्रशब्देनाष्टाध्यामेव । तदेकदेशे तु योग्यव्यवहार एव योजने उपपत्तिरिति ह्लादो । यदा त्विति । सूत्राणि



the figure implied by Müller's rendering "strings of rules" that has led to the word *sūtra* being used in the sense of "book," or not. As, I believe, I am able to show that Pāṇini was perfectly well acquainted with the art of writing, and that written books had even existed long before his time, my own opinion is, that the name for book was, as in the case of *patāla* and *kāṇḍa*, borrowed rather from a material fact than from the metaphorical idea of the logical connection of rules. And here I appeal to evidence, and to the admission which will be made to me that there are peculiarities and habits in the life of nations, which may be supposed to have existed at the earliest times such as we see them now. Everyone who has studied Sanskrit MSS. in the libraries of London and Paris, will have found that the oldest specimens of these MSS. are written on palm-leaves, which are pierced in the middle, and kept together by means of a "string." The natural-

वाच्यधीवान् एति भाषि वक्ष्यमाणत्वादिति भावः । वस्तुत एवदेशस्य सूत्रत्वे ऽपि तस्यापि  
साध्यात्यस्यरथा वा बाधरजालात्पञ्चार्थोपपत्तिरिति तत्सम्.

ness of the material of these MSS., and the primitive manner in which they are bound,—if we can use the term "binding," for a parcel of leaves, covered on both sides with oblong pieces of wood, and kept together by a *string* which runs through the middle,—bespeak, in my opinion, the habits of high antiquity, religiously preserved up to a recent date by a nation which, beyond all other nations, is wont to cherish its antiquity, and to defend it, even in practical life, against the intrusions of modern arts. The MSS. I have seen are certainly not more than a few centuries old, as may be easily inferred from the fragility of the material of which they are composed; but I hold them to be genuine specimens of the manner in which books were formed at the earliest periods of the civilization of India. No one, however, ought, I should conceive, to be less surprised at seeing the word "string" becoming the name of "book," than a German who would call his own book "*Band*," translating, as it were, literally, the Sanskrit *sūtra*, and having recourse to the same figure of speech.

Since I contrast, in these remarks, opinion with opinion,—not

claiming any greater value for mine than that which may be permitted to the impressions and views of the individual mind,—I will not conceal that I hold the very nature of the works called “Sūtra,” to have arisen from, and depended on, the material which was kept together by the “string.” I cannot consider it plausible that these works,—“written, as they are, in the most artificial, elaborate, and enigmatical form,”—which have been so well defined and described in Müller’s work (p. 71, ff.),—in which, to use his words, “shortness is the great object of this style of composition,”—should have been composed merely for the sake of being easily committed to memory. “To introduce and to maintain such a species of literature,” argues Müller (p. 74), “was only possible with the Indian system of education, which consisted in little else except implanting these Sūtras and other works into the tender memory of children, and afterwards explaining them by commentaries and glosses.” But, though I do not dispute that these Sūtras were learnt, and are learnt, by heart up to this day, this circumstance alone does not explain why the matter thus to be

inculcated must have been written in such a manner “that an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son,” why, “every doctrine thus propounded, whether grammar, metre, law, or philosophy,” must have become “reduced to a mere skeleton.” Müller himself says (p. 501),—and I fully concur with him,—that “we can form no opinion of the powers of memory in a state of society so different from ours as the Indian Parishads are from our universities. Feats of memory, such as we hear of now and then, show that our notions of the limits of that faculty are quite arbitrary.” And, as he himself produces proof that the three Vedas and their Brāhmanas *were* learnt by heart, it does not appear at all likely that the peculiar enigmatical form of this Sūtra literature was invented simply to suit the convenience of a memory the capacities of which must have been extraordinary.

The reason which accounts for this form is, in my opinion, of a far more prosaic kind. I hold that it is the awkwardness, the fragility, and, in some parts of India, perhaps the scarcity of

proper natural leaves, which imposed upon an author the happy restraint of "economizing half a short vowel;" that the scantiness of the writing material compelled authors to be very concise, and betrayed them, as a consequence, into becoming obscure.

Vaidik hymns and sacrificial Bráhmaṇas stand, clearly, under a different predicament to works on grammar or philosophy. A god cannot be invited with *anubandhas* to partake of the sacrificial meal, nor the religious feelings of a nation be roused with hard and unintelligible phraseology; but the purpose of a grammar may be attained, if there be need to save space, by an artificial method; and a philosophical doctrine may be propounded in riddles, as we can testify in our own days. I draw here, of course, a line between genuine and artificial Sūtras, —the former, in my opinion, a creation of material necessity; the latter, a mere imitation when this necessity had ceased. The Sūtras of Páṇini, in their dignified brevity, and the Sūtras of the Buddhists, in their tedious prolixity, are, probably, the two.

opposite poles;<sup>23</sup> but it requires, I conceive, no great effort to see that there is a gap, even between Páṇini and the Yoga-Sūtras, nay, between him and the Mīmāṃsā- and Vedānta-Sūtras as well as the Nyāya-Sūtras and the Sāṅkhya-Pravachana.

Turning now to the second word I have mentioned above, with the word Sūtra, I will say at once, that *grantha* likewise appears to me to have become the name of a book, not on account of the connection which exists between the different parts of a literary composition, but on account of the connection of the leaves which form its bulk. Professor Weber, who makes Páṇini live

<sup>23</sup> The lamented Burnouf has given a description of these Sūtras, in his invaluable work on the "Buddhisme Indien," p. 36, ff. He particularly points out,—and the fact is important,—that amongst these caricatures of the Bráhmaṇic Sūtras, there are several which have the enigmatic brevity of the latter; he distinguishes, therefore, between Sūtras which may be attributed to Śákyamuni, and Sūtras which belong to subsequent periods. See "Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien," p. 104, ff.

about 140 years after Christ,<sup>24</sup> but who, nevertheless, is favourable to the view I take of Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing, says, in the "Indische Studien," vol. iv. p. 89, that "the word *grantha*, which is several times used by Pāṇini, refers, according to its etymology, decidedly to written texts;" yet he informs us (p. 436), that "the word *grantha* is referred by Böhlingk-Roth to the *composition*." Whether the latter remark is made "*pūjārtham*," or whether this author,—according to his habit of leaving the reader to make his own choice amongst a variety of conflicting opinions,—intended to establish a *vibhāṣā*,<sup>25</sup> or whether he has altered his original view, is more than I can decide, since he has neither supported his first opinion with any explanatory remark, nor expressed adhesion or dissent when he concluded his fourth volume of the "Indische Studien."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> "Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte," p. 200, 202.

<sup>25</sup> Such is really the case in the, "Indische Literaturgeschichte," p. 183, note.

<sup>26</sup> Should I have overlooked any observation of his on this word, it would be quite

That *grantha*, according to its etymology, *may* mean "a literary composition," and that it has been used in that sense, is undeniable; yet I contend that it did not bear this metaphorical sense before it was used in the literal meaning of "a series of leaves;" or, in other words, before it designated a written book. Previously to supporting this opinion with other arguments than those which are implied in my remarks on *sūtra*, I consider it necessary to remove the suspicion which has been thrown by Müller on this legitimate word. He quotes the four Sūtras in Pāṇini where it occurs,<sup>27</sup> but remarks in the note of p. 45, "The word *grantha*, used in the Sūtra (IV. 3, 87), is always somewhat suspicious."

unintentional, since I have been guided in my quotations by the excellent indices he has appended to his volumes. All I mean to convey is, that the only justification he gives for the sense, "written work," of *grantha*, viz., the etymology of the word, does not appear to be a sufficient one, since Müller is certainly right when he remarks (p. 522), that *grantha*, *nectāre*, *serere*, might be taken also in a figurative sense.

<sup>27</sup> Compare also, IV. 3, 101, v. 2; 105, v. 2; the *Kāśikā* on V. 1, 10, v. 1: पीरिवो यन्तः ; on IV. 2, 62: ब्राह्मणसदृशो यन्त्रो ऽनुनासिकम् ; on IV. 2, 63: वसन्तसहचरितो

The reason for this sweeping doubt is contained, I suppose, in the words which immediately follow : “That some of the Sūtras which now form part of Pāṇini’s Grammar, did not proceed from him, is

**सन्धो वसन्त रघुञ्जति :** on III. 1, 89, v. 1 (a Vārtika of the Bhāradwājīyas, according to Patanjali) : **यन्वति यन्वः :** on VII. 3, 4 : **स्वस्मिच्छल ह्यतो यन्वः सौवरो यन्वः** :—Of one of the Sūtras he quotes, viz. I. 3, 75, Müller observes, (p. 522) that it is used there “so as to apply to the *Veda*.” This remark concerns the commentator, but not Pāṇini, who, as he correctly states, a few lines afterwards, uses *grantha* as “opposed to a traditional work.” I do not believe that the commentator is absolutely wrong, as will appear from my subsequent remarks; but I think that he might have chosen a better instance. By commentary, however, I do not understand Patanjali’s Bhāṣya, which has no remark on this Sūtra, nor the Kāśikā, which has the counter-instance, **उबञ्जति चिकित्सां विवः** : the first trace of this instance I find in the Siddh.-k. (fol. 167 a.)—uncorrected in the Praudhamanoramā,—whence it has crept into more recent books, e. g., the abridged Commentary of Nāgōji on Pāṇini’s Sūtras. This instance, one of many, will corroborate my statement in note 21, that the compilation of the Calcutta Pañḍits,—however meritorious, and superior to its mutilated and unauthorized reprint,—so far from admitting of being identified with Pāṇini himself, ought not to be used as evidence for or against Pāṇini, without a knowledge of the source whence it has derived its instances.

I feel grieved that I cannot leave this note without destroying one of the most

acknowledged by Kaiyyāta (*cf.* IV. 3. 131, 132):” and in the first note of p. 361, where he writes, “Pāṇ., IV. 3, 116, ह्यतो यन्वः । Kaiyyāta says that this Sūtra does not belong to Pāṇini.” That there are *three*, perhaps *four* Sūtras in Pāṇini’s Grammar, which

poetical illusions of Professor Weber, connected with this word *grantha*. From the stream of imaginary narrative which meanders through the desert of his “Literaturgeschichte,” emerges, *à propos* of the Rāmāyana (p. 182), the remark, that this masterpiece of Hindu poetry was probably preceded by some other epic works. To prove that which cannot be proved without a knowledge of the date of the Rāmāyana, which we have not,—and without a knowledge of those epic poems, which likewise we have not,—but which is plausible enough without any proof, he quotes Pāṇini’s Sūtra, IV. 3, 88, which treats on the titles of some *granthas*. Among these *granthas* (which are, to his imagination, epic poems), is one called *Śiśukrandiya*, which therefore is, to him, a forerunner of the Rāmāyana. The same ingenious conjecture occurs in his “Indische Studien,” vol. i. p. 155, where he grows somewhat indignant at Wilson, who, in his Dictionary, renders this term “a work treating of infantine or juvenile grievances,” for he adorns Wilson, for this rendering, with a query and note of admiration (“Wilson dict. ? !”). Now, whether *śiśukrandiya* ought to have been, by right, the title of an epic poem (in the same manner as we learn, from another work what the words in the Vedas *ought* to have meant, if they had profited by the last results of Sanskrit

probably did not belong to his work originally, I will concede;<sup>28</sup> but amongst these three or four Sūtras out of 3996, there is no

and comparative philology), I am unable to say. Nevertheless, I believe that Wilson is right; for the *Kāśikā* explains this word, **शिशुना कन्दं शिशुकन्दं तमधिष्ठत् इतो यन्मः शिशुकन्दीयः**, and the *Viṅaratan-mahodadhī* has even an additional remark: **शिशुनो नावाशिषां कन्दमधिष्ठत् इतो यन्मः शिशुकन्दीयः। वासपुस्तकः**.—It is, in other terms, “a book for children, written with reference to their cries,”—a kind of nursery-book for naughty babies.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. Otto Boehlingk was the first who drew attention to this fact, in the volume which he has annexed to his garbled and unauthorized reprint of the meritorious labour of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini. In a note of p. xx. of his Preface, he enumerates *severa* Sūtras, which, according to him, “were originally Vārttikas, and only at a later time became embodied into the text of Pāṇini;” viz., “IV. 1. 166, 167; IV. 3. 132; V. 1. 36; VI. 1. 62, 100, 136.” It certainly raises a strong doubt as to the authenticity of a Sūtra, if it occurs also as a Vārttika of Kātyāyana; but I hold the indispensable conditions for confirming such a doubt to be—1. that the Vārttika must really belong to Kātyāyana; 2. that the wording of the Vārttika must be *identical* with that of the doubted Sūtra; and 3. that both must have the *same tendency*. In the first place, however, we are entitled to consider as Vārttikas of Kātyāyana only such as occur in, and,—what is invariably then the case,—are commented upon by, the Bhāṣya of Patañjali. Vārttikas found in the Kāśikā or Siddhāntakamuṇḍī, but not in the Bhāṣya,

Sūtra containing the word *grantha*; for I believe Müller was mistaken when he says that Kaiyaṭa acknowledges that the

may be, and *evidently* are in many instances, the critical additions of later times. They afford no basis for doubting the genuineness of a Sūtra in Pāṇini; nor is a mere remark of Kaiyaṭa, the commentator of Patañjali, that “some” consider a Sūtra as having been a Vārttika, sufficient to cancel the Sūtra from amongst the original rules. Secondly, if a Vārttika is not worded in the same manner as the Sūtra,—excepting, of course, the usual addition of Kātyāyana, **इति वक्तव्यम्**,—the mere similarity of both is no sufficient ground for doubting the originality of the Sūtra; for the difference in the wording of the Vārttika may have, as it *very frequently* has, the mere object of criticizing the manner in which Pāṇini delivered his rule. Lastly, if the Vārttika and Sūtra are identical in words, but not in tendency, there is not the slightest ground for doubting the authenticity of the Sūtra, though Kaiyaṭa may historically record that “some” have preferred to “throw it among the Vārttikas.” In applying these tests to the enumeration given by Dr. Boehlingk, we find, that IV. 1. 166 does *not* occur literally in the Vārttika 3 of IV. 1. 163; for, though the Calcutta editors write **वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम्**, and append their mark, that it occurs in the Siddh.-k. (the printed edition of this work contains on p. 66a, line 1, the words **वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम्**);—the wording of this Vārttika, in the Bhāṣya is (MS., E.I.H., 330), **वृद्धस्य च पूजायां युवसंज्ञा वक्तव्यम्** (probably **युवसंज्ञेति वक्तव्यम्**); but even if the additional words belong, as is possible, not to the Vārttika, but to the Bhāṣya, it is clear



distinctly quotes twice the Sūtra IV. 3, 116, which is a positive proof that it existed at his time, and was genuine enough.<sup>20</sup>

I will now give an instance from the Mahābhārata, which, in my belief, would be perfectly unintelligible, if *grantha* were taken only in the sense of "composition," and not also in that of "written book," or "volume." I am met here, however, with an objection; viz., that I ought first to show that the Mahābhārata possesses the qualification which Müller has appended to his quoted remark, or, in other words, that it is a work of "the early literature," since he says that "*grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book, in 'the

early literature,' " while he admits that it has that sense in the later literature. Both Müller and Weber agree that there was a Mahābhārata at the time of Āśwalāyana, since they quote a passage from his Grihya-Sūtra, where the name occurs (Müller, p. 42; Weber, "Literaturgeschichte," p. 56), and neither denies that a work prior to Āśwalāyana would have a claim to be called a work of the earlier literature. Both scholars however question,—and very rightly too,—the claim of the *present* Mahābhārata, to having been *that* Mahābhārata which is quoted by Āśwalāyana. It is, of course, impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to everyone who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature. To do justice to a subject of this kind, I should have not merely to enter into details which would be here out of place, but to discuss the prior important question, as to how far the printed text in which this colossal

<sup>20</sup> There is no Bhāṣya on IV. 3, 116, and, therefore, no commentary of Kaiyaṣa on this Sūtra. On the Vārtika 2, to IV. 3, 105, कृते यन्ने मयिकादियो ऽय् which is a criticism on Pāṇini IV. 3, 116, on account of the addition, मयिकादियो ऽय्, and, therefore, a proof that the latter Sūtra was originally existing, Patanjali says: कृते यन्ने इत्यत्र (4. c., IV. 3, 116) मयिकादियो ऽय् यत्तव: । मयिकाभिः कृते मायिकम्; and on a third Vārtika योवविभाषासिद्धं which is not printed in the Calcutta edition, he observes, योवविभाषावः करिष्यते । कृते यन्ने (IV. 3, 116) ततः सञ्ज्ञायां (IV. 3, 117) न कृत एवेति सिद्धये सञ्ज्ञाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति.



epos is generally known to us, may be relied upon ; and I should feel all the more bound to do so, as my collations of considerable portions of this text with the best MSS., in this country and abroad, fully convince me that it is neither advisable to make a translation of the Mahābhārata,—a labour which, if done once, should be done once for all,—nor to found a detailed criticism of the several portions of this work, on the printed text, however much I admire the industry, patience, and scholarship, of those who have accomplished the task of laying before us a first edition of this enormous work. Without their labours, it would have been still more difficult than it now is, to perceive the defects of the MSS.; but this tribute, which I gladly pay to their merits, does not dispense with my expressing the conviction, derived from my own labours, that no conclusion founded on special passages of the present text, is safe, before the differences of the MSS.—sometimes great—are thoroughly sifted and discussed with the help of the Commentaries.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Weber ("Indische Studien," I. p. 148) and Müller (pp. 44, 45, note) give a

In proceeding now to give an instance which I hold to belong to the early (though not the earliest) portions of the Mahā-

valuable synopsis of the leading characters of the Mahābhārata, as they occur in the text and the commentaries of Pāṇini. This synopsis, I conceive, must convince even the most sceptic, that Pāṇini cannot have ignored the renown of these personages, nor consequently, it is probable, the real or poetical events on which this renown was founded. It forms the subject-matter of the Mahābhārata. Some stress has been laid by both scholars on the circumstance, that the name Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍava does not occur in the Grammar of Pāṇini (Weber, "Indische Studien," p. 148; Müller, p. 44); but, since both have constructed their list as well from the Gāṇas and commentaries as from the Sūtras, it will not be amiss to add, that *Pāṇḍava* occurs in Kālyāṇa's gloss on Patañjali to IV. 1, 168, v. 4, and in the Kāśikā on IV. 1, 171, when the observation of the former implies, what I pointed at in a former remark, that the word Pāṇḍu does not occur in the Vārtika, as the name of Yudhiṣṭhira's father, because the word Pāṇḍava is too common a derivation to require a grammatical rule; Vārtika, पाण्डोर्वाच् यत्त्वः.—Patañjali, पाण्डः.—Kālyāṇa, पाण्डोरिति । बाह्वादिभूति (IV. 1, 96, etc.) चेत्तर्धनं कीदृशे गोव्याय रति (words of Patañjali on a previous Vārtika) दध्नामुचिदि-रादिषुः पाण्डोरयहादाचिवः । पाण्डव एवेव भवति.—Kāśikā on the same Vārtika (differently worded; quoted in the Calcutta edition, under the Śāṅkha IV. 1, 168, in the MSS. under IV. 1, 171). पाण्डः । दध्नायापाण्डव एव. The word पाण्डवेव occurs in the Kāśikā on the Gāṇa IV. 1, 123.

bhārata, I must submit, therefore, to having its validity acknowledged or rejected, according to the value the reader may attach to my opinion. Not to be misunderstood, however, I will add that I consider it as posterior to Pānini. But, as the date I shall assign hereafter to this grammarian will be older than the date originated by Dr. Boehtlingk, the passage in question will still be entitled to rank among the earlier literature. In the *Sāntiparvan* of the Mahābhārata we read : "Vasishtha spoke (to Janaka) 'The doctrines of the Vedas and the (philosophical) Śāstras which thou hast uttered, are rightly uttered by thee, but thou understandest them not; for the text (*grantha*) of the Vedas

and Śāstras is possessed by thee, yet, king, thou dost not know the real sense of the text (*grantha*) according to its truth; for he who is merely bent upon possessing the text (*grantha*) of the Veda and Śāstra, but does not understand the real sense of the text, his possession of them is an idle one; he carries *the weight of the book (grantha)* who does not know the sense of it; but he who knows the real sense of the text (*grantha*), his is not an idle acquisition of the text." In this instance, *grantha* is used in its double sense, composition or text, and *book*; for there can be no doubt that in the passage, "*Bhāraṁ sa vabale tasya granthasya*," "he carries the weight of the *grantha*," the last word can only refer to the material bulk of the book.

I will conclude my observations on this word with a remark on the phrase, "*granthato 'rthataścha*," which must undoubtedly be rendered in the sense proposed by Müller, "according to the text and according to the meaning." An analogous contrast, exactly in the same sense, is that of *kāṇḍa* and *padārtha*, which is of fre-

व. १३३ (the corrections are founded on the com. and MSS.): अवेतदुल्लभता वेदोक्तविद्येयम् । एवमेतत्तथा वेत्तस्य मुक्ताति (for वेत्तसिमु) तत्ता भवाम् । धायेति हि तत्ता यन्त्र उभयोर्वेदशास्त्रयोः । न च यन्त्रस्य तत्त्वज्ञो यथावत्स्य (for यथा. न त्) परिहर । यो हि वेदे च शास्त्रे च यन्त्रधारकतत्परः । न च यन्त्रार्थ-तत्त्वज्ञस्य तत्तारव्यं मुष्ठा । भारं स वहति तस्य यन्त्रकार्यं न वेत्ति यः । यस्तु यन्त्रा-वेत्तस्यज्ञो वाक्य यन्त्रावलो मुष्ठा ।

quent occurrence in Mīmāṃsā writers.<sup>32</sup> That, in the latter case, the meaning “text” is a secondary one of *kāṇḍa*, no one will dispute, since there is nothing in this word which points to “composition.” It must be allowable therefore to conceive, that its synonyme *grantha* may, through the same mental process as *kāṇḍa*, have assumed the secondary meaning of “text.”

There is another important word which Müller will not admit as evidence of Pāṇini’s having had a knowledge of writing,—for it is used by this grammarian,—the word *varṇa*. But the only reason he gives for invalidating its testimony is, that this word which, etymologically and otherwise, really means “colour,”—when having the sense of letter “does not mean colour in the sense of a painted letter, but the colouring or modulation of the voice” (p. 507). In the absence of any proof for this assertion, he adds, in a note: “Aristotle, Probl. x. 39 : τὰ δὲ γράμματα πᾶσι εἰσι τῆς

φωνῆς.” In this respect he coincides, for once, with Weber, not merely in the point at issue, but also in the remarkable brevity of his argument. For all that Weber says on the subject (“Indische Studien,” iv. 109) is: “The name *varṇa* is probably (*wohl*) to be understood of the ‘colouring,’ specializing (*specialisierung*) of the sound; compare *rakṭa*, which is employed in the Rikprātiśākhya in the sense of ‘nasalised’ (*nasalirt*). With *writing* it has nothing to do.” Now, I confess, that I always become somewhat suspicious when I meet with a definition which prefers the language of similes to plain prose. How, I must ask, for instance, does the figure of colouring apply to the notion of specialising? It is striking, moreover, that Weber, who starts with a *probability*, in two lines reaches a positive certainty, founded only on the analogy of *rakṭa*. And, in turning again to Müller’s words, I must, in the first place, ask, what does an analogy taken from Aristotle prove for the Sanskrit word? But, supposing it could prove anything, would it not be more plausible to make use of it in favour of the contrary conclusion to that which Müller

<sup>32</sup> E.g. in Mādhyama’s Jainmīya-nyāya-māla-vistara, where वाङ्मनसमय is contrasted with पदवाङ्मनसमय, for instance, V. 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc. etc.

has drawn ? Aristotle speaks of *γράφματα*, which word applies originally to none but *written* signs ; and if *he* may apply *γράφματα* to the voice, might not the same liberty be claimed for a Sanskrit word meaning a written letter ? Again, the notion of “ colouring,” itself supposes necessarily a condition which may be called indifferent or colourless : green, blue, red, are colours, because there is an indifferent condition, called white. A coloured sound is not intelligible, except on the supposition that there is also an indifferent or uncoloured sound. Hence we speak, for instance, in modern terminology, of *i*, *u*, *r*, *e*, *o*, etc., as coloured vowels, because we contrast them with the fundamental uncoloured vowel *a*. But I shall show that *varṇa* is applied indifferently to all vowels, inclusive of *a*.

I do not dispute that *varṇa* is used like *γράφματα*, “ letter,” also for the spoken letter,<sup>22</sup> but I hold that there is strong

evidence to prove that its *original* sense is that of *written* letter, as arising naturally from its primitive sense “ colour,” and that the appearance of this word in Pāṇini or other authors, may serve as one of many arguments that they practised the art of writing. To make good this statement I must advert to another word which may also mean letter, and in this sense is always the latter part of a compound, the former of which is the letter itself designated by it, viz., the word *kāra* ; e. g. *a-kāra*, the letter *a* ; *i-kāra*, the letter *i*, etc. It corresponds with *varṇa*, in the synonymous expressions, *a-varṇa*, *i-varṇa*, etc. Kātyāyana looks upon it in the light of an affix, probably on account of its being always compounded with the letter itself ; and Kaiyyāṭa enlarges upon the expression *varṇa*, in saying that this word means, in the Vārttika quoted, “ that which expresses a *varṇa* or adequately realizes a *varṇa* (*i. e.*, is the adequate value of a *varṇa*).” He, therefore, like Kātyāyana, contrasts the purport of *kāra* and *varṇa*, though *a-kāra* and *a-varṇa*, *i-kāra* and *i-varṇa*, may appear to be,—and we shall see

<sup>22</sup> Thus Nagojibhaṭṭa explains, in the commencement of the Vivaraṇa, मादो यवोः ; or Kaiyyāṭa says : योयवयो ये यवोः etc.

from what reason,—convertible terms.<sup>34</sup> To understand, however, this contrast, and the use of two other terms which I shall have to name, I will first give instances from Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and the Bhāṣya, which will illustrate the manner in which these grammarians have used both terms.

We find : *a-kāra*, Śivas. 1, v. 1 (omitted in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini); II. 4, 30, v. 4.; IV. 4, 128, v. 2; III. 3, 108, v. 3, P.;—*ā-kāra*, Śivas. 1, v. 1 (om. Calc. ed.); I. 1, v. 4; I. 1, 56, v. 11; III.

<sup>34</sup> Vārttika 3, III. 3, 108 : वर्षोत्पारः—वर्षोत्पारप्रत्ययो वत्तलः । अकार हकारः; Kātyāyaṇa—वर्षोदिति वर्षवर्षाविवो वर्षोत्पारकादित्यर्थः । चउत्तयवृषा-  
तत्त्वविज्ञं भवति । अस्मिन् यन्मासि (VII. 4, 32) यथा तथा कृत्विष्येयमुदयागुकरसा-  
दृशि ह्यकार इति. To remove the apparent strangeness of the manner in which I have rendered अनुकरस which usually means “imitating, doing in conformity with,” I sub-  
join two other instances from Kātyāyaṇa, where the same word is also used by him in the sense of “adequate, or real value.” Kātyāyana having given this derivation of अकार,  
“अन्नोतिवा सरो ऽचरत्,” and Patañjali having added अन्नोतिवा पुनरयमौचित्यदिकः  
सरप्रत्ययः, Kātyāyaṇa observes अन्नोतिवेति । सरप्रत्ययस्यानुवचनोपेक्षे इति अनुकरसं सर  
इति etc.; or सर्वेषामकाराणां यत्सामान्यं तदनुकरायमकारः.

1, 8, P.; VI. 1, 87, kār. 2, P.;—*i-kāra*, III. 3, 108, v. 3, P.; IV. 4, 128, v. 2;—*i-kāra*, VII. 1, 39, v. 3; VIII. 2, 15, v. 1, P.;—*u-kāra*, VI. 1, 185, par. 1, P.;—*ri-kāra*, P. on Śivas. 2 and Vārtt. (om. in the Calc. ed.); I. 1, 9, v. 2; VI. 1, 101, v. 1, P.; VIII. 4, 1, v. 1; *ri-kāra*, VI. 1, 87, v. 1 (om. Calc. ed.);—*lṛi-kāra*, P. on Śivas. 2; Śivas. 4, v. 5, (om. Calc. ed.); I. 1, 9, v. 2; VI. 1, 101, v. 2, P.;—*e-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 3 (om. Calc. ed.), IV. 3, 23, v. 6;—*o-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 3 (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 72, v. 1; VII. 2, 1, v. 1, 2, 3; VIII. 3, 20, v. 1;—*au-kāra*, VIII. 2, 89, P.;—*ka-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4, 5 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 3, 44, v. 1, P.;—*ṅa-kāra*, I. 3, 12, v. 1, P.;—*cha-kāra*, P. on III. 1, 8;—*jha-kāra* and *ña-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 8 (om. Calc. ed.);—*ṇa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 6 (om. Calc. ed.); VI. 1, 1, v. 10; VI. 4, 120, v. 1; VIII. 3, 55, v. 1, P.;—*ta-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 2, 48, v. 1;—*da-kāra* and *pa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4;—*dha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 78, v. 1, P. and v. 3;—*na-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 2;—*bha-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 8 (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 72, v. 1;

—*ma-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 7 ;—*ya-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 6 ;—*la-kāra*, I. 3, 3, v. 2 ;—*va-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 ;—*śa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 ;—*sha-kāra*, VI. 1, 1, v. 10 ;—*sa-kāra*, V. 3, 72, v. 1 ;—*ha-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 (all these Vārtt. to the Śivas. om. in the Calc. ed.).

On the other hand: *a-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 1 (om. Calc. ed.); IV. 1, 1, v. 3 ; VI. 3, 97, v. (not of K., but mentioned in P.); VIII. 3, 64, v. 3 ; VII. 1, 82, v. 2 ; and in the *Sūtras* : VI. 1, 182 ; VI. 2, 90 ; VI. 3, 112 ;—*i-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to the Śivas. 1 and 3 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 2, 10. P.; VIII. 2, 106, v. 1. P.; Sūtra VII. 4, 53 ; *u-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 1. (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 83, v. 5, and Kār. 1 ; VII. 2, 10. P.; VIII. 2, 106, v. 1. P.;—*varṇa y* (or *y-varṇa*) Sūtra VII. 4, 53.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The instances quoted are restricted, as I have stated, to the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, as they occur in the Bhāṣhya of Patanjali, and to the latter, (marked P.) Some of the above-named Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, “Kāś.” or “Siddh.-k.,” but they occur, too, in the Bhāṣhya. These instances might have been multiplied, and had it been necessary to add quotations from the Kāśikā, Siddh.-k.,

The foregoing combinations of a letter of the alphabet with *kāra* and *varṇa* are, I believe, all that occur in the grammarians named, and they show at once, that *kāra* enters into composition with all vowels and all consonants, provided the latter are followed by the letter *u*—(for it may be assumed without risk that the absence of some combinations, such as *kha-kāra*, *gha-kāra*, etc.,

or the words of the Calcutta editors: f. i. by *ṛ-kāra*, VI. 1, 91, Kāśikā ; Kalyāṇa on Śivas. 5 ;—*ṣha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 7, Kāśikā ; VIII. 3, 34, Kāśikā ; VIII. 4, 54, Kāśikā ;—*ḍha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 55, Kāśikā ;—*ṭha-kāra*, I. 2, 23, Kāśikā ; VIII. 3, 7, Kāśikā ; VIII. 3, 34, Kāśikā ;—*na-kāra*, VIII. 2, 16, Kāśikā ;—*pha-kāra*, I. 2, 23, Kāśikā ; VIII. 4, 54, Kāśikā ;—*ja-kāra*, I. 3, 8, Kāśikā ;—or *ṛi-carṇa*, I. 1, 9, v. 1, Siddh.-k. ; V. 3, 83, v. 5, Kāśikā (thus quoted in the Calcutta edition, but not met with in the MS. 2441 of the E.I.H.) ; VIII. 4, 1, v. 1, Kāśikā and Siddh.-k. ;—*ṛi-carṇa*, I. 1, 9, v. 1, Siddh.-k. The very unusual *ra-kāra* in the Commentary to VIII. 2, 15 (it occurs chiefly in mystical, not in grammatical, works ; e.g. in the dialogue between Umā and Śiva of the Rudrāyāmalatantra), I must leave to the responsibility of the Calcutta editors ; for the Bhāṣhya on the Vārttika does not speak of the letter *ra*, and the Kāśikā and Siddh.-k. have, instead of *raḍṛānātāt*, the usual *repṛānātāt*. I have omitted, of course, to quote passages of the *Sūtras*, etc., where *varṇa* or *kāra* have other meanings than “letter.”

is merely a matter of chance, not of necessity ; compare the additional instances of the note 35)—while *varṇa* is joined merely to vowels and to such consonants as are *without a vowel sound*<sup>28</sup> (cf. Sūtra, VII. 4, 53).

This circumstance is significant, but at once intelligible, if we draw a distinction between a spoken sound and a written letter. To sound a consonant (*k*, *t*, *p*, etc.) we must combine it with a vowel ; in writing, we may omit that vowel, and should omit it, unless it have its own peculiar value : the spoken *k* has a different value to the written *ka*, which means *k* and *a*. Unless, therefore, Pāṇini intended, for instance, to give a rule on *y* and *a*, he could not employ a term *ya*, which merely refers to the spoken sound *y* ; or, if he did so, he would have had to give a special rule to the effect that the sound *a* in this combination is mute or insignificant, as he has given various rules to a similar

<sup>28</sup> Pāṇini never uses *varṇa* of a consonant followed by the vowel *a* ; but the late Kāśikā writes *सुम हलितीयवर्ण*, or *सवगुड हलितावर्ण*, if the MSS. are to be trusted.

effect when he employs for his technical purposes *anubandhas* or letters without significance. Now, such a rule on the suppression of vowels which appear in his grammar, but are not to be sounded when the word with which they are combined becomes a spoken word, is given by him (I. 3, 2), but for a distinct and special purpose, and not with the intent of *general* application ; a vowel, such as it is treated in this rule, is (and ought to have been always edited with the appropriate sign) *anunāsika*. Therefore, when Pāṇini gives a rule in which the vowel *a* is appended to a consonant, but valueless,—though the absence of its value would not follow from the rule quoted (I. 3, 2) or otherwise,—the commentators notice such an exceptional case as worthy of a special remark, and defend it in their fashion if they deem it advisable.<sup>27</sup> In other words, expressions like *a-kāra*, *i-kāra*, *u-kāra*, etc., and *a-varṇa*, *i-varṇa*, *u-varṇa*, etc., are

<sup>27</sup> The Kāśikā, e.g., observes on the Śivasūtra चञ्च, — इकारादिष्वकार उच्चार्यो नानुबन्धः । स्वकारे लृकारो ऽनुनासिक हस्तेषुः प्रतिज्ञायते ; or the Sūtra VII. 1, 25 चट्ठु where the first च is mute, is excused by Kāśikāyana in this way : चिह्नं लृगनुनासिकोपधात्.

equivalent, because the value of a *spoken vowel* coincides with that of the *written vowel-sign*; they admit of a doubt whether *kára* or *varṇa*, or both or neither, apply to a written sign; but when we see that *sa-kára*, *bha-kára*, *na-kára*, *sha-kára*, *ta-kára*, etc., are portions of rules, in which not *sa*, *bha*, *na*, *sha*, *ta*, etc., but *s*, *bh*, *n*, *śh*, *t*, etc., are meant, we perceive at once that *kára* must apply to the uttered sound. On the other hand, when Pāṇini speaks (VII. 4, 53) of two *varṇas*, *yí*, i.e. of a *varṇa y* and of a *varṇa i*, we must conclude that *varṇa* did not apply to the spoken sound, but to the written sign, since the value *y* without a vowel would be unpronounceable.

I will give some additional proof for this conclusion on the meaning of both these words. In the foregoing remarks I rendered *kára* in combination with *i*, *u*, *ea*, etc. "letter," since we use this word in its double acceptation, uttered sound and written sign. If *kára*, however, is the uttered sound, it will be a synonyme of *śabda*, and we find it therefore, e.g. in the comment of the Kāśiká, used as a convertible term with *śabda*.<sup>28</sup> *This is never the case with varṇa*.

<sup>28</sup> Pāṇini (VIII. 2, 37) uses the expression स्योः, which is rendered by the Kāśiká

Since an uttered sound may comprise more than *one* letter, we find *kára*, as Kaiyaṭa already remarks (compare note 34), equally applied to complicated sounds, e.g. *eva-kára* (III. 4, 67, v. 3 and 6; I. 4, 8, Kás.; VI. 2, 80 P.); and Pāṇini, who never uses it for expressing a simple letter-sound (because his terms are such as apply to a written book), applies it to the sound *vashat* in *vashat-kára* (I. 2. 35). *Varṇa* is never used in a similar manner.

In this respect *kára* coincides with the term *karana*, which occurs in combinations quite analogous, e.g. *iti-karana*, I. 1, 44, v. 1, P.; IV. 2, 21, v. 2, P.; *duk-karana*, VII. 1, 25, v. 3; *chit-karana*, VII. 1, 25, v. 4; 3, 118, v. 6; *chit-karana*, III. 1, 8, v. 4, P.; or even combined with *kára*, as *evakára-karana*, VI. 2, 80, Kás., etc. *Varṇa*, on the contrary, is used by Kātyāyana and Pa-

सकारे च. The word सकार is used in a similar manner; e.g., in these combinations: तिपद, VI. 2, 81, Kāśiká (ति being there the last syllable of यिति); गुपद, VI. 2, 50, Kāśiká (गु being affix); चकार, VII. 1, 25, v. 4, P. (चहृ being the ending of pronouns in the neuter); अस्मिन्, VII. 1, 30, v. 1, P. (अस्मिन् being the declension ending).



tanjali in the same manner as in Pāṇini's Sūtra which speaks of the *varṇa y*, viz., of *unutterable consonantal sounds*, which therefore must have been written signs. Thus, a discussion is raised by Kātyāyana on the Sūtra VI. 4, 49, which treats of the elision of *ya*, in reference to the question whether *ya* is to be dropped or merely *y*; and on this occasion, he calls the former *sanghāta*, "combination," (viz., of *y* and *a*), and the latter *varṇa*. In a Vārtika to VII. 3, 50, a similar discussion is started on *ḥa*; again, *ḥa* is called there *sanghāta*, and the unpronounceable *ḥ*, *varṇa*. The same term *sanghāta* is applied to *ka* in a Vārtika to VII. 3, 44, and *varṇa* to the vowelless *k*.

The same sense of *varṇa* is conveyed by a definition of Patanjali concerning the term *upadeśa*, which literally means demonstration, and then assumes the special sense of grammatical mode of denoting, or of grammatical appearance, and of the book in which such grammatical denotations occur: <sup>29</sup> it means, for instance, the

<sup>29</sup> Patanjali on the Sūtra I. 3, 2: किं पुनरुपदेशम् । शास्त्रम् । A Vārtika on I. 3, 3: सिद्धं तु अवसितांशत्वात्; on which Patanjali comments: सिद्धमेतत् । क्वम् ।

grammatical appearance of the radicals in the Dhātupāṭha, or the Dhātupāṭha itself; and, in like manner, the grammatical appearance of the letters in the Śivasūtras, "the root of Pāṇini's Grammar."

अवसितांशत्वात् । अवसितांशो ह्यसिद्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् (Kātyāyana, says Patanjali, ought rather to have said क्व . . . भवति; these latter words of Patanjali have been mistaken by the Calcutta editors for the Vārtika itself; and they of course again make their appearance in the reprint of Dr. Boehtlingk, who besides, and for the sake of greater clearness, adds: "Ein Vārtika.," and prints •क्व, as if he had looked into the Mahābhāṣya and amended the "Vārtika" from the original work.—Patanjali then continues:) किं पुनरुपदेशः । धातुप्रतिपदिकप्रत्ययविपातावसादेशाः.—On account of the double sense of *upadeśa*, "book, etc." and "grammatical appearance," Patanjali raises this question when speaking of the Sūtra VI. 1, 45: क्वमिदं विज्ञायते । एष उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदेवं यदुपदेश इति, when Kātyāyana is still more explicit: क्वमिति । यदोपदेशश्च क्वम् । क्वमिदं विज्ञायते । तदा विशेषणानुपादानादिव नास्ति तदन्वयविधित्वं यो भवति एष उपदेश इति । यदा तु कर्मसाधन उपदेशश्च उपदिशमानार्थवाची यच्चै च यस्मिन् तदोपदेशस्यैवाविशेषात्तदन्वयविधित्वं यो भवति एवम् यदुपदेश इति.—A similar question of Patanjali occurs in his com. on VI. 1, 186: यदुपदेशादिति क्वमिदं विज्ञायते । क्वारो य उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदकारानं यदुपदेश इति.

mar," as Nagojibhaṭṭa calls them. For when Kātyāyana, in several introductory Vārtikas, enlarges on the purpose of the letters, as they occur in the Śivasūtras, Patanjali asks :<sup>40</sup> " Now, what is *upa-désa*, or technical denotation ? Pronunciation. How is that ? The radical *dś*, 'to show,' (whence *upa-désa* is derived) implies the act of pronouncing ; for, after having pronounced the *varṇas*, one may say, 'these *varṇas* are *upadishā*, or technically denoted.' " Patanjali distinguishes, therefore, between *varṇas* and *upadishā-varṇas* ; only the latter are, according to him, the pronounceable *varṇas* ; and it would have been useless for him to draw this distinction, if *varṇa* itself originally signified the spoken letter.

What the *simple* consonantal sound is to the pronounceable consonant, the *simple* vowel is, in some measure, to the diphthong or combined vowel sound. It is, perhaps, on this ground that, while we find a general name for vowel-letters, viz., *swara-varṇa*

<sup>40</sup> Patanjali on the Introduction : चञ्च क उपदेशः । उच्चारणम् । कुत एतत् । दिशि-  
रुच्चारणमिदं । उच्चार्य हि यदोपाह । अयदिष्टा रुने यदो रति ।

(IV. 1, 3, v. 7), the compounds *e-varṇa*, *o-varṇa*, *ai-varṇa*, *au-varṇa*, neither occur in Pāṇini nor Kātyāyana, for *e* is *a* and *i*, *o* = *a* and *u*, *ai* = *a* and *e*, *au* = *a* and *o*. Their general name is, in "older grammars," *sandhy-akshara* ; and in Kātyāyana and Patanjali, for *e* and *o*, *prāśishā-varṇa*, for *ai* and *au*, *samāhāra-varṇa*.<sup>41</sup> The Kāśikā, it is true, speaks of these vowels simply as *varṇas* ;<sup>42</sup> but, in the first place, it does not form a compound *e-varṇa*, etc., like *i-varṇa*, etc. ; and, secondly, however great the value of this commentary, it cannot always be considered as fulfilling the conditions of critical accuracy, and cannot therefore be quoted as evidence against Pāṇini or Kātyāyana. But even if there were in Pāṇini's Grammar such compounds as *e-varṇa*, *o-varṇa*, their occurrence

<sup>41</sup> Kaiyaṭa to Patanjali on Śivas. 3 and 4 : संञ्चरणीयत्वयो यूनीषाद्विज्ञो-  
Whether this term "older teachers" applies to the present Prātiśākhya where the same term occurs, or not, will be included in the subsequent discussion on the relation of these works to Pāṇini's grammar.—Patanjali on the same Śivas. : रसादिवी समाहारवर्णो  
the same on I. 1, 9 : (ए चो) प्रशिष्टवर्णवित्ति .

<sup>42</sup> Kāśikā on the Śivas. 3 : ए चो रतिती यर्णी ; on Śivas. 4 : ऐ चो रतिती यर्णी .

would not invalidate the conclusion that *varṇa* represents the written sign, since it is the combination of *varṇa* with a consonant that alone can enable us to decide the question at issue. And that there are other values in Pāṇini which could not have been spoken, though they are an essential portion of his Grammar, will be seen afterwards.

How far *varṇa* coincides, and is synonymous with *akṣhara*, "syllable," or not, is obvious: it coincides with the latter term when it means vowel, otherwise not.<sup>43</sup> The distinction between these terms may therefore be comprised in the following definition: *kāra* denotes the pronounceable sound, which *must* always be one syllable, but may also consist of more than one syllable; if denoting one syllable, it may mean a simple vowel (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī*), or a complex vowel (*e, o, ai, au*), or a simple consonant made pronounceable by a vowel (usually the vowel

*a*); *kāra* denotes more especially the pronounceable sound represented either by more than one syllable or by one syllable containing more than one consonant. *Varṇa*, on the contrary, implies merely the simple letter,—among vowels, especially the simple vowel; among consonants, merely the *single consonant, not accompanied with a vowel sign*. Lastly, *akṣhara* means "syllable" in our sense of the word, and may sometimes therefore coincide in value with *kāra*, or *varṇa*, in the same way that *kāra* and *varṇa* are apparently convertible terms when they are the latter parts of compounds, the former of which are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī*.

I have, in the foregoing observations, purposely abstained from alluding to the use which has been made of these terms in the existing Prātiśākhya of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana; in the first place, because it was my object to show their meaning in Pāṇini's work, as well as in those old Commentaries which have strictly adhered to his terminology, and because it would have been an uncritical proceeding to confound the meaning or bearing of these terms in works belonging to a different class of Hindu litera-

<sup>43</sup> Kātyāyana on VIII. 2, 89 : अक्षरस्य ; the same on the Introduction to the Śivas. : अक्षरं अक्षरसहितो ऽक्षः ; यथा च यवानह इति यवाक्षरमिति.

ture ;<sup>44</sup> secondly, because the date of these works, themselves,—or, at least, their relative position towards Pāṇini,—will have to be ascertained, before any conclusion can be drawn from a difference which may have existed between them in the use of these terms. Though I shall recur to this point, I may now state my belief, that even if grammatical works older than Pāṇini had used *varṇa* in the general sense of *akṣhara*, such a circumstance would not disprove the fact that *varṇa* might have meant a written sign even before Pāṇini's time. There is, for instance, an introductory Vārtika

<sup>44</sup> This confusion, unhappily, does not seldom occur in the definition of words, as found in our dictionaries; thus, *वर्ण* is used by Yāska in the general sense "reduplicated," and as applied to a *dhātū*, or radical portion of the verb (Nir. IV. 23: *हरि* इतीतिष्वुहो *व्यञ्जः*; or IV. 25: *रिवानुतिरव्यञ्जः*); in Pāṇini, however, it means the first two syllables of a reduplicated *angā* or base (VI. 1, 5); *व्यञ्ज* means reduplication, in the *Nirukṭis* (V. 12), on the form *व्यञ्ज*, *आदिवाच्येनोपहितोपधामादौ* *बलविरसकर्म*; in Pāṇini it means the first *syllable* of reduplication (VI. 1, 4). To philosophical terms this remark applies in a still stronger sense; they have been generally dealt with as if the same term, *अङ्ग*, *मन्त्र*, *आद्य*, *मुनि*, etc., had the same sense in all the philosophical systems, which is not the case.

of Kātyāyana which countenances the assumption that *varṇa* had such a sense in some older grammarian; but the very manner in which it is brought before the reader shows that Kātyāyana contrasts the use of this word in Pāṇini with that in his predecessor, and confirms, therefore, the definition I have given before. At the same time, it leaves the question undecided whether *varṇa* was, or was not, a written letter in this older work. The Vārttika I am alluding to occurs at the end of the general introduction, and refers to the following Vaidik passage mentioned in the beginning of the introduction: "Whoever establishes this speech according to its words, its accent, and its syllables, he is fit to institute or to perform sacrificial work; and that it is a duty to study grammar, follows from the words 'let us be fit to institute, or to perform sacrificial work.'"<sup>45</sup> The Vārttika then says: "*akṣhara*, you must

<sup>45</sup> Patanjali: *यो वा एसां पदयः स्वरस्यो ऽवस्यो वाचं विदधाति स आलिङ्गीनो भवति । आलिङ्गीनाः खानेवचोचं वाक्यस्य*; Kaiyaṣa: *अलिङ्गमईतीतिआलिङ्गीनो बलवानः* (Pāṇini, V. 1, 71) । *अलिङ्गमईतीति वाक्यो ऽआलिङ्गीनः* (ib. Vārttika).

know, means *na kshara*, i. e., not perishable," and continues, "or *akshara* comes from *as*, 'to pervade,' with the affix *sara* (*Kaiyya*: 'because it pervades the sense')," and concludes, "or they call *varṇa* so in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian)" [*Patanjali*: i. e. "or in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian) *varṇa* has the name *akshara*." *Kaiyya*: "For it is said in another grammar, that the *varṇas* are *aksharas*." *Nagojibhaṭṭa*: "In a similar manner the term *aksharasamānamāya* means a multitude of *varṇas*, as seen in the Vedas"].<sup>46</sup>

Before I proceed to give other evidence as to Pāṇini's knowledge of writing, I will draw attention to two words which have here a claim to notice; and first to the word *úrdhwa*. It is used

<sup>46</sup> *Kātyāyana*: *अक्षरं न चरे विधातुः । चतुर्तिथी सरो ऽक्षरम् । वर्षे वाक्चः पूर्वपूर्वे ।*  
*Patanjali* (on the latter): *अथवा पूर्वपूर्वे वर्षाक्षराभिरिति संज्ञा निबन्धे; Kātyāyana*:  
 ..... पूर्वपूर्व इति । *आक्षरान्तरं वर्षो अक्षरादिति वचनात्* .....; *Nagojibhaṭṭa*:  
 ..... पूर्वपूर्ववद्वे षष्ठीतत्पुरुष इति भावः । एवं वाचस्पत्याचार्य एवञ्च नृतिस्त्वो  
 वर्षसंज्ञात एवञ्च तात्पर्यम्.

adverbially in the sense of "after;" for instance, in *Manu*, ix. 77, *úrdhwaṃ samvatsarāt*, "after a year," or, *Chhândogya-Upanishad*: *tata úrdhwaṃ vatsahyāmi*, "after that I shall say." But *úrdhwa* means, originally, "upwards, above, high, or (in combination with an ablative) higher." It is possible to conceive progress as an act of rising, when the sense "after" would follow from this latter acceptance. But it is more probable that the metaphorical sense of the word was first applied to passages in books,—where it is frequently used in this way,—before it became a more general one; and, if so, the figure would naturally follow from the description I have given of a Hindu book; for the beginning of a Sanskrit MS.,—as may still be seen in some of the oldest specimens,—was at the bottom of the pile of leaves which constitute its bulk. What is "above," in a Hindu book, is, therefore, "after;" while, with us, the term "above" denotes the opposite sense, from the circumstance of the progress of our books being a descending one. And this assumption is corroborated by a second synonymous word, viz.: *udaya*, which also means, originally, "going upwards," and

then, "after, following," and which, moreover, is never used in this sense, except of passages in books. It occurs frequently thus in the Prātiśākhya; but, for the reasons stated before, I content myself with quoting, for its occurrence in Pāṇini, the Sūtra VIII. 4, 67."

"If writing," says Müller, "had been known to Pāṇini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing" (p. 507).

As Weber, in his "Indische Studien" (vol. iv. p. 89), had already mentioned two grammatical terms of "Pāṇini," viz., *swaritet* and *udāttet*, which he considers as "founded on graphical

appearance," I cannot suppose that Müller has overlooked the remark of this scholar, but must assume that he has silently rejected it, either on account of its incorrectness or its inconclusiveness. It is true, that the latter term does not occur at all in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, nor the former, such as it is given by Weber; but, in the first place, there can be no doubt that, in the Sūtra I. 3, 72, *swaritanīyas* must be analysed *swaritetas* and *nītas* (comp. the commentaries), and on the other hand, Müller can neither have ignored that Pāṇini's expression, *anudātāṅgīyas* (I. 3, 12), is equivalent to *anudāttetas* and *īgīyas*, nor that the term *anudāttet* distinctly occurs in the rules III. 2, 149 and VI. 1, 186. His absolute silence on this point was probably, therefore, not caused by Weber's partial inaccuracy, but by the reference the latter gives when naming these terms,—the reference to Dr. Boehtlingk's "Comment" on the Sūtra I. 3, 11. For it must be readily admitted that the gloss of this writer is quite enough to raise the strongest apprehensions as to the sanity of Pāṇini, provided that it does not induce the reader to arrive at a peculiar view of the

"For the same reasons I do not avail myself of the word *वर्णित* "above," though it occurs in the same sense, "after," e.g., in Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya, I. 33. (The word *वर्णित* is used in the sense "before," e.g., in Uvāṇa's com. on this Prātiśākhya, I. 85; *वर्णित*, in the sense "after," e.g., in the introduction of the Jaiminiya-nyāya-māhā-vistara).

fitness of Pāṇini's "editor" himself to compose a comment on this great grammarian.<sup>48</sup>

48 I subjoin a literal copy of this gloss, which but poorly illustrates the character of the second volume of Dr. Boehtlingk's "edition" of Pāṇini. It runs thus:—"Wo der Circumflex gestanden hat, will ich nicht entscheiden; wenn zu *Pāṇini's* Zeiten die Accente in der gewöhnlichen Schrift nicht gebraucht wurden, konnte der Circumflex über einen beliebigen Buchstaben des *adhikāra* gesetzt werden, ohne Verwirrung hervorzubringen. Die Handschriften unseres Grammatikers, die ich verglichen habe, sind alle aus der neuesten Zeit und bezeichnen diesen Accent ebenso wenig wie die nasalen Vocale im *spadeya*. Wenn ich 2 *vārtikas* zu unserer Regel recht verstehe, so wurde bei einem *adhikāra* ein Buchstabe angefügt (der vielleicht der Träger des Circumflex war) und zwar so oft als der *adhikāra* in der Folge ergänzt werden musste; konnte er nicht so weit ergänzt werden, dann musste man ihn die fehlenden Male bei den vorhergehenden (?) Regeln ergänzen. Hier die beiden *vārtika's* selbst: चावतिबो ऽनुवृत्ति तावतो योवावतिबो ऽनुवृत्ति एति वक्तव्यं ॥ १ ॥ मयसि प्रागुक्त एति वक्तव्यं ॥ २ ॥" Translation: "Where the circumflex [*sic.*, this rendering of *avarita*] shows that the writer has no idea of the nature of this accent] was placed, I will not decide (*sic.*); if, at the time of Pāṇini, accents were not used in common writing, the circumflex could be put over any letter of an *adhikāra* without causing confusion. The MSS. of our grammarian which I have compared (*sic.*) are all of the most recent date, and mark this accent as little

I must, therefore, while rejecting Weber's reference, defend first his quotation of the Sūtra with the assistance of Kātyā-

as the nasal vowels in the *spadeya*. If I understand rightly two *Vārtikas* to our rule, a letter (which, perhaps, was the bearer of the circumflex) was added to an *adhikāra*: that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel; if it could not be supplied so often, one had to supply it when wanted, at the preceding (?) [this query belongs to Dr. B.] rules. Here are the two *Vārtikas* themselves: [then follow the Sanskrit words as given above].—The latter words ("if it could not," etc.) are beyond my comprehension; for, what reasons could prevent an *adhikāra* from being supplied, and if there was such an obstructed *adhikāra*, how could it be supplied at a preceding rule? I doubt, however, whether this sentence, which is intended to represent the meaning of the second *Vārtika* as quoted above, was understood by its own author. But the very words of this "*Vārtika*" revenge themselves on the person who has ill-used them so much: they betray the character of the work which has commented on them. For, however intelligible they are in themselves, it must be observed that the Calcutta Pañḍits have made a mistake in the wording of this *Vārtika*. Dr. Boehtlingk, therefore, in giving himself the appearance of having quoted a rule laboriously examined in an original work, is simply detected in reprinting, without any examination whatever, the error of the Calcutta editors. And this, I may add, is generally the case in his "comment." The fact, in short, is this:—the Kāśikā and Siddhānta have no *Vārtikas* on this Sūtra, and in the Mahābhāṣya the words given belong to two dis-

yana and Patanjali. Pāṇini says (I. 3, 11): "An *adhikāra*, or heading rule (will be recognized in my Grammar) by the accent

tinct passages, which have been erroneously contracted by the Paṇḍits into one; viz., to a passage of a Vārtika, *युवसि प्राक्चक्षस्*, and to a passage from the commentary of Patanjali: *युवसि प्राक्चक्षन् क्षतेवस् । प्रावसुत इति वक्षस्* ("Kātyāyana ought to have said—instead of *प्राक्*, *प्राक्* with a word following in the ablative"). The second of these passages is therefore merely a correction, by Patanjali, of the vague expression of Kātyāyana, and the *इति वक्षस्* which conveys the correction, becomes purposeless, or assumes a different bearing, in the version of the Calcutta edition. And I may add, that the Paṇḍits have erred, too, in publishing what is their first Vārtika, for they mistook the comment of, and a quotation made by, Patanjali, for the text of a Vārtika. The reprint has been, of course, as conscientious in the latter case as in the former. Compare for both Vārtikas the following note with its translation. But to show in its proper light the astounding explanation of Dr. Boehtlingk on this second Vārtika, I shall illustrate his ingenuity by taking some instances of the Kāśikā, as quoted in its comment on this Sūtra, and apply to them his comment on the first Vārtika. According to the Kāśikā, the Sūtras VI. 4, 129; III. 1, 91; VI. 4, 1; IV. 1, 1; III. 1, 1, are among those marked with a *swarita*, to indicate that they are *adhikāras*; the first of these *adhikāras* extends over 47, the second over 541, the third over 613, the fourth over 1190, and the fifth over 1821 Sūtras. If we credit, therefore, the explanation of Dr. Boehtlingk, a letter of the alphabet (he does not say which; probably, therefore, any

*swarita*."<sup>49</sup> Upon this Patanjali remarks: "Why does he say that?"—*Vārtika*: "An *adhikāra* ..... to every rule belonging to it; its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation."—*Patanjali*: "An *adhikāra* (says Kātyāyana) is made (so as to

one) was added, perhaps, as he says in the parenthesis, as the bearer of this *swarita*, "that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel." In other words, in the five instances quoted such a letter was added to the Sūtra VI. 4, 129, 47 times, and so on to the other Sūtras severally 541, 613, 1190, and 1821 times! And this method, he conceives, had been devised in a kind of literature, where shortness is the chief object, and where "an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Surely, it requires neither knowledge nor scholarship, but merely something else, to deter a rational writer from eliciting such a sense from a sane book.

<sup>49</sup> Pāṇini I. 3, 11: *स्वरितमिदमुच्यते*.—*Vārtika* omitted in the Calc. ed. at this Sūtra, but mentioned VI. 1, 138, where it occurs as a quotation) *अधिकारः प्रतियोगं तन्नामिदंशाब्धः*.—Patanjali: *अधिकारः क्रियते प्रतियोगं तन्नामिदंशाब्ध इति । किमिदं प्रतियोगमिति । योगं योगं प्रति प्रतियोगं योमे योगे तन्नाम यद्वयं माकारमिति*.—Kātyāyana: *स्वरितेतितीत्यंभूतवचनं तृतीया । स्वरितेनाधिकारो वक्ष्यते इत्यर्थः । स्वरितत्वं सूत्राणां केवलमधिकारमागार्थं प्रतिपादयते न तु*



apply) to every rule belonging to it; its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation.' What does that mean, 'to every rule belonging to it?' 'To every rule belonging to it,' means in reference to each such rule; and he wants to imply that I must not make special mention (of the *adhi-kāra*) in each such rule."—*Kaīyaṭa*: "The words, 'by the accent *swarita*,' [in Sanskrit it is only one word], are the third case in the sense of 'such and such a mark' (as ruled by Pāṇini, II. 3, 21); i.e. an *adhi-kāra* is marked with the accent *swarita*. The plan to mark *words which are in the Sūtra* with the *swarita*, is merely devised in order that the *adhi-kāra* may become recognizable, but it has *nothing to do with practical application* [i.e. the *swarita* is not pronounced].

प्रयोगसमवाचि । अधिकारश्चब्दे भावसाधनो वा । विनियोगो लोके अधिकार उच्यते स एवेह नुहते । किमर्थमिति । आकाङ्क्षादिवश्यात्मकतया संभवो लोको एव अधिकारतीति प्रश्नः—..... Vārtika (omitted in the Calc. ed.)  
अधिकारपरिभाषाज्ञानं तु — Patanjali: अधिकारपरिभाषाज्ञानं तु भवति । न चाप्येतद्विषयत्वमधिकारोऽनुवर्तते इति.—Vārtika (omitted in the Calc. ed.)

The word *adhi-kāra* either expresses a condition or it expresses an act; in common language, *adhi-kāra* is the same as *vinijoga*, or appointment to an office; and *this* is understood here. Patanjali asks: 'Why does Pāṇini say that?' This question means: Will there be (in his grammar) as in common language, a connection of the matter treated under the same head, because the subjects refer necessarily to one another, and the like?".... [Then follows in the Bhāṣya a discussion of Patanjali, the purport of which is to show that the word *adhi-kāra*, which literally means *superintendence, government*, has, in grammar, an analogous sense to that which it has in common life].—*Vārtika*: "But (there is) no knowing how far an *adhi-kāra* goes."—*Patanjali* (repeats these words in the manner we

अधिकारपरिभाषाज्ञानार्थं तु—Patanjali: अधिकारपरिभाषाज्ञानार्थमेव तद्व्यं योनो वक्तव्यः । अधिकारपरिभाषां ज्ञास्यामीति । कथं पुनः स्मरितेनाधिकार इत्यनेनाधिकारपरिभाषां श्रुतं विज्ञातुम् । एवं वक्ष्यामि स्मरितेनाधिकार इति—*Kaīyaṭa*: अधिकारपरिभाषाज्ञानं भवति । यथा धातोरेति किं प्राप्स्यदिशेयः । अथाधिकारपरिभाषाः । अङ्गाधिकारः प्राग्व्यासविकारिभ्यः । यथा सप्तमपरिचयमस्तिरिति—

have seen before, adding the ellipsis 'there is,' as he usually repeats the words of a Várttika which he explains, in order to ensure its proper text, and then continues): "These words mean: It might not be known to what limit an adhikára is applicable." — *Várttika*: "However, that the extent of an adhikára might be known." — *Patanjali*: "Just that the extent of an adhikára might be known, on that account this rule (I. 3, 11) had to be uttered; in other words, that I may know how far an adhikára goes. But again, how can the extent of an adhikára be known through the Súra, which says 'an adhikára (will be recognized in my grammar by the accent swarita,' so that I could say: 'the adhikára (is recognized) by the accent swarita?'" — *Kaiyyāṭa*: "But, there is no knowing how far an adhikára goes," says the Várttika; for instance,

*Patanjali*: स्वरितं वृद्धाधिकारो न भवतीति ज्ञेयदानीमधिकारो भविष्यति ।  
 लौकिको ऽधिकारः । अधिकार इति चेदुक्तम् । विमुक्तम् । चन्वनिर्देशस्य  
 निवर्तकस्याप्यभिधीयते । अधिकारार्थमेव तर्ह्ययं योनो यत्नः — *Kaiyyāṭa*:  
 स्वरितं इहेति । प्रकृत्याधिकारनिवृत्तये शब्दान्तरस्य स्वरितत्वं प्रतिपादयते ।

does adhikára III. 1, 91, stop before the Súra III. 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the (third) book? Does the adhikára VI. 4, 1, stop before the Súra VI. 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the seventh book? — *Patanjali*: "Since, as soon as (another) swarita is *seen*, there is an end of the adhikára (indicated by the previous swarita); by what means, then, can there be now an adhikára? Adhikára is (as we have seen) a term of common life. Now, if you say there is no such adhikára (meant in this grammar), why was it said before [in a previous discussion], 'that a new injunction stopping (the applicability of the adhikára), a paribhāshā (had to be given)?' Therefore on account of an adhikára this rule had to be uttered." — *Kaiyyāṭa*: "(When Patanjali says), 'As soon as (another) swarita

तेन निश्चितात्स्य इत्यत्र स्वरितत्वदर्शनात् । द्विनिवृत्तिर्द्विष्यत् निवृत्तिरनुमीयते  
 — *Patanjali*: यमु योक्तम् । अधिकारपरिभाषायां स्ति । — *Várttika*: याव-  
 त्त्यो ऽनुवच्यतावतो योनातिनि वचनात्तिष्ठम् — *Patanjali*: यावत्तिस्यो ऽनु-  
 वच्यते तावतो योनामधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते इति यत्नः — *Kaiyyāṭa*: यावत्तिस इति ।

is seen,' etc., (his words mean): to stop the (applicability of an) adhikára on a subject-matter, the plan is devised to mark another word with the swarita; thus, because the swarita mark is seen in the Sûtra V. 1, 32, it must be inferred that the applicability of the adhikára, V. 1, 30 (which also was marked with the swarita) has ceased."—*Patanjali*: "Now, has not Kátyáyana said, 'But there is no knowing how far an adhikára goes?' " (Quite so; hence the) *Várttika* (continues): "This results from what is said elsewhere: '*whatever the numerical value of the letter which is joined (to an adhikára-rule)*, to as many rules . . . . .'" —*Patanjali*: "These words would have been better quoted thus: 'With whatever numerical value a letter is joined (as anu-bandha to an adhikára-rule), to as many (following) rules the

*adhikára applies*.'"—*Kaīyāṭa*: "For instance: to the Sûtra V. 1, 30, the mute letter *i* (the *second* in the *Sivasûtras*) is to be joined; therefore it applies to *two* subsequent rules; and similarly in other adhikára rules."—*Patanjali*: "Now, what is to be done when an adhikára applies to more rules, while there are fewer letters of the alphabet?"—*Kaīyāṭa*: "(When Patanjali says) 'Fewer (and more),' is this comparative (literally, is the affix of the higher degree, *i.e.* the affix of the comparative), used in reference to different species (of the same class)? (No;) it is used in an absolute sense. (For he means): If you think the rules belonging to the same adhikára are *few*, then (you would have to take his words as implying that) the letters of the alphabet may be (still) *fewer*; on the other hand, if

तत्वात्पीचांशो ऽहः । तथा बहवो ऽह एति चेदूचांशो योवाः—*Várttika*: भूयसि प्राग्वचस्य — *Patanjali*: भूयसि प्राग्वचनं कर्तव्यम् । प्रागमुत इति वक्तव्यम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । संदेहमाचमेतन्नयति । सर्ववदेहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादवचसमिति—*Kaīyāṭa*: भूयसीति । अङ्गस्य

द्विचिपूर्वमिच्छादित्त्विकारो ऽनुवचः कर्तव्यः । तेन ह्यचोयोनयोःपुनृपुत्तिर्भवति । एवमन्वेषापि चेदित्यन्वेषः—*Patanjali*: अवेदानीं यत्वात्पीचांशो ऽहः भूयस्य योनानधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते कथं तत्र कर्तव्यम् —*Kaīyāṭa*: अत्पीचास्य इति । कथं पुनर्मित्रवातीयापेक्षया प्रकर्षप्रत्ययः । परमतापेक्षया । अन्त्ये योवा इति चेन्नन्वेषे

you think the letters are *many*, then (his words would imply that) there may be still *more* rules belonging to the same *adhiakára*.”—*Várttika*: “If there are more (rules for the same *adhiakára* than letters), the expression *prák*, ‘before,’ . . . .”—*Patanjali*: “If there are more (rules for the same *adhiakára* than letters), *Pánini* (says the *Várttika*) ought always to have made use of the expression *prák*, ‘before;’ or the *Várttika* ought to have rather said ‘*before*, *with a word following in the ablative*.’” [The *Várttika* means that the *adhiakára* then should have been always indicated in the *Sútra* by the expression that such and such an *adhiakára* is valid “before,” *i.e.* goes no further than, such and such a rule or word; as is the case, *e.g.* I. 4, 56; II. 1, 3; IV. 4, 1 and 75; V. 1, 1 and 18; 3, 1 and 70, etc.] Ought *Pánini* indeed (in such a

case) to have expressed himself thus? No, he ought not. This is a more question of a doubtful case, and in all such cases there avails the *Paribhāshā* which says that ‘the solution of the special (difficulty) results from explanation,’<sup>30</sup> for it does not follow that because there is a doubt there is no criterion (to solve it).’—*Kāyapa*: “The foregoing words, ‘if there are more, etc.’ mean that *Pánini* (instead of giving, *e.g.* his rule, VI. 4, 1, as he does in the word *angasya*, *i.e.* ‘this is the *adhiakára* on base’), ought to have said, ‘*angasya prág dech*,’ *i.e.* ‘this is the *adhiakára* on base which avails before (*i.e.* does not go further than) VIII. 1, 1 (exclusively).’ The words of *Patanjali*, ‘ought *Pánini*, indeed, etc.’ mean: ought *Pánini* to have given the contents of the two preceding *Várttikas*?”

स्वरित्येव । स्वरित्याधिकारमतिर्भविषतीति स्वरित्येव प्रकृत्यै विहितमिति यद्वयं विज्ञास्यते तत्र स्वरित्याधिकारमतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति *etc.*

<sup>30</sup> “*वाक्यानाम*.” The word *वाक्यानाम* “*explanation*” is defined in the Introduction of *Patanjali*: उदाहरणं प्रमुदाहरणं वाक्यानाम स्वरित्यनुदितं वाक्यानाम भवति: “*explanation* is giving an instance, giving a counter-instance, and supplying the elliptical expression of a sentence: all these three together.”

प्राग्वैरित्यादि यत्तत्त्वम् । तत्तद्दीप्ति । चावतिचो ऽविति मूषसि प्राक्त्वचनं चेत्तर्हः —*Patanjali*: . . . . . किं प्रबोधयन्—*Várttika* (omitted in the Calc. ed.) स्वरित्याधिकारमतिर्वेना विज्ञायेत—*Patanjali*: अधिकारमतिः । अधिकः कारः । अधिकं कार्यम् । नोद्विगोचयसर्वमस्तेष्वन्येनोदाहरणं चोदितं न कर्तव्यं भवति । स्त्रीयहं

Then follows, in the Bhāṣya, an observation of *Patanjali* on a doubtful passage, which is the subject of his comment in its appropriate place. He continues: "What is the purpose of the Sūtra?"—*Vārttika*: "That the proper way of applying an adhikāra might be known by means of the swarita."—*Patanjali*: "Proper way of applying an adhikāra." (Just so). (*Adhi-kāra* means) an agent placed over, or an act to be done, placed over. Now, at the Sūtra I. 2, 48, the expression *goṭāṅg* (used in the *Vārttika* to this rule) must not be considered as the subject of the adhikāra; for the expression *strī* will have the swarita. Therefore, according to the words of the *Vārttika* ('that the proper way,' etc.) those affixes alone will have to be understood in that Sūtra (I. 2, 48) which fall under the head *strī*, and, according to the *Vārttika*'s own words, there is no defect in the Sūtra I. 2, 48." [To understand this latter illustration of our rule, it is necessary to know that *Kātyāyana*, in giving the *Vārttika goṭāṅgrahanaṁ kṛinnirītyartham*, to the Sūtra I. 2, 48, intends to point out an omission in the rule of *Pāṇini*. *Patanjali*, however, shows that the swarita

over *strī* in this rule obviates the punctiliousness of the *Vārttika*, and he therefore taunts *Kātyāyana*, as well on this occasion as when he comments on I. 2, 48, for not having understood 'the proper way of applying the adhikāra,' by repeating to him his own criticisms on the Sūtra of the present discussion. Then follow other illustrations of *Patanjali* as to the proper way of applying an adhikāra, which it is not necessary for our immediate purpose to add to the foregoing translation]. x

The passage I have given here from the "Great Commentary" on *Pāṇini*,—and which may serve too as a specimen of the manner in which the two grammatical saints, *Kātyāyana* and *Patanjali*, scrutinized every doubtful word of the Sūtras,—will have shown that the rule of *Pāṇini*, which teaches the manner of defining an *adhikāra*, or heading rule, is interpreted by them as being based on *the application of writing* to his terminology. There are three modes, as we learn from them (and the fact is, of course, fully borne out by the Sūtras themselves), by which *Pāṇini* indicates a heading-rule in his Grammar. The one consists in his using the word *prāk*,

“before,” with a word following in the ablative, by which expression he implies that the heading continues up to that word, which will occur in a later Sūtra. Another mode of his is merely to indicate the heading, the extent of which is then, as the Bhāṣya says, matter of “explanation.” His third and last mode consists in putting the sign of a swarita,—*which was not intended for pronunciation*,—not over any word of the Sūtra, arbitrarily, as Dr. Boehtlingk imagines, but, as common sense would suggest, over that word which is the heading, as over the word *strī*, in the Sūtra I. 2, 48. Kātyāyana, moreover, indicates (by the expression *bhūyasī*), and Patanjali expressly states, that in those cases in which the number of Sūtras comprised under an adhikāra did not exceed the number of the letters of the alphabet, a letter representing a numerical value (without, of course, being “the bearer of a swarita”), was added to indicate the extent of the adhikāra; and from the example given by Kaiyaṭa we must infer that the numerical value of the letter was determined by the position it has in the Śivasūtras, since *i* is to him an equivalent of the

figure 2. And this representation of figures by letters of the alphabet derives an additional interest from the circumstance that it is quite different from the method we meet with at a later period of Hindu progress in mathematics and astronomy.<sup>51</sup> In short, we see that Patanjali and Kātyāyana not merely presuppose a knowledge of writing in Pāṇini, but consider the use he has made of writing as one of the *chief means by which he has built up the technical structure of his work*.

I will obviate, at once, an objection which may be raised,—though it could scarcely be raised by those who treat Kātyāyana as a contemporary of Pāṇini, or use the Commentaries as direct evidence for or against Pāṇini,—I mean the objection that the comments of Kātyāyana and Patanjali would only testify to their own knowledge and use of written accents; but that neither necessitate the conclusion that Pāṇini knew and employed, as they suppose him

<sup>51</sup> Compare the system of Āryabhaṭṭa, who uses vowels and nasals = 0; *ka*, *ṣa*, *pa*, *ja* = 1; *kha*, *ṭha*, *pha*, *va* = 2; *ga*, *ḍa*, *ba*, *la* = 3, etc. See Lassen's Zeitschrift, II. 423 ff., “Journal Asiatique” (1835), vol. XVI., p. 116, etc.

to have done, written accents, nor that he was acquainted with the use of written letters for the purpose of denoting numerical values. And should there be any who attach more faith to Kaiyyāṭa, the late commentator on Patañjali, than to Patañjali himself and Kātyāyana, they might, perhaps, adduce an observation of this grammarian, "that the Sūtras of Pāṇini were read in one breath, (without any regard to accent)," in order to infer that the swarita might have been *sounded* over the word which it intended to mark as adhikāra.<sup>22</sup> Such a conclusion, however, would be invalid, not only by the natural sense of the passage quoted, but by the remark of the same grammarian, which is contained in the translation I have given before, and which states that the swarita was not intended, in our present case, for "practical application." It remains, therefore, to be seen whether this remark of Kaiyyāṭa is confirmed by analogous facts in Pāṇini's Grammar.

<sup>22</sup> Kaiyyāṭa towards the end of the Introduction : एकमुखा सूत्राणि पाठस्वेवामु दासदीनामुपदेशः.—Another discussion on *adhikāra* occurs incidentally in Patañjali's comment on I. 1, 49.

Pāṇini frequently refers, in his Sūtras, not only to grammarians who have preceded him, but to lists of affixes, and to arrangements of the verbal roots, which must have coincided with his own terminology. The personal relation of Pāṇini to these collections or books will be the subject of future remark; it will suffice, at present, to show that Pāṇini's work, and these works, were based on the same grammatical system. Pāṇini refers, for instance, to a list of affixes which begin with *un*,<sup>23</sup> where the mute letter *n*—which has exactly the same technical value in the affix *un* as it would have in

<sup>23</sup> उक्तादि; compare Pāṇini, III. 3, 1; 4, 75.—This word is sometimes written उक्तादि; but wrongly, for the Sandhi rules apply not only to real words, but equally to the technical language of the Sūtras. Since उक्ता, in उक्तादि, is a pada (*pūrvapada*), it has to follow the Sandhi rule given, VIII. 3, 32. Real padas ending in *त्*, it is true, are rare, and perhaps still rarer as first parts of a compound; but a word *उक्तात्* becomes on that very ground the subject of an exceptional rule; its first part is said to be not *पठ्* but *अ* (I. 4, 18, v. 3). As the phonetic rules of the grammarians bespeak the necessities and predilections of the Hindu organ of speech, technical names could not but follow the general rules of pronunciation, and there is no cause, therefore, to establish an exception for the term उक्तादि.

Pāṇini's affixes *an*, *na*, or in other terms containing this *anubandha* —proves that these affixes rested on the terminology which governs the Sūtras of Pāṇini. He speaks of *bhūtādi*, *udādi*, *tulādi*,—in short, of the ten classes of radicals, just as they are given in the Dhātupāṭha, and even of subdivisions of this work, *e.g.*, *dṛyutādi*, *vushādi*, *bhūtādi*, *machādi*, *yajādi*, *radhādi*, etc.;<sup>54</sup> and if there existed a doubt that the expressions quoted, which contain the first word of a list, necessarily imply the whole list, and in the order in which the words of such a list appear in this work,<sup>55</sup> the doubter

<sup>54</sup> Compare *e.g.* Pāṇini I. 3, 1; II. 4, 72 and 75; III. 1, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81, 25; III. 1, 55; 3, 104; VII. 1, 59; VI. 1, 15; VII. 2, 45, and other instances which are quoted in the excellent *Radices Linguae Sanscritae* of Westergaard.

<sup>55</sup> It is barely possible, however, to admit such a doubt; for Pāṇini does not restrict himself to generally mentioning radicals by giving the first word of the order, such as *bhūtādi*, *udādi*, etc.; he refers, also, to distinct numbers. Thus, VII. 2, 59, he speaks of the four radicals beginning with *ḡṛ*, and the rule he gives applies to no other four radicals than *ḡṛ* and the three radicals which follow it in the Dhātup. (§ 18, 19—22); he speaks, VII. 2, 75, of the five radicals beginning with *ḡṛ*, and his rule avails only for *ḡṛ* and the four radicals which follow it in the Dhātup. (§ 28, 116—120); or, VII.

would have at least to admit that the *anubandhas* or technical letters which accompany each radical in the Dhātupāṭha, possess the grammatical value which is expressly defined as inhering in them by special rules of Pāṇini.<sup>56</sup> He refers to the Upadeśa, which is, according to Patanjali, a list, not only of the radicals, but of nominal bases, affixes, particles, increases of the base and grammatical substitutes, all of which are “settled,” as Kātyāyana says.<sup>57</sup>

Now, if we consult the Sūtras which treat of the verbal roots, we find, for instance, that, as a rule, a root is *uāttu* on the last

3, 98, of the five radicals beginning with *ḡṛ* (= Dhātup. § 24, 59—63); or, VI. 1, 6, of the six radicals beginning with *ḡṛ* (= Dhātup. § 24, 63—69); or, VI. 4, 125, of the seven radicals beginning with *ḡṛ* (Dhātup. § 19, 73—79), etc. In all these instances, therefore, the order of the radicals in the Dhātupāṭha, as referred to by Pāṇini, is the absolute condition of his rule.

<sup>56</sup> Compare the quotations in Westergaard's *Radices*, p. 342, 343.

<sup>57</sup> Compare Pāṇini I. 3, 2; VI. 1, 45, 186; 4, 37; VIII. 4, 14, 18; (the term occurs frequently, too, in the Vārtikas and Kārikas) and see note 39.



syllable (VI. 1, 162). Yet (VII. 2, 10) Pāṇini states that a radical has not the connecting vowel *i*; if in the Upadeśa it is a *monosyllable* and *anudātta*. As the former rule concerns a radical, which is part of, and embodied in, a real word, while the latter describes the theoretical existence of the radical in the Dhātupāṭha, we may imagine, it is true, that for the purpose of grammatical teaching a pronunciation of the radical was devised in the Upadeśa different to that which it has in real language. But, even on the supposition that a radical could be pronounced *anudātta*, is it probable that Pāṇini or the authors of the Dhātupāṭha could have recourse to so clumsy a method for conveying the rule implied by the term *anudātta*? Would they, gratuitously, have created the confusion that must necessarily arise from a twofold pronunciation of the same radical, when any other technical *anubandha* would have enabled them to attain the same end? Let us suppose, on the contrary, that *anudātta*, in the Upadeśa, does not mean the spoken, but the *written* accent, and the difficulty is solved without

the necessity of impugning the ability or the common sense of the grammarians.

This inference is strengthened, moreover, by another analogous fact, which may be recalled before I give further proof from a synopsis of Pāṇini's rules and the appearance of the radicals in the Upadeśa. This fact is contained in the last Sūtra of Pāṇini's grammar, where he teaches that the short vowel *a*, which in his rules is treated as *virīṭa*, or pronounced with the contraction throat, is, in reality, *samerīṭa*, or pronounced with the contraction of the throat. This Sūtra did certainly not intend to impose upon the pupil the task of pronouncing, during his grammar lessons, the short vowel *a* in such a manner as no Hindu can pronounce it, or of sounding, when learning the properties of this vowel, instead of it, some nondescript deputy vowel-sound: it can only mean that, for the sake of technical purposes defined by the commentators, Pāṇini made a fiction in his grammar, which, of course, he had to remove when terminating his book. This fiction, however, being based on

a *phonetic impossibility*, would be a very awkward one if it applied to oral teaching only; it becomes quite unobjectionable if it is supported by a *written* text.<sup>58</sup>

If a radical in the Upadeśa, says Pāṇini (I. 3, 12) has the *anudātta* (or *ṇg*) as anubandha, it is, in general, inflected in the

<sup>58</sup> I call it a *phonetic impossibility*, since अ, if it were pronounced विवृत, would assume the properties of अ; but as Pāṇini does not allow such an अ to occupy the same portion of time which is required for the pronunciation of अ, a *short* अ pronounced with the expansion of the throat, becomes, to a Hindu organ of speech and from Pāṇini's point of view, impossible. For this reason, Patanjali, too, who on a previous occasion had defined the letters which occur in the Upadeśa, i.e., the *spadishṭa-vaṇas*, as *pronounced* or *pronounceable* letters [see note 40], looks upon this last Sūtra of Pāṇini as merely given to counteract the effect of the Upadeśa; he thus implies that this is the only case in which an *spadishṭa-vaṇa* was not pronounceable: अ (VIII. 4, 68) ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते । अकारोऽन्मपरसमावायि विवृत उपदिष्टस्य संयुतता-प्रज्ञापयति: किञ्चिन् । —Kaiyaṇa: किमर्थमिति । अकारस्याकारवचने प्रयोजनमाभा-स्यतः । अकारोऽव्यमिति । स्वर्वादेशमिह शाले विवृतदीपयुक्तोऽकार उपदिष्टः । तस्य प्रयोजे संयुतकीर्णोच्चारणमिदं प्रज्ञापयितव्यम् । अन्मपरसमावायवर्हस्य सकस्य-प्रज्ञापयितव्यम्.

*ātmanepada*; if its anubandha is the *svarita* (or *ṇ*) it is, under certain conditions, inflected in the *ātmanepada*; under others, in the *paramnipada* (I. 3, 72); if it has neither of these *anubandhas* (nor is subject to any of the rules I. 3, 12—77), it is inflected in the *paramaipada* only (I. 3, 78). Again, from the Dhātupāṭha we learn that, for instance, the radicals *jyā, rī, lī, vrī, bhrī, kshī(śh)*, *jñā*, are *anudātta* (i.e., do not assume the connecting vowel *i*), but have neither the *anudātta* nor the *svarita* as *anubandha*.<sup>59</sup> The latter term implies that the sign which bears this denomination is added *after* the significant element. Since, however, the roots named are monosyllables in the *Upadeśa*, and since it is impossible to pronounce an accent without a vowel-sound supporting it, the assumption that the *anudātta* and other accent-*anubandhas* were spoken sounds, would lead to the conclusion that the same verbal root was simultaneously *anudātta* and *not anudātta*.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Westergaard's Radices, § 31, 29—36.

<sup>60</sup> Other instances may be gathered from Westergaard's Radices. I must exclude, however, some which are not countenanced by the best MSS. I have consulted; those,

If I had adhered to the terminology of the Dhātupāṭha, as it is met with in the best MSS. of Mādhava's commentary, the foregoing illustration would have become still more striking; for, according to them, the roots *ṣṛá, rí*, etc., are *anudátta*, and have the

especially, which are met with in the Radices under the term *स्वरित*. For when we read in the latter work (e.g. § 28 and § 31, 1, etc.) that *मुञ्, हञ्, घृञ्, etc., उञ्जीञ्, प्रीञ्, क्रीञ्, etc., are ञमुदात्ताः* and *स्वरिताः*; or (§ 31, 10, etc.) that *हृञ्, कृञ्, पूञ्, etc. are उदात्ताः* and *स्वरिताः*, I could not adduce these and similar instances in support of my conclusions; since Mādhava is certainly right in giving, instead of the term *स्वरित*, the word *उभयपद्विः* or *उभयतोऽभावाः*, as the *anubandha* *स्वरित*. The term becomes meaningless, if these roots had, besides, the *anubandha* *स्वरित*. The term *स्वरित* is correctly indicated by Westergaard and the MSS., for instance, of the roots *विष्, ञमु, etc. (§ 21): विबिर्, विबिर्, विष्, विष् (§ 25); मुञ्, रमुञिर्, बह, रञ्, etc. (§ 26); हृद, मुद, etc. (§ 28); चिचिर्, निदिर्, etc. (§ 29), etc., for all these radicals have not the *anubandha* *ञ्*. A proof of the accuracy of the commentators in this respect, is afforded by the instance of the root *ञञ्* (§ 24, 7) which is described in the Dhātupāṭha as *ञमुदात्त*, and represented at the same time as *चञिर्*, for they explain on this occasion that the *anubandha* *ञ्* does not indicate the *āmanepada*-inflection, marked by the term *ञमुदात्त*, but refers to the effect of the Sūtra III. 2, 149.*

*udátta* as their *anubandha*. In general, it may be observed, that the Sūtra I. 3, 78 is apparently understood by Mādhava and other commentators as referring to roots which have *udátta* as *anubandha*: for a root which is neither *anudátte* nor *swarite*, is described by them as *udátte*. There is some reason, however, to doubt whether the latter term really occurred in the Upadeśa referred to by Pāṇini; and as the solution of this doubt, in an affirmative sense, would add another fact to those already obtained, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here.

The misgiving I entertain is based on Pāṇini's own terminology. He speaks of roots which, in the Upadeśa, are *udátta* (VII. 3, 34) and *anudátta* (VI. 4, 37; VII. 2, 10), which are *anudátte* and *swarite* (see the preceding quotations, p. 45); but there is no trace in his grammar of radicals which are *udátte*. And this omission is the more striking, as the number of roots which are marked *udátte* in the present MSS. of the Dhātupāṭha is considerable. Nor is it satisfactorily explained by the negative tenor of the Sūtra I. 3, 78, since there is no other instance in Pāṇini's

work of a technical and important term being given vaguely and inferentially.

If, however, we apply to the present case the conclusions we have been already compelled to draw as to Pāṇini's having used accents as written signs, we may surmise the reason why *udātta* is not amongst the terms employed by this grammarian. Of the three accents, *udātta*, *swarita*, and *anudātta*, the two latter only are marked in the principal Vaidik writings, the *swarita* being indicated by a perpendicular line over the syllable, the *anudātta* by a horizontal line under it. The syllable not marked is *udātta*. It is possible, therefore, to say that a radical or syllable which is not marked is *udātta*, and that one with a horizontal stroke under it is *anudātta*; it is possible, too, to speak of a line *added* under or over the last letter of the radical; but it is surely impossible to call that 'addition' (*anubandha*) which, not being visible, could not be added at all. This explanation of the absence of the term *udātta* is founded, of course, on the supposition that the system of marking the accents was the same at Pāṇini's time, as it occurs in our MSS.

of the principal Veda-Saṃhitās; but it can hardly be doubted that this system is as deeply rooted in Hindu tradition as everything else connected with the preservation of the sacred books. If, then, it becomes certain that Pāṇini knew written accent signs, which were not pronounced, it will not be hazardous to put faith in the statement of Kaiyaṭa, that the *swarita*, which was intended as a mark of an *adhiḥkāra*, was also a written sign, a perpendicular stroke, "but had nothing to do with practical application."

That Pāṇini, as Patanjali tells us, and Kātyāyana gives us to understand, used letters in his *adhiḥkāra* rules for the notation of numeral values, does not follow, we must admit, from his own words in the quoted Sūtra (I. 3, 11), but there is a rule of his (VI. 3, 115) in which he informs us that the owners of cattle were, at his time, in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears, in order to make them recognizable. Such signs, he says, were, for instance, a *swastika*, a ladle, a pearl, etc.; yet he mentions besides, *eight* and *five*. Now, either the graziers used letters of the alphabet to denote these numerals, or they employed special figures

as we do. In either case it is obvious that they must have been acquainted with writing; in the latter, moreover, that the age to which they belonged had already overcome the primitive mode of denoting numerals by letters, and that writing must have been, therefore, already a matter of the commonest kind. At all events, and whichever alternative be taken—if even the Hindu cattle paraded the acquaintance of the Hindus with the art of writing and of marking numerals,—one may surely believe that Pāṇini was as proficient in writing as the cowherds of his time, and that, like them, he resorted to the marking of numerals whenever it was convenient to him to do so.

The absence of a letter or grammatical element, or even of a word, the presence of which would have been required by a previous rule, is called by Pāṇini *lopa*. The literal sense of this word, which is derived from *lup*, “to cut off,” is “cutting off.” It will be conceded that it is not possible to “cut off” any but a visible sign, and that a metaphorical expression of this kind could not have arisen, unless the reality existed. Indeed, the very definition

which Pāṇini gives of this term must remove every doubt, if there existed any. He says: “*lopa* (‘cutting off’) is the not being seen” (*acil*, of a letter, etc.)<sup>a</sup> For, whatever scope may be given to the figurative meaning of the radical “to see,” it is plainly impossible that an author could speak of a thing visible, literally or metaphorically, unless it were referable to his sense of sight. A letter or word, which is no more *seen*, or has undergone the effect of *lopa*, must, therefore, previously to its *lopa*, have been a visible or written letter to him. And the same remark applies to an expression which occurs several times in the Sūtras; for Pāṇini speaks more than once of affixes which are *seen*, or of a vowel which is *seen* in words.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I. 1, 60: चदर्शनं लोपः.

<sup>b</sup> चन्विष्यो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 178; 3, 130.—चन्विष्यो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 75.—चन्विष्यो ऽपि दृश्यते VI. 3, 137.—चन्विष्यो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 101.—एतन्नामो ऽपि दृश्यते V. 3, 14.

—Though in the foregoing observations no conclusion of mine is founded on statements of the later grammarians alone, it may not be without some interest to mention now that these grammarians do not seem to have conceived as much as the idea of Pāṇini’s

If it becomes evident from the foregoing arguments that Páiníní not only *wrote*, but that *writing* was a main element in the *technical* arrangement of his rules, it may not be superfluous to ask, whether the sacred texts had been committed to writing at the time at

grammar ever having existed except in writing. For Kaiyaṣa, amongst others, refers to a written text of this grammar, even when there is no necessity whatever of making allusion to such a circumstance. We must infer, therefore, that it was a matter of course to him to look upon Pāṇini's rules as having been at all times written rules. Thus, in commenting on the vowel **अ** of the *pratyāhara* **अच्**, and in advertising to its last letter, he might have simply spoken of a letter **अ**, but he speaks of a *letter-sign* **अः**. “**अच् हि यकारेण निश्चिन्नं प्रत्याहारको विष्णुतो निदिष्टः**” etc.—And when Professor Müller, as we shall presently see, avails himself of so late an authority as the *Mānasa-Vārtikas* of *Kaśmirīla* to prove or to make plausible facts concerning the highest antiquity, I will quote, as a counterpart, another late work which introduces to us the god Śiva himself as recommending the *writing* and wearing of grammatical texts as a means for the attainment of boons and the prevention of evils. I need not add that I look upon neither work as a sufficient authority to settle the points of the present discussion. The passage alluded to occurs in the chapter of a mystical dialogue between Śiva and his wife, called *Jñānabrahmaśaktarhasya*, where Śiva, after having explained to Pārvatī the letters of the alphabet, concludes his instruction with the following words : **एतन्मन्त्र-**

which he lived, or whether they were preserved then by memory only? That the mere fact of learning the Veda does not disprove the possibility of its having been preserved by written letters also, is clear enough, and is indirectly acknowledged by Müller himself.<sup>45</sup>

रवं देवि सिखिला मूर्धन्यये । मोरोपचाकुरुतेन तथा प्रकल्पयुवा । खड्डे वा यदि  
 वा ग्राही मरुके वा वरानने । सर्वबाधिविनिर्मुक्तौ दिनावां पितृके भवेत् । संतापोर्ध्वे  
 पठेद्विज्ञाप्यारयित्वा समाहितः । खड्गं कथते पुनं दब्बावां यम मुकलम् । रवे राक्ष  
 कुले चीरे ऋषि आग्रमवादिके । खरादेव वक्रजिह्वि मितल्लक्ष्मणि नि *i.e.*, "if a  
 man writes this grammatical explanation on a birch-leaf, with a mixture of the yellow  
 pigment Gorocharnā and saffron, or if he has it written by a scribe with the quill of a  
 porcupine on his neck or his arm or his head, he becomes after three days free from all  
 disease; and if a wise man, wishing for progeny, reads and retains it attentively, he is  
 sure to obtain a son, who will be like me, from his (previously) barren wife. If a battle  
 (rages), or the royal family spreads terror, or if a tiger causes alarm, or on similar  
 occasions, all danger vanishes in merely remembering (this grammatical explanation).  
 What further shall I tell thee?" etc.

<sup>c</sup> History, etc., p. 246 : "The ancient literature of India was continually learnt by heart; and even at the present day, when MSS. have become so common, some of its more sacred portions must still be acquired by the pupil from the mouth of a teacher, and not from MSS."

He quotes, it is true, a passage from the Mahābhārata, and one from Kumārila's Vārttikas, which condemn, the one the writing of the Veda, and the other the learning it from a written text;<sup>a</sup> but I hold that neither quotation proves anything against the practice of writing the Veda at or before Pāṇini's time. Both passages might, on the contrary, be alleged to confirm the fact that the offence of writing the Vedas had already been committed

<sup>a</sup> p. 502: "In the Mahābhārata, we read: 'Those who sell the Vedas and even those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell.' Kumārila says: 'that knowledge of the truth is worthless which has been acquired from the Veda, if the Veda has not been rightly comprehended, if it has been learnt from writing, or been received from a Śūdra.'—The passage of the Mahābhārata quoted by Müller, occurs in the *Anuśāsanap.* verse 1645. I doubt, however, whether his rendering of *वेदज्ञैश्च दूषकाः*: "those also who defile the Vedas," is quite correct. It seems to me that it means "those who corrupt the text of the Vedas," and that it is synonymous with the expression *वेदविधिवत्*: which occurs in the second act of the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* (ed. Brockhaus, p. 20, l. 14; ed. Calc. p. 12a, l. 5). The expression *सर्वज्ञानं च दूषकाः* which precedes by a few verses (*Anuśāsanap.* v. 1639) i.e., "those who vitiate agreements" is analogous. There is, unhappily, no comment of *Nūlchanta* on either of these passages.

when these verses were composed. They betray, it is true, as we should expect, the apprehension of their authors lest oral teaching might become superfluous, and the services of the Brāhmaṇa caste be altogether dispensed with; but they convey nothing else—not even the prohibition that the teacher or Guru himself might not have recourse to a written text of the Veda if he wanted to refresh his memory or to support his meditation. Nay, we may go further, and assert that by an authority certainly much older than both the authors of this passage of the Mahābhārata and the Mīmāṃsā-Vārttikas, all the first *three castes* were distinctly recommended to possess written Vaidik texts. For, let us hear what the lawgiver Yājñavalkya says: "All the religious orders must certainly have the desire of knowing the Veda: therefore the first three classes—the twice-born—should see it, think on it, and hear it." But how could Yājñavalkya order them to see the Veda, unless it could be obtained in writing?<sup>a</sup> And that Pāṇini, too,

<sup>a</sup> Yājñav. III. 191: स ह्याग्नीर्विदिषाकः समक्षिरन्विषतु । इष्टवत्सलस्य मन्त्रकः ।

must have seen written Vaidik texts follows clearly, in my opinion, from two Sūtras, in which he says: "(the augment *ā*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other instances than those mentioned in a former rule)," and (the *ādesa an*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other cases of *astha*, *dādā*, etc., than those mentioned previously).<sup>67</sup> It

**जीतव्यं विवर्तितम्:** Vijnāśvarī, the modern commentator of Yājñavalkya, who, like Kumārila, is evidently not pleased with the recommendation of "seeing" the Veda, twists the construction of the latter passage into the following sense: "the twice-born should first hear (the expounding of) the Veda, then reflect on it and thus (by reflection) keep it present (to their mind)." In order to impart to the word "to-see" the figurative sense, he reverses the entire, and, it would seem, natural order of the injunction, which recommends the twice-born first to look into the Veda, then to reflect on it, and ultimately to ask the teacher to give his own explanation of it; the latter becoming, of course, more effectual, if the pupil is already somewhat familiar with his subject.—This is the comment of the *Mittakharā*: यथाश्रिततथाक्रममाद्यतो वेदकस्यादवापुः सत्येव सकलायामिर्भाषाप्रकारं विप्रसिद्धव्यस्यैव प्रकारं दयेयति । विवर्तितम् इत्यौ उपरेपीकृत्यस्योपायं दर्शयति । जीतव्यो सत्यव्य रति । प्रथमतो वेदात्त-अपेक्षया स्थितव्यदन्तकारं सत्यव्यो वृत्तिविचारचित्तव्यतो ज्यौ चापेक्षापरेपी-अवति.

<sup>67</sup> VI. 4, 73, and VII. 1. 76: कन्धस्यि दृशते.

is on this ground that—while disapproving the loose manner in which the Siddhānta-kaumudī imparts to the word *grantha* in Pāṇini's Sūtra, I. 3, 75, the meaning *Veda*,—I cannot altogether reject the identity which is established by this elementary between the two words, though it would have been better, in a gloss on Pāṇini, to have retained the distinction which he himself established for facilitating a clearer understanding of those Sūtras which refer to revealed books, and of others which speak of unrevealed ones.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Compare note 27. I alluded above to the analogy which exists between the con-  
trasted words *grantha-arthas* and *kāṇḍa-pādārtha*. After having shown that the Veda was a written book at Pāṇini's time, I may now quote a passage from the Parīśiṣṭa of the Nirukta (I. 12): यव सत्वापेक्षितान्महो ज्युहो अपि वृत्तितो अपि सत्यतो न उ-  
पस्येन सत्वा विवर्तितः प्रकरस्य एव तु विवर्तितः, which is thus rendered by Mr. Muir, in his valuable work, "Original Sanskrit Texts" (vol. II, p. 188): "This relative deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition and reasoning. The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context." In this passage the words वृत्तितो अपि सत्यतो are equivalent of सत्यतो अपेक्षया.



There is but one other question which can be raised in connection with the present inquiry : Was writing known *before* Pāṇini ?

One word, of frequent occurrence in the Vaidik hymns, or rather the sense which is imparted to it, may enable us, perhaps, to form an opinion on this difficult problem. I mean the word *Rishi*. It is explained by old and modern commentators as “a seer of hymns,” a saint to whom those Vaidik hymns referred to his authorship, were revealed by a divinity. Thus it is said in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rishi* Vāmadeva obtained *seeing* the R̥gveda-hymn, IV. 26, 1 ; or in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rishi seeing* the hymn II. 41, 2, spoke it.<sup>68</sup> For reasons which

<sup>68</sup> Śatap. XIV. 4, 2, 22 : तद्वीतयस्मन्नुचिर्वाग्देवः प्रतिपेदे । अहं मनुस्मत् सूर्यवेति. —*Aitar. Br.* 9, 1 : तदेतदुचिः पञ्चमन्त्रावाच निगुत्वा इन्द्रवारचिति. Compare also Müller's “Ancient History,” p. 237 : शीनको . . . . . द्वितीयं मण्डलं दृष्ट्वा, etc.; or *Ureata* on the first verse of the R̥ik-prātisākyā (in the valuable edition of Mr. Regnier, “Journal Asiatique,” tome VII. 1856, p. 181) अथवो मन्त्रद्वयः ; or *Nāgajihvāta* on

will appear from the statement I shall have to make on the chronological relation of these works to Pāṇini, I cannot appeal to these Brāhmaṇas as evidence for the present purpose ; it is safer to quote Pāṇini himself, who also speaks of hymns which are *seen* (IV. 2, 7), and who must therefore be supposed to record an impression current at, and very probably anterior to, his time. This probability, however, becomes a certainty when we consider the distinct evidence of Yāska, who says that “the Rishis see the hymns with all kinds of intentions,” and who makes mention of a predecessor of his, a son or descendant of Upamanyu, who defined the word “*Rishi* as coming from seeing ; for he saw the hymns.”<sup>69</sup>

There were authorities, consequently, before Pāṇini's time, who

Pāṇini, I. 1, 1 : यञ्जकाष्टद्वयः अथयः ; or the same on IV. 1, 79 : अविशद्देवाच मन्त्रद्वयः etc.

<sup>69</sup> *Nirukta*, 7, 3 : एवमुक्तावचिरभिप्रायिन्दीवीना मन्त्रद्वयो भवन्ति ; and 2, 11 : अविदीयन्तात् । सोमान्ददौलीपमव्यः. Hence *Rishi* becomes a synonyme of a Vaidik hymn. Compare Pāṇini, IV. 4, 96, or *Sāyana* on R̥ig-v. I. 189, 8 : अविगिर-तोद्विषाधमकायवेमैः.

maintained the doctrine that the hymns were revealed—not to the sense of hearing, but to the sense of sight. That the act of *seeing* may be applied metaphorically to the faculty of thinking or imagining, and the term *seen* to what is imagined or thought, is no matter of dispute. But when we read numerous hymns of the Rîgvêda which neither express a truth, nor depict nature or events of life, but which simply manifest the desire of a pious mind;—when we read, for instance, such sentences as, “may this oblation, Agni, be most acceptable to thee,” or “may afflictions fall upon him who does not propitiate the gods,” or “we address our pious prayers to thee, Agni,” etc., what *metaphorical* meaning could connect such words with the notion of seeing?

And we know, too, that it is not merely the general idea conveyed by a hymn, the ethical truth, or the picture of the elementary life, or the display of sacrificial rites, or the praise of the gods, or the imprecation against foes, which is looked to by the worshipper as having been revealed to a Rishi by a divinity,—but that the very words of the hymn, and the very order in which

they stand, were deemed equally a gift from above. The various methods devised by the learned to preserve the words in their integrity and to prevent their order from being disturbed, prove that they did not view these hymns in the light of mere revelations of truths, but in that of revelations of words and of sentences held sacred in the very order and form in which they appear. Nor does the fact that there were various Śákhás with various recensions of several hymns or passages of hymns, invalidate this argument; for each Śákhá claimed its text as the original one, as *the* revealed text; and its belief was, therefore, based on the same ground which was common to all.

If, then, such is the case, the word *seer* loses altogether the power of metaphorical expression; it then applies only to the material fact of seeing material words, such as the divinity holds before the seer's material eye. The inference to be drawn from these premises is obvious. It seems to derive some corroboration from a collateral fact. The Vaidik writings from immemorial times being communicated by the teacher to his pupil orally, and

the pupil being bound to receive them in this and in no other way, their name, as we find it at the time of the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa-Sūtras, is *śruti*, "hearing," or the sacred text received by the sense of hearing. Though Pāṇini does not use this term, we may fairly admit, on account of his using the word *śrotṛiya*,<sup>70</sup> that he was acquainted with it, and that the same mode of studying the Vedas was already usual in his time. Now the contrast is marked between "seeing" the Veda and "hearing" it. In metaphorical language both terms would be equivalent; they would express comprehension, of the revealed truth. But there is no metaphor in the term "*śruti*." "Hearing" the Veda rests on a material fact. Why should "seeing" the hymns be considered to rest on a less solid ground?<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> II. 1, 65, and V. 2, 84. Compare also the Gaṇas to V. 1, 130, 133, *ṣrut* in the Gaṇa to V. 2, 88, and *श्रुति* in the Gaṇa to IV. 2, 138.

<sup>71</sup> The title of Rishi was, at a later period, given to renowned authors, though they were not considered as inspired by a divinity. The Kalpa works, for instance, are admitted on all hands to be human and uninspired compositions; yet Kumārila writes

To extend this view from Yāska and the predecessors he quotes, to the authors of the hymns themselves, would, no doubt, be very hazardous. For even on the supposition that the etymology

in one of his Vārtikas (I. 3, 10): च तावद्गुपिः कश्चित्त्वदिति कल्पसूचकत् । कर्तुं त्वं यदुषीषां तु तत्सर्वं मन्त्रकृतमम् . . . . . and again: आवेषवचनं निष्पत्तौ यद्विषयः । आवेषत्वमविशिष्टं कल्पसूत्रेष्ववस्थिता । . . . . and आचार्यवचनां च प्रामाण्यं श्रूयते श्रुतौ । चङ्गानां च प्रवेतार आचार्यो ऋषयो मताः, *i.e.*, "No mention occurs of an author of a Kalpa work who was not a Rishi; but all that Rishis compose is like that which the authors of Mantras compose . . . . . The word *drakheya* is a synonym of eternal, and the quality of *drakheya* is vested in the Kalpa-Sūtras . . . ; moreover, the Veda says that the words of *Āchāryas* have authority, and the *Āchāryas* who have composed the Vedāngas are deemed Rishis." And though these words of his make part of a Pūrvapakāṣa, and the proposition that the Kalpa works have the same claim to divine origin as the Mantras, is refuted by him in the Siddhānta, his refutation merely concerns this latter part of the discussion, but does not invalidate the title of Rishi given by him to the authors of the Kalpas. For, as he said on a previous occasion: च ह्यब्रह्मणूतं वक्तुं शक्यते पूर्वव्यपिषा. 'the propounder even of a Pūrvapakāṣa should not say that which is too much at variance with truth (if his Pūrvapakāṣa is to be worthy of being part of a discussion).'<sup>72</sup> The title Rishi had, therefore, already lost its primitive worth in the days of Kumārila, and had undergone the same fate which is common to titles in general.

proposed by the son of Upamanyu is correct,"<sup>72</sup> no proof exists that Rishi is conceived in the hymns as implying the seer of *words* or *sentences*. He may be there the real representative of the Roeh who sees the general idea of his prayer or praise, but fashions it with his own—uninspired—words. There are, we may add in proof of this assertion, various instances in the poetry of the R̥gveda, where the poet is spoken of as having "composed" (literally *fabricated* or *generated*), not as having "seen," a hymn; and they belong undoubtedly to real antiquity, as they show greater common sense. Thus it is said in the R̥gveda (I. 171, 2) "this praise accompanied with offerings, Maruts, is made (lit. *fabricated*) for you by the heart," or (VI. 16, 47): "we offer to thee, Agni, the clarified butter in the shape of a hymn made (lit. *fabricated*) by the heart;" or (I. 109, 1, 2): "... my clear understanding

<sup>72</sup> That in दृष्ट्वा, the दृ may be a prefix, is countenanced by the following analogies: दृष्टु ( = दृष्ट ) and दृष्टु, दृष्टु and दृष्टु. इ (इच्छति) and इ (इच्छति), इत (respected) and इत (respected), दृष्टु and दृष्टु (whence दृष्टु) दित् (to be glad) and दृष्टु, दृष्टु and दृष्टु.

has been given to me by no one else than by you, Indra and Agni; with it I have made (lit. *fabricated*) to you this hymn, the product of intelligence, which intimates my desire for sustenance. For I have heard that you are more munificent givers than an unworthy bridegroom or the brother of a bride; therefore, in offering you the Soma, I produce (lit. *generate*) for you a new hymn;" or (VII. 7, 6): "these men who have cleverly made (lit. *fabricated*) the hymn, have increased the prosperity of all (living beings) with food." And when the poet says in a Váikhilya hymn: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard in the beginning, you gave to the poets—wisdom, understanding of speech;" *seeing* is obviously used by him in none but a metaphorical sense.<sup>74</sup> ✓

<sup>73</sup> Compare, for other instances, Muir's "Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. II. p. 208, note 163, and p. 220.

<sup>74</sup> Compare *ibid.* p. 220: इन्द्रवरुणा बहुविधो मनीषां दासो मतिं युतमदत्तमग्निः । ..... तपसाभ्यपन्नम्. In the same sense *Yāska* says (I. 20): सावाकृतधरोऽब

There are in the Vaidik age, says Professor Müller (p. 70), "four distinct periods which can be established with sufficient evidence. They may be called the *Chhandas period*, *Mantra period*, *Brāhmaṇa period*, and *Sūtra period*, according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character." In the continuation of his work he then defines the Chhandas period as embracing the earliest hymns of the R̥gveda, such as he conceives them to be according to the instances he has selected from the bulk of this Veda (p. 525 ff.). The Mantra period is, in his opinion, represented by the remaining part of the R̥gveda (p. 456 ff.); and the Brāhmaṇa period by the Sāma-veda-saṁhitā, "or the prayer-book of the Udgātri priests," which is entirely collected from the R̥gveda,<sup>75</sup> the Saṁhitās of

अथर्वो ऋगुः, 'the Rishis had an intuitive insight into duty' (Mair, vol. II. p. 174); and Śāyana, e.g. in his gloss on R̥g. I. 162, 7: अथर्वो ऋगिवद्व्याहृतः, or on IV. 36, 6: अथर्वो ऋगिवद्व्याहृतः.

<sup>75</sup> Professor Benfey has pointed out, in his valuable edition of this Veda, the few verses which cannot be found in the R̥gveda (Pref. p. xix). This redundancy, which is

the Yajurveda (p. 457), the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedas, properly so called, and "on the frontier between the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature," the oldest theological treatises or Āraṇyakas and Upanishads (p. 313 ff.). Lastly, the Sūtra period contains, according to him (p. 71 ff.), the Vaidik words written in the Sūtra style, viz.: the six Vedāngas or the works on "Sikshā (*pronunciation*), Chhandas (*metre*), Vyākaraṇa (*grammar*), Nirukta (*explanation of words*), Jyotiṣha (*astronomy*), and Kalpa (*ceremonial*)" (p. 113 ff.).

An author has, in general, the right of choosing his terms; nor should I consider it necessary to add a remark on the names by which Müller designates these four periods of his Ancient History, were it not to obviate a misunderstanding which he has not guarded against, though it may be of consequence to do so. Two terms which have served him for the marking of two periods of

apparently at variance with the general doctrine of the Hindu commentators, that the Sāmaveda is extracted from the R̥gveda, proves, in reality, that there must have been, at one time, another recension of the R̥gveda than that which we possess now; a fact clearly proved also by Müller's "Ancient History."

the ancient literature, viz., *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, have been used by him nearly in the same sense in which they occur in the ancient writers ; and if he embraces more works under these heads than those writers would have comprised, it may be fairly admitted that no misconception will result from this enlargement of the original acception of the words *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*. But if he designates the two first epochs by the names of *Chhandas* and *Mantra*, with the explicit remark that he has made this division of four periods “according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character” (p. 70), it may be inferred that, as in the case of *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, he has chosen those names in conformity with the bearing they have in the ancient literature itself; that the Hindus, when using the words *Chhandas* and *Mantra*, meant by them the older and the more recent hymns of the *Rigveda*. Such, however, is not the case.

Mantra means, as Colebrooke has already defined the word—in conformity with the *Mīmāṃsā* writers—“a prayer, invocation, or declaration. It is expressed in the first person or is addressed in

the second ; it declares the purpose of a pious act, or lauds or invokes the object ; it asks a question or returns an answer ; directs, inquires, or deliberates ; blesses or imprecates ; exults or laments ; counts or narrates,” etc. “Mantras are distinguished under three designations. Those which are in metro are termed *rich*, those chanted are *sāman*, and the rest are *yajus*, sacrificial prayers in prose,” etc.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> “Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,” I. p. 448, 449.—Compare also Jaiminiya-nyāyamañik-vistara, I. 4, 1 (*pāropanishad*): तथा वोक्तम् । उत्तमानमन्त्राणां नालान्तरावभावात् । मन्त्रप्रविक्षभावाच्च मन्त्रतीर्थां न युज्यत इति । अपदे पुष्टं निर्वपामीक्षुतमपुष्टम् । अपदे यष्टस्त्वयष्टे समवेदितानमन्त्रम् । उर्वी चासि वली चावी-लक्ष्मणम् । एवे लीर्वे लेति लाक्कम् । चादिशब्देनापीदितमतिपादनादयः नः —II. 1, 7: तथा समाज्जानमनुष्ठानकारकादीनां मन्त्रत्वं नमवति । उष्ट मन्त्रेणादवो-ज्जुष्ठानकारकाः । अविमीळे पुरोहितमन्त्रादयः क्षुतिक्याः । एवे लेनादयस्सत्ताः । अयं वा चाहि वीतय एवादय कामनवोपिताः । अपीदपीतिवारेणादयः प्रियस्याः । अथःस्विदावीदुपरिस्विदावीदिनादवो विचारस्याः । अमि अमिने ज्यामिने न मा नवति अवेनेनादयः परिदेवनस्याः । पृच्छामि त्वा परमत्वं पृच्छिवा एवादयः

The first meaning of *Chhandas*, in the ancient writers, is metre; the second is *verse* in general, and in this sense it is contrasted with the prosaic passages of the Yajurveda. Thus the *Purushasūkta* of the R̥gveda—the late origin of which hymn is proved by its contents—says :<sup>77</sup> “ From this sacrifice which was offered to the universal spirit sprang the R̥chas (R̥g-verses), the Sāmans (Sāmaveda-verses), the metrical passages (*Chhandas*) and the Yajus ;” which latter words seem to be referable only to the two

प्रज्ञरूपाः । वेदिमाजः परमं पृथिव्या इत्यादय उत्तररूपाः । एवमन्वदयुदाहार्यम्  
etc.—II. 1, 10—12 : पादयज्येनार्यवन्नेन चोपेता वृत्तवत्ता मन्वा ऋचः । मीतिरूपा  
मन्वाः सामानि । वृत्तमीतिवर्तलेन प्रशिष्टपठिता मन्वा यजूषीषुते न क्वापि संकरः  
—II. 1, 13 : ..... ततो मन्वाणां त्रिविधं सुस्मितम्.

<sup>77</sup> R̥gveda ( X. 90, 9) : तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वजित ऋचः सामानि ऋचिरे । ऋचांसि  
ऋचिरे तस्माद्यजुषाद्व्यायत. Śāyaṇa, it is true, renders ऋचांसि with गायत्र्यादीनि,  
when the word would simply mean “ metre ;” but it does not seem natural that the  
enumeration of the three Vedas should be interrupted by a word meaning “ metre,”  
while on the other hand the word Yajus alone might have left a doubt as to whether the  
metrical contents of this Veda are included in it or not.

characteristic portions of the Yajurveda, since Yajus in general designates its prosaic part. In a verse of the Atharvaveda it is contrasted, in a similar manner, with the Yajurveda, and seems to imply there the verses of the Atharvaveda : “ From the remainder of the sacrifice sprang the R̥chas, Sāmans, the verses (*Chhandas*), the old legendary lore, together with the Yajus.”<sup>78</sup> In the Sūtras of Pāṇini the word *Chhandas* occurs, in rules which concern Vaidik words, one hundred and ten times, and its sense extends over two hundred and thirty-three Sūtras ; in rules of this category it means Veda in general, comprising thus the Mantra- as well as the Brāhmaṇa- portion of the Veda. Whenever, therefore, such a general rule concerning a Vaidik word is restricted or modified in the Mantra portion, *Chhandas* then becomes contrasted with Mantra, and thus assumes the sense of Brāhmaṇa ; or whenever such a general rule is restricted or modified in the Brāhmaṇa portion,

<sup>78</sup> Atharv. XI. 7, 24 : ऋचः सामानि ऋचांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ! उच्छिष्टाऋचिरे  
etc.—In this sentence *Chhandas* is separated from the word Yajus by the word *Purāṇa*,  
which here probably implies the legends of the Brāhmaṇas.

Chhandas then becomes contrasted with Brāhmaṇa, and therefore assumes the sense of Mantra.<sup>79</sup>

From no passage, however, in the ancient literature, can we infer that *Mantra* conveyed or implied the idea of a later portion, and *Chhandas* that of an earlier portion of the R̥gveda hymns.

Some very questionable points in the detail of this distribution

<sup>79</sup> Thus it is used by Pāṇini in the general sense of *Ṛeda*: I. 2. 61; 4. 9. 20. 81; II. 3. 3; 4. 28. 39. 73. 76; III. 1. 42. 50. 59. 84. 123; 2. 63. 88. 103. 137. 170; 3. 1. 29; 4. 6. 88. 117; IV. 1. 29. 46. 59; 3. 19. 150; 4. 106. 110, etc. It is contrasted with *Mantra*, for instance, I. 2. 36 (comp. 34. 35. 37); III. 2. 73 (comp. 71. 72); with *Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, IV. 2. 66; IV. 3. 106 (comp. 105).—The meaning "desire" of the word *chhandas* has not been mentioned above, as being irrelevant for the present purpose; nor was it necessary to give passages from Pāṇini where the word has the general sense "metre," such as III. 3. 34, etc., or as base becomes the subject of rules respecting its derivatives.—Professor Weber has adverted in his "Indische Studien" (vol. i. p. 29 note) to the manner in which Pāṇini has used *chhandas*; he defines it, however, as meaning first, "desire;" then "a prayer of desire, prayer, mantra, contrasted with *brāhmaṇa*, IV. 2. 66; then in a more extended sense, even *brāhmaṇārtham*, III. 2. 73" [or shall this mean, asks he, *brāhmaṇanivārtham*? Certainly not, for the word is contrasted in III. 2. 73 with the word *mantra* of III. 2. 71 (72), and implies therefore in this Sūtra

of the Vaidik literature will be noticed by me hereafter as touching the ground on which I have raised this inquiry into the chronological results of Professor Müller's work. There is, however, one general question which must be dealt with previously. If Müller had contented himself with simply arranging his subject-matter as he has done, we could readily assent to the logical or esthetical point of view which, we might have inferred, had guided him in the sense *brāhmaṇa*]; and then "in the widest sense, generally, *veda*, as contrasted with *loke*, *bhāshājñā* and its *śloka*s (IV. 3. 102 a)." [The latter instance is not happy, since it belongs to a Vārttika of the Kāśikā, and since there are more than a hundred Sūtras of Pāṇini which might have been referred to for the corroboration of the sense *Ṛeda*]. Lastly he says, it means "metre."—But this reversal of the meanings of *chhandas* is not only objectionable etymologically; it prevents our understanding how *chhandas* could mean both a poetical and a prosaic passage of the Vedas. Hence, the incidental question of Weber and his conjecture,—which could not have arisen if he had started from the general sense *Ṛeda*, which *if contrasted* (but only then) with *mantra*, would imply the sense *Brāhmaṇa*, and *vice versa*. It seems, moreover, that the sense "desire" marks the last stage of its development; in short, that *chhandas* means: 1. metre; 2. a verse; 3. a verse as prayer; 4. *Veda* in general, which may become modified to *Mantra* or *Brāhmaṇa*; 5. desire.



planning his work. But he does not allow us to take this view, when he assigns dates to these periods severally. The "Chhandas period," he says, comprises the space of time from 1200 to 1000 B.C. (p. 572), the "Mantra period" from 1000 to 800 B.C. (pp. 497, 572), the Bráhmaṇa period "from 800 to 600 B.C. (p. 435), and the "Sūtra period" from 600 to 200 B.C. (pp. 249, 313). In other words, his arrangement is meant to be an historical one. He does not classify ancient Sanskrit literature into a scientific, a ritual, a theological, and poetical literature, each of which might have had *its coeval representatives*, but he implies by these dates that when the poetical epoch, his Chhandas- and Mantra- epoch, had terminated its verses, the theological time, that of the Bráhmaṇas and Upanishads etc., set to work; and when this had done with theology, the ritual and scientific period displayed its activity, until it paused about 200 B.C. I need scarcely observe that such an assumption is highly improbable, unless we suppose that India which, from the time of Herodotus, has always enjoyed the privilege of being deemed the land of supernatural facts, has also in

this matter set at defiance the ordinary law of human development. But this doubt seems to derive some support from Müller's own arguments. In the course of his researches he has confirmed the general opinion, that a Sūtra work presupposes, of necessity, the existence of a Bráhmaṇa, and that a Bráhmaṇa cannot be conceived without a collection of hymns, the Saṁhitá. Thus the ritual Sūtras of Áśwáláyana would have been impossible unless a Bráhmaṇa of the R̥gveda—for instance, the Aitareya-Bráhmaṇa,—had been known to him; for he founds his precepts on it; and such a Bráhmaṇa, in quoting the hymns of the R̥gveda, implies, as a matter of course, a previous collection of hymns, a R̥gveda itself. Yet, though this argument is unexceptionable, and may be used, perhaps—not without objections of some weight—so as to presuppose in Áśwáláyana a knowledge of, and therefore as prior to him, a Sāmaveda and a Taittirīya-Saṁhitá—where is the logical necessity that the Vájasaneyi-Saṁhitá and the Śatapatha-Bráhmaṇa (belonging to Müller's third period, 800—600 B.C.) existed before Áśwáláyana who lived, according to him, between 600 and 200

before Christ? His Sūtras would be perfectly intelligible if neither of the two last-named works had been composed at all. And, again, where is the logical necessity that the Upanishads should have been written before the authors of the Kalpa Sūtras, the Grammar, etc., since all these works are quite independent in spirit and in substance from the theosophy of Upanishads or Aranyakas. On what ground does Professor Müller separate Pāṇini from these latter writings by at least 250 years, when there is no trace of any description in his Sūtras, either that he knew this kind of literature or that his Grammar would not have been exactly the same as it is now if he had lived much before the time of these theological works? I shall recur to this latter question; but I cannot conclude the expression of my misgivings as to this historical division without questioning, too, the usefulness of these dates in general. They are not founded, as Müller himself repeatedly admits, on any basis whatever.<sup>80</sup> Neither is there a

<sup>80</sup> "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 244: "It will readily be seen, how entirely hypo-

single reason to account for his allotting 200 years to the three first of his periods, nor for his doubling this amount of time in the case of the Sūtra period. He records, it is true, his personal impression alone in speaking of 1200, 1000 years, and so on; but the expediency of giving vent to feelings which deal with hundreds and thousands of years, as if such abstract calculations were suitable

theoretical all these arguments are . . . . . As an experiment, therefore, though as no more than an experiment, we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B.C. as the limits of that age during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of Sūtras." p. 435: "Considering, therefore, that the Brāhmaṇa period must comprehend the first establishment of the threefold ceremonial, the composition of separate Brāhmaṇas, the formation of Brāhmaṇa-charaṇas and the schism between old and new Charaṇas, and their various collections, it would seem impossible to bring the whole within a shorter space than 200 years. Of course this is merely conjectural, but it would require a greater stretch of imagination to account for the production in a smaller number of years of that mass of Brāhmaṇic literature which still exists, or is known to have existed." p. 497: "I therefore fix the probable chronological limits of the Mantra period between 800 and 1000 B.C." [Where is the least probability of this date?] p. 573: "The chronological limits assigned to the Sūtra and Brāhmaṇa periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide, and if we assign but 200 years to

to the conditions of human life, appears very doubtful, if we consider that there are many who will not read his learned work with the special interest and criticism which it inspires in a Sanskrit philologist, but will attach a much higher import to his feelings than he himself does. One omission, moreover, I cannot leave unnoticed in these general dates, since it has a bearing, not merely on the intervals of his periods, but on their starting points.

Colebrooke, in his essay on the Vedas, speaks of the Jyotisha, the ancient Vaidik calendar; and after having quoted a "remarkable" passage of this Vedānga, in which the then place of the colures is stated, continues (M.E. vol. i. p. 109, or As. Res. viii. p. 493): "Hence it is clear that Dhanishthā and Āśleshā are the constella-

the Mantra period, from 800 to 1000 B.C., and an equal number to the Chhandas period, from 1000 to 1200 B.C., we can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of history the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were formed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world."—But is 1200 B.C. a primary age of the world, except in biblical geology?

tions meant; and that when this Hindu calendar was regulated, the solstitial points were reckoned to be at the beginning of the one, and in the middle of the other: and such was the situation of those cardinal points, in the *fourteenth century before the Christian era*. I formerly (As. Res. vii. p. 283, or Essays, i. p. 201) had occasion to show from another passage of the Vedas, that the correspondence of seasons with months, as there stated, and as also suggested in the passage now quoted from the Jyotish, agrees with such a situation of the cardinal points."

We have evidence, therefore, from this passage of the Jyotisha, that an arrangement of Vaidik hymns must have been completed in the fourteenth century before Christ; and as such an arrangement cannot have preceded the origin of the hymns comprised by it, we have evidence that these hymns do not belong to a more recent date. Nor is there any ground for doubting the genuineness of this calendar, or for assuming that the Hindu astronomers, when it was written, had knowledge enough to forge a combination, or if they had, that, in the habit of dealing with millions of years, they would have

used this knowledge for the sake of forging an antiquity of a few hundred years. Yet the oldest hymns of the *Rigveda* are, according to Müller's opinion, not older than 1200 before Christ.

He has not only not invalidated the passage I have quoted, but he has not even made mention of it. Yet a scholar like Colebrooke, laid, as I have shown, great stress on it : it is he who calls it "remarkable;" and scholars like Wilson and Lassen have based their conclusions on Colebrooke's words.<sup>a</sup> Should we, therefore, be satisfied with the absolute silence of Müller on the statements and opinions of these distinguished scholars, or account for it by the words of his preface ?<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Lassen's "*Indische Alterthumskunde*," I. p. 747. Wilson's Introduction to his Translation of the *Rigveda*, vol. I. p. xlviii.

<sup>b</sup> Page vi.: "Believing, as I do, that literary controversy is more apt to impede than to advance the cause of truth, I have throughout carefully abstained from it. Where it seemed necessary to controvert unfounded statements or hasty conclusions, I have endeavoured to do so by stating the true facts of the case, and the legitimate conclusions that may be drawn from these facts."

No one, indeed, to the best of my knowledge, has ever doubted the accuracy of Colebrooke's calculation, but Professor Weber, who, in his "*Indische Studien*," vol. i. p. 85, thus expresses himself:—"I avail myself of this opportunity to observe that before Colebrooke's astronomical calculation (*M. E. i. p. 110, 201*) has been examined once more, astronomically, and found correct, I cannot make up my mind, to assign to the present *Jyotih-cāstras*, the composition of which betrays—in language and style—a very recent period, any historical importance whatever for the fixing of the time when the *Vedas* were composed." Thus it seems that Professor Weber would make up his mind to that effect if some one would comply with his desire, and confirm the result of Colebrooke's calculation. But, we must ask, on what ground rests this desire, which, in other words, is nothing but a very off-hand slur aimed at Colebrooke's scholarship or accuracy? Is Colebrooke a third-rate writer, to deserve this supercilious treatment? Has he, in his editions or translations of texts, taken such liberties as to forfeit our confidence? Has he falsified antiquity by substituting

for its traditions his own foregone conclusions or ignorance? Has he appropriated to himself the labour of others, or meddled with subjects he did not thoroughly understand? His writings, one would think, prove that he is a type of accuracy and conscientiousness,—an author in whom even unguarded expressions are of the rarest kind, much more so errors or hasty conclusions drawn from erroneous facts. But Colebrooke was not only a distinguished Sanakritist, he was an excellent astronomer. Lassen calls him the profoundest judge in matters of Hindu astronomy; <sup>82</sup> and he is looked upon as such by common consent. Yet, to invalidate the testimony of a scholar of his learning and character, Professor Weber, simply because a certain date does not suit his taste, and because his feelings, unsupported by any evidence, make him suppose that the Jyotisha “betrays in language and style a

<sup>82</sup> “Indische Alterth.” vol. I. p. 824: “Ueber die Fortschritte der Inder in der Astronomie in der ältesten Zeit drückt sich *der gründlichste Kenner des Gegenstandes* (Colebrooke, a. a. O. II. p. 447) auf folgende Weise aus, etc.”

very recent period,” has nothing to say but that he “will not make up his mind” to take that date for any good until somebody shall have examined that which Colebrooke had already examined, and, by referring to it, had relied upon as an established fact!

It is but just to add, that three or seven years after he had administered this singular lesson to Colebrooke, Weber once more is haunted by the asterisms Dhanishthá and Áśleshá, and once more rejects their evidence as to Hindu antiquity.<sup>84</sup> This time, however, it is no longer the accuracy of Colebrooke’s statement which inspires his doubt—he passes it over in silence altogether—but the origin of the arrangement of the Hindu Nakshatras. “Since,” he says, “the latter was not made by the Hindus themselves, but borrowed from the Chaldeans, it is obvious that no conclusion whatever can be drawn from it respecting Hindu antiquity.”<sup>85</sup> But he does not mention that Lassen, whose opinion

<sup>84</sup> In an essay on “Die Verbindungen Indiens mit den Ländern im Westen,” written in April, 1853, and printed in the “Indische Skizzen,” 1857.

<sup>85</sup> “Indische Skizzen,” p. 73, note.

will have, I assume, as much claim to notice as his own, had adduced weighty reasons for assigning the Hindu Nakshatras to Chinese origin; and had likewise, referring to the Veda-calendar, observed:—"As it is certain now that there existed in ancient times an intercourse, not thought of hitherto, between the Hindus and the Chinese, and that, with the latter, the use of the *sieu* ascends to a far higher antiquity, no objection can be founded on the Chinese origin of the Nakshatras, against their having been used by the Hindus at a time which is adverted to in their oldest astronomical observations on record. These observations belong to the fourteenth century B.C., and it results from them that the Hindus at that period dwelt in the northern part of India."<sup>87</sup>

But, strange to remark, a year after having expressed his repeated doubt, Professor Weber records his poetical views on the earliest period of Hindu civilisation in the following manner:—"From the Kabul river to the Sadánirá, from the remotest point

of the western to that of the eastern border of India, there are twenty degrees, three hundred geographical miles, which had to be conquered (by the Áryas) one after the other. Thus we are able to claim, without any further remark, 1000 years as a minimum time for the period of occupying, subjecting to complete cultivation, and brahmanizing this immense tract of land; and thus we are brought back to about 1500 B.C. as the time when the Indian Áryas still dwelt on the Kabul, and after which they commenced to extend themselves over India."<sup>88</sup>

In short, with fantastical certainty he scruples about astronomical facts, and presents fantastical facts with astronomical certainty. I doubt whether this critical method will strengthen the faith of the general public in certain results of Sanskrit philology.

"If we succeed," says Professor Müller (p. 215), "in fixing

<sup>87</sup> "Die neuern Forschungen über das alte Indien. Ein Vortrag, im Berliner wissenschaftlichen Verein gehalten am 4. März, 1854;" printed in the "Indische Skizzen," 1857, p. 14.

<sup>88</sup> "Indische Alterthumskunde," vol. I. p. 747.

the relative age of any one of these Sūtrakāras, or writers of Sūtras, we shall have fixed the age of a period of literature which forms a transition between the Vedic and the classical literature of India." This inference does not seem conclusive; for neither can the age of one individual author be held sufficient to fix the extent of a period which, according to Müller's own views, may embrace, at least, 400 years, and probably more; nor has Müller shown that the older portions of the Mahābhārata and, perhaps, the Rāmāyana, might not have co-existed with some, at least, of the authors of his Sūtra period. He says, it is true, in the commencement of his work (p. 68):—"Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh-słoka is a metre unknown during the Vedic age, and every work written in it may at once be put down as post-Vedic. It is no valid objection that this epic Słoka occurs also in Vedic hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brāhmaṇas, and that, in some of the Sūtras, the Anushtubh-słoka occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs, and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is

only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature." But this very important assertion, even with its last restriction, is left by him without any proof. For, when he adds, in a note (p. 69), "It is remarkable that in Pāṇini also, the word *śłoka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature (Pāṇ. IV. 2, 66; IV. 3, 102, v. 1; IV. 3, 107)," I must observe, in the first place, that in none of these quotations does the word *Śłoka* belong to Pāṇini.<sup>88</sup> The first of these instances, where *Śłoka* occurs, cannot be traced to a higher antiquity than that of Patanjali; the second, which coincides with it, occurs in the commentary of the late Kāsikā on a Vārttika, the

<sup>88</sup> The quotations of Müller's note to his p. 69 are IV. 1, 66, instead of IV. 2, 66, and IV. 3, 103, 1, instead of IV. 3, 102, v. 1; but as the word *śłoka* neither occurs in the Sūtra, nor in the Vārttika nor in the commentaries on the former quotations, I was probably right in assuming that they were errors of the press, and in substituting for them the figures given, which are the nearest approach to them. There is indeed one Sūtra of Pāṇini where *śłoka* and *mantra* are mentioned together, viz., the Sūtra III. 2, 23, but I am not aware that any conclusion similar to that mentioned above could be drawn from it.

antiquity of which rests on the authority of this work ; and, in the last quoted rule, the word *Śloka* likewise belongs to no other authority than that of the same late commentary. But, in the second place, it seems to me that these very instances may be used to prove exactly the reverse of Müller's views.

I should quite admit the expediency of his observation if its object had been to lay down a criterion by which a class of works might become recognisable. There is, however, clearly, a vast difference between an external mark, concerning the *contents* of certain writings, and the making of such a mark a basis for computing *periods* of literature. For, when Patanjali or the Kāsikā, in illustrating the rules IV. 2, 66, or IV. 3, 102, says that a Vaidik composition of *Tittiri* is called *Taittirīya*, but that such a derivative would not apply to the Ślokas composed by Tittiri; they distinctly contrast the two kinds of composition, but they as distinctly state that the same personage was the author of both. And the same author, of course, cannot belong to two different *periods* of literature,

separated, as Müller suggests, from one another by at least several centuries. The same remark applies to the instance by which the Kāsikā exemplifies the import of the rule IV. 3, 107 ; it contrasts here the Vaidik work with the Ślokas of the same author, *Charaka*.

But I will give some other instances, which, in my opinion, corroborate the doubt I have expressed as to the chronological bearing of this word. Kātyāyana, who is assigned by Müller to the Sūtra period, and rightly so, so far as the character of some of his works is concerned, is the author of *Ślokas* which are called *Bhṛāja*, "the Splendid." This fact is drawn from Patanjali's commentary on Pāṇini and Kaiyaṣa's gloss on Patanjali (p. 23 and 24 of Dr. Ballantyne's valuable edition.)<sup>80</sup> Now, the word Śloka, if used in

<sup>80</sup> Patanjali (p. 23) : कृत्तुमिदं पठितम् । आवा नाम श्लोकाः.—Kaiyaṣa (p. 24) : आवाचनोपनिबद्धआवाश्लोकमवापठितस्य सख्युतिरनुयाहिकास्ति । एकः शब्दः सुवातः सुप्रसूतः सर्वे लोके कामधुग्भवतीति.—Nāgajibhaṣa (p. 23) : आवा नाम का-वाचनप्रदीताः श्लोका इत्याहुः



reference to whole works, always implies the Anuṣṭubh-śloka : thus Müller himself properly calls the laws of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Parāśara, "Śloka-works." (p. 86). It would seem, therefore, that the *Bhrāja-ślokas* of Kātyāyana were such a work in *continuous* Anuṣṭubhs. A second instance is the *Karmapradīpa*, which is a work of the same Kātyāyana, and is mentioned as such by Müller himself (p. 235) on the authority of Shadgurusishya ; it is written in the "regular and continuous Anuṣṭubh-śloka," as every one may ascertain from the existing MS. copies of this work. Vyādi, or Vyādi, who is an earlier authority than Kātyāyana (see Müller's History, p. 241), composed a work called *Sangraha*, or "Compendium" in one hundred thousand Ślokas ; and there can be little doubt that this information, which is given by Nāgajibhaṭṭa, applies to a work in the *continuous* Anuṣṭubh verse.<sup>20</sup> And this very

<sup>20</sup> Patanjali (ed. Ballantyne, p. 43) : संवह एतन्माध्याख्येन परीक्षितम्.—Kaiyaṣa : संवह इति । यन्मसिषे ।—Nāgajibhaṭṭa : संवहो व्याख्यतो यच्चश्लोकसंख्यो यन्व इति प्रविष्टिः.—This remark concerns the use which is made of the word Śloka in reference

Vyādi, I may here state, will hereafter become of peculiar interest to us on account of his near relationship to Pāṇini. It is evident, therefore, that the "uniform employment of that metre" is not a criterion necessitating the relegation of a work written in it to a period more recent than 200 before Christ.

The "writer of a Sūtra" which, in Müller's opinion, may help us to fix the whole period of the Sūtra literature, is KĀTYĀYANA ; and, if I do not mistake his meaning, PĀṆINI too. For Müller arrives at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived about 350 B.C., and, if I am right, that Pāṇini was his contemporary.<sup>21</sup>

to whole, especially extensive, works. *Single verses*, not of the Anuṣṭubh class, are sometimes also called Ślokas ; thus Kaiyaṣa calls so the *Āryā* verse of the Kārikā to II. 4, 85, or IV. 4, 9, etc., or the *Dadhaka* verses of the Kārikās to VI. 4, 12, or VIII. 2, 108 ; and Nāgajibhaṭṭa gives the name of Śloka to the *Indrasajra* and *Upendrasajra* of the Kārikā to I. 1, 38 ; but I know of no instance in which a whole work written in such verses is simply spoken of as having been written in Ślokas.

<sup>21</sup> I regret that I am not able to refer with greater certainty to Müller's views on their contemporaneity. In page 198 he writes : "Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini ;" p. 245 : "Now, if Pāṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century

The reason for assigning this date to Kātyāyana is contained in the following passage of the "Ancient Sanskrit Literature:"—"Let us consider," says Müller, after having established the identity of Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana Vararuchi (p. 240 ff.), "the information which we receive about Kātyāyana Vararuchi from Brahmanic sources. Somadevabhāṭṭa of Kashmir collected the popular stories current in his time, and published them towards

B.C., etc." [this is the date which Müller assigns to Kātyāyana]: p. 303: "the old Kātyāyana Vararuchi, the contemporary of Pāṇini;" but at p. 184 he says: "at the time of Kātyāyana, if not at the time of Pāṇini"—which clearly implies that he here considers Pāṇini's time as prior to Kātyāyana's, since Kātyāyana wrote a critical work on Pāṇini, the Vārtikas; and on p. 44, 45 he observes: "if, then, Āśvalāyana can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor of Pāṇini, etc.;" but p. 239: "we should have to admit at least five generations of teachers and pupils: first, Śaunaka; after him, Āśvalāyana, in whose favour Śaunaka is said to have destroyed one of his works; thirdly, Kātyāyana, who studied the works both of Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana; fourthly, Patanjali, who wrote a commentary on one of Kātyāyana's works; and lastly, Vyāsa, who commented on a work of Patanjali. It does not follow that Kātyāyana was a pupil of Āśvalāyana, or that Patanjali lived immediately after Kātyā-

the beginning of the twelfth century under the title of Kathā-saritsāgara, the Ocean of the Rivers of Stories. Here we read that Kātyāyana Vararuchi, being cursed by the wife of Śiva, was born at Kauśāmbi, the capital of Vatsa. He was a boy of great talent, and extraordinary powers of memory. He was able to repeat to his mother an entire play, after hearing it once at the

yana, but the smallest interval which we can admit between every two of these names is that between teacher and pupil, an interval as large as that between father and son, or rather larger." Now, if according to the first alternative of p. 45, Āśvalāyana was a contemporary of Pāṇini, the latter becomes a doubtful contemporary of Kātyāyana, according to the quotation from p. 239; and if, according to the other alternative of p. 45, Āśvalāyana was a successor of Pāṇini, there is, according to p. 239, still a greater probability that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were not contemporaries. Again, at p. 230, he says: "from all these indications we should naturally be led to expect that the relation between Śaunaka and Kātyāyana was very intimate, that both belonged to the same Śākha, and that Śaunaka was anterior to Kātyāyana." But if Āśvalāyana is an immediate successor of Pāṇini (p. 45), and an immediate successor of Śaunaka (p. 239), Pāṇini and Śaunaka must be contemporaries; and if Śaunaka is anterior to Kātyāyana (p. 230, and comp. p. 249), Pāṇini, too, must have preceded Kātyāyana. Acting, therefore, on the rule of

theatre; and before he was even initiated he was able to repeat the *Prātisākhya* which he had heard from Vyāli. He was afterwards the pupil of Varsha, became proficient in all sacred knowledge, and actually defeated Pāṇini in a grammatical controversy. By the interference of Śiva, however, the final victory fell to Pāṇini. Kātyāyana had to appease the anger of Śiva, became himself a student of Pāṇini's Grammar, and completed and corrected it. He afterwards is said to have become minister of King Nanda and his mysterious successor Yogananda at Pāṭaliputra.

probabilities, and perceiving that Müller three times distinctly calls Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana, and allows by inference only this date to be subverted two-and-a-half times, it is fair to assume that he believed rather in the contemporaneity of both, than otherwise. The correctness of this belief I shall have to make the subject of further discussion; but when I find myself compelled to infer from Müller's expressions that Pāṇini is, to him, a contemporary of Śaunaka, I must, in passing, observe that Pāṇini himself repudiates this conclusion, *far* in the *Sūtra* IV. 3, 106, which is intimately connected with IV. 3, 105, Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an *ancient* authority.

"We know that Kātyāyana completed and corrected Pāṇini's Grammar, such as we now possess it."<sup>22</sup> His Vārtikas are supplementary rules, which show a more extensive and accurate knowledge of Sanskrit than even the work of Pāṇini. The story of the contest between them was most likely intended as a mythical way of explaining this fact. Again, we know that Kātyāyana was himself the author of one of the *Prātisākhyas*, and Vyāli is quoted by the authors of the *Prātisākhyas* as an earlier authority on the same subject. So far the story of Somadeva agrees with the account of *Shadgurusishya* and with the facts as we still find them in the works of Kātyāyana. It would be wrong to expect in a work like that of Somadeva historical and chronological facts in the strict sense of the word; yet the mention of King Nanda, who is an historical personage, in connection with our grammarian,

<sup>22</sup> Note of Müller: "The same question with regard to the probable age of Pāṇini, has been discussed by Prof. Böhlingk in his edition of Pāṇini. Objections to Prof. Böhlingk's arguments have been raised by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*. See also *Rig-veda*, Leipzig, 1857, Introduction."

may, if properly interpreted, help to fix approximately the date of Kātyāyana and his predecessors, Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana. If Somadeva followed the same chronological system as his contemporary and countryman Kalhana Paṇḍita, the author of the *Rājataranginī* or *History of Kashmir*, he would, in calling Pāṇini and Kātyāyana the contemporaries of Nanda and Chandragupta, have placed them long before the times which we are wont to call historical. But the name of Chandragupta fortunately enables us to check the extravagant systems of Indian chronology. Chandragupta, of Pāṭaliputra, the successor of the Nandas, is Sandrocottus, of Palibothra, to whom Megasthenes was sent as ambassador from Seleucus Nicator; and, if our classical chronology is right, he must have been king at the turning point of the fourth and third centuries B.C. We shall have to examine hereafter the different accounts which the Buddhists and Brahmans give of Chandragupta and his relation to the preceding dynasty of the Nandas. Suffice it for the present that, if Chandragupta was king in 315, Kātyāyana may be placed, according to our interpretation of Somadeva's

story, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. We may disregard the story of Somadeva, which actually makes Kātyāyana himself minister of Nanda, and thus would make him an old man at the time of Chandragupta's accession to the throne. This is, according to its own showing, a mere episode in a ghost story,<sup>28</sup> and had to be inserted in order to connect Kātyāyana's story with other fables of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara. But there still remains this one fact, however slender it may appear, that, as late as the twelfth century A.D., the popular tradition of the Brahmans connected the famous grammarians Kātyāyana and Pāṇini with that period of their history which immediately preceded the rise of Chandragupta and his Śūdra dynasty; and thus, from an European point of view, we must place in the second half of the fourth century B.C."

Thus, the whole foundation of Müller's date rests on the

<sup>28</sup> Note of Müller: "According to the southern Buddhists it was Chandragupta, and not Nanda, whose corpse was reanimated. *As. Res.* xi. p. 167."

authority of Somadeva, the author of "an Ocean of [or rather, *for*] the Rivers of Stories," who narrated his tales in the twelfth century after Christ. Somadeva, I am satisfied, would not be a little surprised to learn that "a European point of view" raises a "ghost story" of his to the dignity of an historical document. Müller himself, as we see, says that it would be "wrong" to expect in a work of this kind "historical or chronological facts;" he is doubtful as to the date which might have been in Somadeva's mind when he speaks of King Nanda; he will "disregard" the fact that Kátyáyana becomes, in the tale quoted, a minister of Nanda; he admits that a story current in the middle of the 12th century about Kátyáyana and Pánini is but a "slender" fact;—in short, he pulls down every stone of this historical fabric; and yet, because Nanda is mentioned in this amusing tale, he "*must*" place Kátyáyana's life about 350 B.C.

I have but one word to add: however correct the criticisms of Müller on the value of this tale may be, the strength of his conclusion would have become still more apparent than it is now,

if instead of the abstract of the story, which he has given, a literal translation of it had preceded his premises; for the very form of the tale, and its incidental absurdities, would have illustrated, much better than his sober account of it, its value as a source of chronology. I subjoin, therefore, a portion of it, from the fourth chapter of this work. Kátyáyana, the grammatical saint and author of the Kalpa-sútras, after having told Kárabhúti how once upon a time he became enamoured of a beautiful damsel, by what feelings he was moved, and that he at last married the fair Upakośá, continues as follows: "Some time after, Varsha (who in another tale is said to have lived at Pátaliputra during the reign of Nanda) had a great number of pupils. One of them was a *great blockhead*, by the name of Pánini; he, tired of the service, was sent away by the wife of Varsha. To do penance, he went, grieved yet desirous of knowledge, to the Himálaya; there he obtained from Śiva, who was pleased with his fierce austerities, a new grammar which was the introduction to all science. Now he came back and challenged me to a disputation; and seven days

passed on while our disputation proceeded. When on the eighth day, however, he was defeated by me, instantly Śiva (appeared) in a cloud (and) raised a tremendous uproar. Thus my grammar, which had been given to me by Indra, was destroyed on earth; and we all, vanquished by Pāṇini, became fools again."

It is almost needless for me to state, that the *profound* researches of Dr. Otto Boehtlingk in his "*commentary*" on Pāṇini, are based on the same interesting "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," and have duly advocated the same date of Pāṇini's life. But as we have become already acquainted with the *reasoning* of the "*editor*" of Pāṇini, it will not appear devoid of interest to recall his arguments, which differ in several respects from those of Professor Müller. In the Rājataranginī, the Chronicle of Kashmir, he says (p. xv.), we read that Abhimanyu ordered Chandra and other grammarians to introduce the great commentary of Patañjali into Kashmir. Now, continues he (p. xvii), "the age of King Abhimanyu, under whose reign Chandra lived, can be ascertained by various ways, which all lead to the same result," viz., to the date

100 B.C.; and (p. xviii) "since we have found that Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya came into general use in Kashmir through Chandra, about 100 B.C., we are probably justified in pushing the composition of this great commentary to the Sūtras of Pāṇini, into the year 150. Between Patañjali and Pāṇini there are still three grammarians known to us, as we have observed before (p. xiv; viz., Kātyāyana, the author of the Paribhāṣās, and the author of the Kārikās), who made contributions to the Grammar of Pāṇini. We need therefore only make a space of fifty years between each couple of them, in order to arrive at the year 350, into the neighbourhood of which date our grammarian is to be placed, according to the Kathā-sarit-sāgara."

"Every way," says the French proverb, "leads to Rome,"—but not every way leads to truth, even in chronology. There is one way for instance, and it was ~~the~~ proper way, which led Professor Lassen<sup>a</sup> to the correct result that Abhimanyu did not live about

<sup>a</sup> "Indische Alterthums-kunde," vol. II. p. 412.

100 B.C., but between 40 and 65 after Christ. As to the triad of grammarians which is "known" to Dr. Boehtlingk between Pāṇini and Patanjali, and represented to his mind by Kātyāyana, and what he calls *the* author of the *Paribhāṣā* and *the* author of the *Kārikā*s, I must refer to my subsequent statements, which will show the worth of this specious enumeration. But, when Dr. Boehtlingk required 200 years between Patanjali and Pāṇini, simply to square his account with the "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," it would be wrong to deny that he has rightly divided 200 by 4; nor should I doubt that he would have managed with less ability the more difficult task of dividing 2000 or 20000 years by 4, if such an arithmetical feat had been required of him by that source of historical chronology, the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*.

Professor Müller must have had some misgivings like my own as to the critical acumen and accuracy of Dr. Boehtlingk's investigations. For, in the first instance, he does not start from the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* in order to arrive at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived fifty years after Pāṇini; on the contrary, he makes,

as we have seen, both grammarians contemporaries; judging, no doubt, that two men who enjoyed a very substantial fight cannot have lived at different times, even in a story book. Then he adverts likewise (p. 243) to the little mistake of Dr. Boehtlingk concerning Abhimanyu's date; in short, he denies the validity of all the arguments alleged by Dr. Boehtlingk, save those which are founded on the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. When therefore he, nevertheless, says (p. 301) that the researches of Professor Boehtlingk "with regard to the age of Pāṇini deserve the highest credit," I am at a loss to understand this handsome compliment, even though it strengthen his assurance (p. 310) "that Kātyāyana's date is as safe as any date is likely to be in ancient Oriental chronology."<sup>85</sup>

That Sanskrit philology should not yet possess the means of ascertaining the date of Pāṇini's life, is, no doubt, a serious

<sup>85</sup> In reply to this compliment, Dr. Boehtlingk makes the following bow: "Alles was zur Entscheidung dieser Frage beitragen könnte, finden wir auf das sorgfältigste

impediment to any research concerning the chronology of ancient Hindu works. For Pāṇini's Grammar is the centre of a vast and

zusammengestellt und erwogen in einem so eben erschienenen Werke von Max Müller, einem Werke, in welchem überraschende Belesenheit, Scharfsinn und geistreiche Behandlung des Stoffes den Leser in beständiger Spannung erhalten;" i.e., "All that can contribute to the solution of this question—(viz., that of the introduction of writing into India) we find put together and examined in the most careful manner, in a work by Max Müller, just published, a work in which surprising acquaintance with the literature, acuteness and ingenious treatment of the subject-matter, never suffer the reader's attention to flag." The testimonial he thus gratuitously gives to his own knowledge of "all that can contribute to the solution of that question," reached me too late to be noticed in the previous pages, as they were already in the press; it is contained in a paper of his, having the title "Ein Paar Worte zur Frage über das Alter der Schrift in Indien." These "few words" do not contain, indeed, a particle of fact bearing on the question, but much *reasoning*, of which the following concluding passage is the summary: "Nach meinem Dafürhalten also wurde die Schrift zur *Verbreitung* der Literatur in den älteren Zeiten nicht verwandt, wohl aber wurde sie zum *Schaffen* neuer Werke zu Hülfe genommen. Der Verfasser schrieb sein Werk nieder, lernte es aber dann auswendig oder liess es durch Andere memoriren. Niedergeschriebene Werke wurden in der älteren Zeit wohl selten von Neuem abgeschrieben, mögen aber im Original in der Familie als Heilighüther aufbewahrt und

important branch of the ancient literature. No work has struck deeper roots than his in the soil of the scientific development of

geheim gehalten worden sein. Möglicher Weise vernichtete aber auch der Autor sein Schriftwerk, sobald er dasselbe memorirt hatte, um nicht durch sein Beispiel Andere zu verleiten, um sich nicht des Vorwurfs einer Verrätherie an der Priesterkaste schuldig zu machen, vielleicht auch um nicht als gewöhnlicher Autor, dem das Werk allmählich unter den Händen entsteht, zu erscheinen, sondern als ein inspirirter Seher, der, ohne alle Mühe und Anstrengung von seiner Seite beim Schaffen, ein Werk in abgeschlossener Gestalt im Geiste erschaut und als ein solcher von den Göttern Bevorzugter weiter verkündet;" i.e., "In my opinion, therefore, writing was not used in the olden times for the *propagation* of literature, but was resorted to for the *production* of new works. The author wrote down his work, but then learnt it by heart, or made others commit it to memory. Probably, works once written down, were not copied anew in the olden time, with rare exceptions; but the original manuscripts were perhaps preserved as sacred relics in the family, and kept secret. But it is possible, too, that the author destroyed his written work, after he had committed it to memory, in order not to seduce others by his example, nor to make himself guilty of the reproach of treason towards the caste of priests; perhaps, too, not to appear as an ordinary author, whose work grew gradually under his hands, but as an inspired seer who, without any labour and exertion in producing, had seen in his mind a work in a finished form, and, as a person thus favoured by the gods, had proclaimed it abroad."—This *reasoning* will not surprise



India. It is the standard of accuracy in speech,—the grammatical basis of the Vaidik commentaries. It is appealed to by

as in the author of a "commentary on Pāṇini" (compare note 48, etc.). Yet I must ask, whence he derived his information that it was treason towards the Brāhmaṇa caste to write or to produce a manuscript? or whence he has learnt that an author could, in olden times, pass himself off as an inspired seer who was favoured by the gods, without, of course, being chastised by his countrymen, as an impostor? *Mass* XI. 55, treats of *false boasting*—**अपुनं सगुणैर्**—as a crime equal to that of killing a Brāhmaṇa; and *Yājñavalkya*, III. 229, places it on the same level with the drinking of spirituous liquors, which crime is expiated only after the sinner has drunk either boiling spirits, or boiling butter, cow's urine, or milk, until he dies (III. 253). Veracity, moreover, is known to be one of the principal features of the character of the ancient Hindus, as, in the epic legends, a word spoken, or a promise made, is always deemed irrevocable and binding. It is notorious that the Hindu authorities did not look upon any one as an inspired seer, except the author of a Mantra, and, probably, at a more recent period, of a Brāhmaṇa. The *Kaṇva* works were never considered to be anything but human productions, and I know only of one instance, viz., that of Pāṇini, where the author of a scientific work was supposed to have received it from a divinity.—In other words, to the mind of Dr. Bochtlingk the whole of the ancient scientific literature of India presents a picture of a gigantic swindle and imbecility; on the one side are the charlatans who write works, learn them by heart, and burn the manuscripts, in order to appear in direct communication

every scientific writer whenever he meets with a linguistic difficulty. Besides the inspired seers of the works which are the root of Hindu belief, Pāṇini is the only one, among those authors of scientific works who may be looked upon as real personages, who is a Rishi in the proper sense of the word,—an author supposed to have had the foundation of his work revealed to him by a divinity.\* Yet, however we may regret the necessity

with a divinity; on the other, is the idiotic nation which believes that the learned quacks are inspired seers favoured by the gods! It is not a little characteristic, but at the same time very intelligible, that this should be the view of the "editor" of Pāṇini.

\* Patanjali frequently, therefore, makes use of the expression, "Pāṇini *seer*," when an ordinary author is quoted by him as "saying" or the like; e.g. p. 145 (in Dr. Ballantyne's edition): **यस्मति स्वाचार्यो नाकारकस्तातो सोपो भवतीति**; or p. 246, **यस्मति स्वाचार्यो न कञ्जनस्य युवो भवतीति**; p. 281, **यस्मति स्वाचार्यो भवतीति**; or p. 787, **यस्मति स्वार्यं भवतीति**; p. 615, **यस्मति स्वाचार्यः काण्विदादयो भवतीति**; p. 787, **यस्मति स्वाचार्यकद्वेयभूतं तद्वैच युज्यत इति** etc.; but p. 658, **यस्मति स्वाचार्यः** (viz. Kātyāyana, in his *Vārtikas* to VI. 4, 104). **चिबो बुद्धिं तद्वैचानर्यस्य सचतस्माप्रसक्तं** **यस्मात्स्वोपसक्तं चास्मिन्नादिति** etc.—For the same reason, when Kaiyaṇa, for instance, speaks of "the author of the Sūtras," viz. Pāṇini, Nāgajibhaṭṭa explains this

of leaving this important personage in the chaos which envelopes the historical existence of all ancient Hindu celebrities, it is better to acknowledge this necessity than attach faith to a date devoid of real substance and resting on no trustworthy testimony. For, in doing so, we may feel induced to direct our efforts towards an investigation more likely to lead to a solid result, — I mean the investigation of the *internal evidence* afforded by the ancient literature—as to the position of Pāṇini relatively to the works which are its chief representatives. If we could succeed in establishing this position, or, at least, in determining the critical means by which this end could be obtained, future research into the chronology of Sanskrit literature would have, at least, some ground to build upon, as well as a test by

expression with “Śiṣa,” who revealed to Pāṇini the first fourteen Sūtras : e.g. p. 86, **सुबकारो महेश्वरः । विद्युत्सूत्रो वा :** or when Kaiyaṇa calls Pāṇini, Āchārya, Nāgajibhaṭṭa says (p. 120) **त्रिवो विद्युत्सूत्रो वाचाचार्यः ;** or p. 197, **वाचाचर्यः त्रिवः .** Of the first fourteen, or the Śivasūtras, Nāgajibhaṭṭa says that they existed from eternity, while Pāṇini made the rest : (p. 763 ed. Ballantyne) **तेषामनन्तत्वादिष्वेव पाणिनिः कृतवान्** etc.

which to recognise the place that may be allotted to many important works within the structure raised.

In making an attempt in this direction, we feel our immediate interest naturally engaged by the question whether Pāṇini and Kātyāyana (the author of the Vārttikas), were in reality contemporaries or not, whatever be the age at which they lived. As a substantial record of these Vārttikas is met with in no other work than the “Great Commentary” of Patanjali, it will first be necessary for us to examine the literature embodied or alluded to, in the Mahābhāshya, so far as it bears on this inquiry, in order to ascertain what portion of this literature is anterior to Kātyāyana, and what portion belongs to his own authorship. We may consult for this purpose, Kaiyaṇa, the principal commentator on Patanjali ; but we need not descend to the recent period of the Kāśikā, the Siddhānta-kaumudī, the commentaries of Nāgēśa, Purushottama, or other Vṛttis and Tīkās, for all these works are at too great a distance from the period of Patanjali to assist us in the solution of our problem.

Of the grammatical writers named by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, we pass over those which are quoted by Pāṇini himself, as by his testimony we are enabled at once to assign to them an existence prior to his Grammar.<sup>27</sup> We may pass over, too, those authorities to whom Patanjali adverts when he speaks of a "Śūtra of the former" grammarians<sup>28</sup>; for such an expression on his part invariably refers to Pāṇini's Śūtras; and the substance of the opinions or rules of these "former" grammarians must equally, therefore, have preceded Pāṇini's work, and, consequently, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

The first category of writings deserving our notice here will

<sup>27</sup> These authors are Āpīśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Chātravarmaṇa, Bhāradwāja, Śākaīyana, Śākaṭya, Senaka, Sphoṭīyana, and those designated by the collective appellation of eastern and northern grammarians. These names have been correctly mentioned by Dr. Boehtlingk, vol. II. p. iii—v.

<sup>28</sup> Kaiyaṭa calls them **पूर्वोक्तवर्ति**: or the "former teachers;" *e.g.* in his comment on the third Śivasūtra; on I. 1, 4; V. 2, 39; VI. 1, 6, etc. The word **पूर्वोक्त** which in the sense given is a Tatpurusha, the former part of which is to be understood in the sense of a genitive, occurs *e.g.* in the Bhāṣya to VII. 1, 18; compare also note 46.—And the

therefore be those Vārtikas and grammatical dicta which are quoted by Patanjali in relation to Kātyāyana's own Vārtikas. As authors of such writings we meet, for instance, with the grammarians of the school of the *Bhāradwājīyas* and *Saunāgās*, with *Kunaravādava*, *Vāḍava*, who is perhaps the same as this grammarian, with *Sauryabhagavat*, with *Kaṇi*, who is spoken of by Kaiyaṭa as a predecessor of Patanjali, and an indefinite number of grammarians who are introduced to us under the general designation of "some" or "others."<sup>29</sup> Whether the latter term com-

authorities quoted by Patanjali, under the name of **वार्तिकवर्ति**, are probably also meant as "older grammarians;" *e.g.* in his gloss on the fifth Śivasūtra, on I. 1, 1 and 2, 18, etc.

<sup>29</sup> The *Bhāradwājīyas* are quoted several times in the Bhāṣya; and in the Calc. ed. four times, viz. III. 1, 89, v. 1; IV. 1, 79, v. 1; VI. 4, 47, v. 1, and 155, v. 1.—The *Saunāgās* are mentioned there to II. 2, 18, v. 1—4; VI. 3, 44, v. 1; and VII. 2, 17; the latter quotation, however, does not occur in the Bhāṣya.—*Kunaravādava* is mentioned in the Bhāṣya to VII. 3, 1, v. 6; *Vāḍava* and *Sauryabhagavat* to VIII. 2, 106, v. 3; *Kaṇi* in Kaiyaṭa's gloss on I. 1, 75, where he says that Patanjali follows, in the words referred to, the opinion of *Kaṇi* (Kaiyaṭa: **कुषिना प्राचक्ष्यवार्तिकवर्तिदेवावर्त**).... **माधवारक्षु कुषिदम्बनमिच्छित**.) Some of these quotations are given by Dr. Boehtlingk, vol. II. pp. iv. li. The phrase "**अपर वार्ति**" is of frequent occurrence in

prise the grammarians just named, or other authorities, we can not infer from the words of Patanjali; probably, however, we are justified in deciding for the latter alternative, since Patanjali is a writer who chooses his words deliberately, and would scarcely have quoted his authority at one time by name, and at another by a general term which does not imply that great respect entertained for a high authority. But, whatever view we take of the matter,—setting aside those grammarians quoted by Patanjali, who will require some additional remark before we can establish their relation to Kātyāyana—we may see that all that are named must have lived before Patanjali, and after

the Bhāṣya, e.g. to the second Śivasūtra, to I. 1, 10; 2, 50, 51; II. 2, 24; 3, 66; III. 1, 27, 112, 123; 2, 109, 123, etc.; or कश्चिदीवाकरणे साह e.g. II. 4, 56; सद्ये शेषाकरणाः e.g. I. 1, 27; केचित् e.g., VIII. 2, 80 (केचित् . . . . . एके); अपरे e.g. I. 1, 1 and 2; III. 2, 123; and four sets of grammarians are contrasted by Patanjali in his comment on III. 2, 115: कथंजातीयकं पुनः परोचं नाम । केचित्सावदाहुः । वर्षे-व्रतपूतं परोचमिति । अपरं साहुः । वर्षसहस्रपूतं परोचमिति । अपरं साहुः । कुडाक-टाकारितं परोचमिति । अपरं साहुः । ब्रह्मपूतं ब्रह्मपूतं वेति ।

Kātyāyana, since all their Vārttikas or remarks, recorded by Patanjali are criticisms on, and emendations of, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.<sup>100</sup> Of Patanjali's *Ishtis* or “desiderata” which

<sup>100</sup> A few instances will bear out this conclusion. Kātyāyana's third Vārttika to II. 2, 18 runs thus: सिद्धं तु क्वास्त्वित्पुनरितिवचनात्; and his fourth: प्रादयः साधे (omitted in the Calc. ed.). After having explained both, Patanjali adds: एतदेव च सीनानिविख-रत्तरेण पठितम् and quotes the four Vārttikas of the Saunāgyas as given in the Calc. edition; Kaiyyāta is even more explicit on this occasion, for he says: एतदेवेति । कात्या-यनानिप्रायमेव प्रदर्शयितुं सीनानिविखरत्तरेण पठितमित्यर्थः. —The Vārttika of Kātyāyana to I. 1, 20 reads: पुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतियहं शिदर्थम्; but, says Patanjali, the Bhāradwājīyas read it otherwise: भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । पुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतियहं शि-द्विहतार्थम्, which last compound contains an important improvement on the rule of Kātyāyana.—The latter enlarges Pāṇini's rule III. 1, 89, by this Vārttika: यक्षिणोः प्रतिषेधे हेतुमक्षिणश्चिन्नामुपसंज्ञावरम्; but, says Patanjali after his explanation of it, भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । यक्षिणोः प्रतिषेधे चिन्नामिदं चिन्नामिदं यदाकर्मका-यामुपसंज्ञावरम् which version of the Bhāradwājīyas is a distinct criticism on Kātyā-yaṇa.—His two Vārttikas on VI. 4, 155 are the following: खाविष्टवप्रातिपदिकस्य and पुनङ्गावरमाविष्टोपचकादिपराधर्मः, but the Bhāradwājīyas improved them in this way: (Patanjali: भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति ।) खाविष्टवप्रातिपदिकस्य पुनङ्गावरमाविष्ट-लोपचकादिपरमाविष्टविषयतोऽनुक्त्वित्यर्थम्. The same Bhāradwājīyas have criti- cised Pāṇini also, independently of Kātyāyana, for Patanjali mentions at the Sūtra

are his own additions to Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, I need not

VI. 4, 47: अस्मिन्नेषधयो रमन्वतरस्वाम्, their Vārttika: अस्मिन्नेषधयो रमन्वतरस्वामिणी. The mere comparison of their Vārttikas and the passages quoted, will clearly show that these grammarians not only lived after Pāṇini, but also after Kātyāyana; and that they were engaged on the same task which was the object of Kātyāyana, viz., that of criticising Pāṇini. Dr. Boehtlingk, however, (vol. II. p. iv.)—when speaking of the Vārttikas of the Bhāradwājiyas and one Vārttika of the Āpīśalas, which improves Pāṇini's Sūtra VII. 3, 95, गुरुशुश्रूषमः सार्वधातुके इन्द्रसि (quoted by the Kāśikā, not by Patanjali),—draws from them the twofold conclusion, “first, that the grammatical terminology of both predecessors of our grammarian (Pāṇini) was the same, partly at least (*dans die grammatische Terminologie bei den beiden Vorgängern unserer Grammatikers, zum Theil vereinigtens, dieselbe gezeuget ist*), and then, that their original works, in time, received similar emendations and additions as the grammar of Pāṇini.” I know not by what logical process either of these conclusions could be extracted from these Vārttikas. The passages quoted are obvious criticisms on Pāṇini and Kātyāyana,—and so are the other Vārttikas of the Bhāradwājiyas named by Patanjali. There is not the slightest evidence afforded by these Vārttikas that they are in any connecting whatever with works of Bhāradwāja and Āpīśali, and any reasoning concerning the latter becomes therefore without foundation. Or do we find that in India all pupils and descendants are compelled to confine their writings or remarks to the

speak, since they are an essential portion of his own Great Commentary.<sup>101</sup>

works of their teachers and ancestors? and will their criticisms on these latter works turn out, by some marvellous process, to fit exactly the productions of other authors also? <sup>101</sup> It will probably be thought desirable that an editor should at least understand the title-page of the work which he is committing to the press, even when editing is merely tantamount to reprinting the labours of others, faults and all; but I fear that this much cannot be said of Dr. Boehtlingk's edition of Pāṇini; for, in translating the title-page of the Calcutta edition, he renders रश्चि “*kārikā*” and justifies this version in the following note (vol. II. p. xxxvii): “I take परिभाषेष्टिभिः as a *dvandwa*, and रश्चि as synonymous with *kārikā*, because I should not like to miss these (the *Kārikās*) on the title.” Thus, because the Calcutta Pandits, rightly or wrongly, did not say on the title-page of their edition that their compilation will comprise the *Kārikās*, but merely stated that it will give Vārttikas, Gāṇas, Paribhāshās and Ishṭis, Dr. Boehtlingk reasons, that “since he does not like the omission of the *Kārikās*,” *Ishṭi* is the same as *Kārikā*. There is, indeed, nothing strange in this reasoning of Dr. Boehtlingk; we have seen already some specimens of it, and if any one would take upon himself the ungrateful task of reviewing the second volume which he has annexed to his “*edition*” of Pāṇini, he would have to add a good many more of the same quality. But if Dr. Boehtlingk had chosen to consult, by letter or otherwise, the editors of his edition of Pāṇini, they would in all probability have told him that *Ishṭi* means a “*desideratum*,” and that *Ishṭi*, emphatically

Another category of literary compositions, which are either entirely or partly embodied in the Mahābhāṣya, are the *Kārikās*.<sup>102</sup> To assign these verses to one author, would be as

so called, and not qualified otherwise (as *Ishtis* of the *Kāśikā*, etc.), designate the *Vārttikas* of *Patanjali*. They might, too, have referred him to the *Padachandrikāvatīti*, which in the introduction plainly says: इष्टयो भाष्यकारश्च; or to Nāgajñātha, who when referring to the word इष्टि applied by Kaiyaṣa to the *Vārttika* of Patanjali to I. 1, omitted in the edition) बन्धोक्त्याणि भवन्ति comments: इष्टिरिति। तथा च भाष्यकारीयातिदेशात्सूत्रेषु खट्वः कार्यप्रवृत्तिरिति भावः. But, for aught I know, they might have simply requested him to read their own edition, before sending it to the printer, since they have themselves written the word भाष्यकारिष्टिः, for instance, after a *Vārttika* to I. 1, 9, or भार्गविष्टिः after a *Vārttika* to I. 1, 68; or the words इष्टिभाष्यकतः after a *Vārttika* to II. 2, 28; and it is clear enough that in none of these instances can इष्टि be synonymous with कारिका.

<sup>102</sup> It is almost superfluous to state that I merely speak of the *Kārikās* which are recorded by Patanjali. Those belonging to Bhartṛihari, who wrote a gloss on Patanjali (comp. e.g. *Gaṣaratanachodadhi*: भर्तृहरिवीक्ष्यपदीयकतो महाभाष्याख्या ता च, and my subsequent observations on the *Vākyapadīya*), as well as the *Kārikās* met with exclusively in the *Kāśikā* or *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, can have no bearing on the present investigation.

erroneous as to speak of one author of the *Vārttikas*.<sup>103</sup> For, even the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini enables us to see, at first

<sup>103</sup> These assertions have nevertheless been made by Dr Boehtlingk, vol. II. p. xiv., where he states that "between Pāṇini and Anura-Sinha there are still four grammarians: Kātyāyana, the author of the *Paribhāṣhās*, the author of the *Kārikās*, and Patanjali," and p. xviii. xix., where he states that each couple of these grammarians may be separated from one another by a space of fifty years, he repeats, "as we have observed above (p. xiv), there are between Patanjali and Pāṇini still three grammarians known to us, who made contributions to the grammar of Pāṇini." On page xlix, it is true, he says, "no doubt the *Kārikās* do not all belong to the same author, since the same subject is treated sometimes in two different *Kārikās* in a perfectly different manner;" but as he observed before that the *Kārikās* are "scattered in various grammars (*sic*), viz. in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikā*, the *Padamanjarī* and the *Kaumudī*," and as two quotations which he adds in corroboration of his statement, viz. VI. 3, 109, and VII. 2, 10, have reference to the *Kāśikā* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī* only, we should be in fairness bound to conclude that, in his opinion, it was the literary period after Patanjali which produced this variety of authors of the *Kārikās*. Yet when he presents us with a third quotation, viz. "Calc. ed. p. 274," which clearly points to the fact that there were different authors of *Kārikās* at or before Patanjali's time, it would be curious to learn how he reconciles this latter quotation with his previous statements at pages xiv and xix, according to which there is but one author of the *Kārikās* between Pāṇini and

*sight*, in four instances, that they cannot be the work of the same author ; and, besides these, two other instances of the same kind may be found in the "Great Commentary."<sup>104</sup> But, to define the relation of these verses to Kātyāyana, it will not be sufficient simply to state that some of them embody the rules of Kātyāyana, while others deviate from them, and others again enlarge and criticise the Vārtikas :<sup>105</sup> it will be necessary to describe the

Patanjali, and a personage, too, who lived 50 years after the author of the Paribhāṣās and 50 years before Patanjali ! Compare also the following note.

<sup>104</sup> The Kārikās not met with in the Bhāṣya are, usually, correctly marked in the Calcutta edition with the name of the work whence they have been taken ; those not marked, are therefore, nearly always, recognizable in this edition as belonging to the Mahābhāṣya. That such Kārikās of the latter kind, to the same Sūtra of Pāṇini, belong to different authors, is indicated in the Calc. ed. at I. 4, 51 ; III. 2, 123 (p. 274) ; IV. 1, 44 and 63. From the Bhāṣya we learn it, at *first sight*, besides, in the two instances, I. 2, 50,—where the words **गोष्ठा रत्नं** etc. are preceded by **अपर आह**—and VIII. 2, 58, where the latter words precede the Kārikā **वेत्तेषु** etc. Compare the notes 107, 108, 111.

<sup>105</sup> Three striking instances of the latter kind are the Kārikās to IV. 2, 60 ; VIII. 1, 69 ; and III. 2, 118. The first occurs at the end of Patanjali's commentary on the

characteristic features of these Kārikās such as we find them in Patanjali's work.

An external, but very important mark, is afforded by the circumstance that one portion of the Kārikās is left by Patanjali entirely without comment, while he comments on another portion in the same manner as he does on the Vārtikas ; and we may add, too, that there are a few Vārtikas which are not altogether without a gloss, but the gloss on which is so scanty

Vārtikas of this Sūtra, is without comment, and contains, for the greater part, new matter, which is given in the shape of Vārtikas in the Siddhānta-kāumudī. It is omitted in the Calc. ed. and runs thus : **अनुपूर्वस्वस्य सर्वसादृशिनोच सः । एक्यदेशरप-द्राकृतपट्टेः विकल्पः**. The Kārikā to VIII. 1, 69 embodies the Vārtikas 1, 2, 3 to the same Sūtra and Vārtika 2 to VIII. 1, 67, but in the latter Kātyāyana says **मनोपवचनं च**, and the Kārikā enlarges this rule to **मन्वास्त्रोपो ऽतिष्ठि** (Nāgajibhāṣa : **मनोपचेति चार्तिकोक्तो मनोपविस्तुतेनेष्टः**). The Kārikā to III. 2, 118 is thus introduced by Patanjali : **किं वातः खादि०० । न स पुरावतन इति** (second Vārtika) **श्रुतता कालावनेह खादि००** ; and by Kātyāyana : **एकतरस्मिन्वाचिंश्चि सुपुराशब्दानुपवचनलेनाश्रयणीवी । तत्र पूर्वस्मिन्परस्मिन्वा विशेषमपश्यायुच्छति । इतरी वार्त्तिके-कप्रत्याख्यानय मया विवक्षितमेतदिवाह । खादि००**.

and so different from the kind of comment bestowed on the Vārttikas, that they might seem to constitute a third category of Kārikās.<sup>108</sup>

If we first examine *the Kārikās without comment*, we meet twice with the remark of Patanjali that “*another*,” or “*others*,” have composed the verse in question, when the Kārikā is con-

<sup>108</sup> *Without any comment* of Patanjali we find the Kārikās to I. 1, 0. 14. 20. 38. 70; 2. 64; 4. 51 (Kār. 5-7).—II. 1, 10. 60; 4. 36. 85.—III. 1, 7 (= V. 2. 94. Kār. 1). 22. 27. 79. 122. 127; 2. 3. 123 (Kār. 1, 2. 4. 5. 6); 3. 1. (Kār. 3.) 156 (= VII. 4. 41); 4. 79.—IV. 1, 44. 63. 161; 2. 9. 60. (comp. the preceding note); 4. 9.—V. 1, 115; 2. 48; 3. 53.—VI. 1, 1. 77 (Kār. 2). 87; 2. 199; 4. 114.—VII. 1, 18. 73 (Kār. 2); 4. 46 (Kār. 2). 92.—VIII. 1, 70; 2. 58. (Kār. 3). 59. 62. 80. 108; 3. 43.—There are Kārikās commented upon by Patanjali, in his usual manner, to I. 1, 19. 57; 2. 9. 17. 18. 50. 51; 4. 21 (= III. 3. 161). 51 (Kār. 1. 2. 1-4).—III. 1, 112; 2. 57. 109. 115. 139; 3. 1 (Kār. 1. 2).—IV. 1, 3. 10. 18. 32. 54. 78. 92. 93. 120. 165; 2. 8. 45; 3. 60. 84. 134.—V. 1, 19; 2. 39. 45. 94 (Kār. 2); 3. 83.—VI. 1, 77 (Kār. 1) 103. 158; 2. 1; 3. 46; 4. 3. 12. 22. 46. 62. 74. 128.—VII. 1, 9. 21. 40. 73 (Kār. 1). 96; 2. 102. 107; 3. 86; 4. 46 (Kār. 1).—VIII. 1, 69 (comp. the preceding note); 2. 25. 55. 58 (Kār. 1. 2); 3. 88; 4. 68.—To the *third category* belong the Kārikās to I. 1, 38 (om. Calc. ed.).—III. 1, 123; 2. 118. 123 (Kār. 3).—IV. 2, 13.—VI. 4, 120. 149.—VIII. 3, 45.—Other Kārikās quoted in the Calcutta edition do not occur in the Bhāṣya.

trasted by him with the preceding *Vārttika*; and the same remark occurs four times, when the Kārikā thus introduced to our notice is contrasted with a preceding *Kārikā*.<sup>107</sup> More definite statements, I believe, are not volunteered by Patanjali; but Kaiyyāta once tells us, that such an uncommented Kārikā was composed by the *Śloka-vārttika-kāra*, or the “author of the versified Vārttikas,” and though this information is not more distinct or more satisfactory than that of Patanjali, it has, at least, the merit of having on another occasion elicited the remark of Nāgoji, that this author is *not* Kātyāyana.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Patanjali to III. 1, 27: अपर आह । आनु० (contrasted with the preceding Vārttika); III. 2, 123, Kār. 1: अपर आह: । नास्ति वर्तमानः आह इति । अपि चाप सोबागुदाहरति । न वर्तते०..... सो ऽप्यन्य इति (contrasted with the preceding Vārttika), etc.; but the last Kārikā, which is introduced by the words अपर आह । अस्ति वर्तमान आह इति । आदित्यविवक्षोपकथ्यते । अपि चाप सोबागुदाहरति । विसृज्य०, is contrasted with the preceding Kārikās; at IV. 1, 63, after ऽपरः सह, he adds, अपर आह । अपर आह । उच्यते etc.; at IV. 1, 63, after ऽपरः सह, he adds, अपर आह । प्रादुर्भाव०; at VIII. 2, 58, after गृह्यते, his words are, अपर आह । वेत्तेषु etc.

<sup>108</sup> Patanjali on IV. 4, 9: अत्र किं व्याजम् । परिवचनं कर्तव्यम् । आकर्षात्पर्येदे:



Being here merely concerned with the question of the relation of these Kárikás to Kátyáyana, we should not feel under the necessity of examining the contents of the six verses just mentioned, even if they differed in character from the rest—which is not the case,—for the statements alleged enable us, as it is, to conclude that they are *later* than his Várttikas. Still, as the remaining portion of these uncommented Kárikás does not admit of a similar inference without an inquiry into the evidence which they yield, it will be necessary to observe that they fall into two distinct divisions.

One class of them merely records the substance of the preceding Várttikas. These, for the most part, stand at the end of Patanjali's commentary on the Súra to which they belong; but etc.—Kaiyaṭa: **संदिग्धानां दिग्धां च आतिशयाच्च पर्यवोच्यते**.—Kaiyaṭa on the Kárikás to VI. 4, 22: **वास्तिककारोक्तिं प्रयोजनेषु प्राक्कालेनैव वास्तिककारोक्तप्रयोजनपरैः**.—Nāgajibhatta: **वास्तिककारः कालाद्यनः ।** **सोक्तवास्तिककारस्त्वय एवेति शेषः**. See also page 92.

some of them are also met with in the midst of the discussion of the Bháshya, but only when they comprise the contents of a portion, not of the whole, of the Várttikas to the Súra of Páṇini.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Such uncommented Kárikás standing at the end of the commentary occur at the Sútras II. 1. 10; 4. 85 (Kár. 2. 3).—III. 1. 79; 2. 3.—V. 2. 48; 3. 55 (Kár. 3. 5).—VI. 1. 77 (Kár. 2). 87.—VII. 1. 73 (Kár. 2).—VIII. 2. 62. 108; 3. 43.—*In the middle* of the discussion they occur at the Sútras II. 1. 60, before the fourth Várttika, and summing up the Várttikas 1, 2, 3; II. 4. 88 (Kár. I, being a summary of the Várttikas preceding the third Várttika in the Calc. ed.).—The summary character of these Kárikás is sometimes expressly adverted to by the commentators. Thus at II. 1. 60, Kaiyaṭa observes: **अवधारणे नञा वेदिति पूर्व एवार्थं आर्षेवा संयुजितः**; II. 4. 85 (Kár. 1), **एव एवार्थं** (of what precedes) **आर्षेवा द्योतिः**; II. 4. 85 (Kár. 2. 3), **पूर्वोक्त एवार्थः शोकेन संयुजितः**; III. 2. 3, **उत्तार्वसंवाच्योक्तः**; 1 **निबं प्रसारयामिति**; V. 2. 48, **प्रकृत्यवेदिति पूर्वोक्तार्थसंवाच्योक्तः**, etc. etc. I may here observe that the word **इति**, which is usually added by authors after quotations they make from other authors, is scarcely ever met with after the last word of these or any other Kárikás. There is the following instance which clearly proves that no inference can be drawn from the presence or absence of this word **इति** after the Kárikás; viz. the Káriká to III. 1. 7 is identical with the first Káriká to V. 2. 94; **इति** occurs after the former, not after the latter. Only one of the Kárikás introduced by **अप्युक्तः**—a 'clear

The second class has not the character of summaries of the Vārtikas. It is an *essential part of the discussion of the Bhāṣya itself*, now introducing the point at issue with some general remark, then

instance of a quotation—is followed by this word, viz. : III. 2, 123 (Kār. 1); none of the un-commented Kārikās except the one mentioned (III. 1, 7) has this word after it; and among the Kārikās with comment, it occurs only at III. 2, 13A. It is not necessary, on the present occasion, to make any further statement concerning the use of *हति* in Patanjali's commentary; but compare also note 130.—The Calcutta editors, who, unfortunately, have considered themselves justified in giving us "Extracts" from the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, do not enable their readers fully to recognize the summary character of these Kārikās; and, in placing the Kārikās either at the end or at the beginning, they have, in this class of the Kārikās, and still more so in the following classes, entirely destroyed all possibility of perceiving how these Kārikās are sometimes summaries of a portion only of Vārtikas, sometimes the summary of Patanjali's discussion, and sometimes an essential portion of his arguments. When, in the MSS. of the Bhāṣya, to judge from the one at my command, a Kārikā, which occurs in the middle of the discussion, is sometimes—not always,—repeated at the end, such a device on the part of Patanjali, or, as it seems more probable, on the part of the copyists, is intelligible, and deserves approval, as it is calculated to draw our attention to the occurrence, in the middle of the discussion, of such a verse, which usually contains important information. But when such a verse is always taken from its original and proper place, and always

connecting or strengthening the links of the debate by an important definition or a new argument, then again summing up the substance of the discussion itself, and throwing, as it were, some additional light on it:<sup>110</sup>

put either at the beginning or at the end, for no other reason than that it is a verse, such a method, in a book, moreover, of that equivocal class which gives dribbled extracts of an important literature, makes the same impression, on my mind at all events, as if an editor of a garbled Shakspeare were to present us first with all the prosaic and then with all the poetical parts of the play, or *vice versa*.

<sup>110</sup> Uncommented verses of this kind are met with in the Bhāṣya at or near the beginning of the discussion on IV. 1, 44 (वोतो मुञ्च० । मुञ्चयवादिमुञ्चते । वो मुञ्चो नाम । सत्वे निविशते etc., when he contrasts the following Kārikā—अपर आह । उपेत्य०—with the preceding words); IV. 1, 63 (वातेरली० । आतेरिमुञ्चते वा अतिर्नम । आकृतिग्रहण०, which words are contrasted with the Kārikā of "another" अपरे आह । प्रादुर्भाव०); IV. 1, 161 (समोर्वातावच० । अथत्वे कुत्सिते etc.); V. 1, 115 (निगुञ्ज० । रदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमवायुक्षम । अरुणुतीव्रावमर्षे किंचा वेत्ता सवतीमुञ्चते । अथ च गुतीवावमर्षे नाम किंचा खात । शितदयुक्तं वर्तते । सर्वे एव ते शब्दा मुञ्चसुदो-येषु वर्तन्ते आह्वयः अविद्यो वेदः मुद्ग हति । तपः कुत०); VI. 2, 199 (परादि-अवद-वि उञ्जम । अवत्यभिदमुञ्चते । परादिच परावच०); VII. 4, 46, 46A-2. (तो रद० ।

A comparison of these two classes of *uncommented* Kárikás shows, therefore, that while the former might have been omitted in the Great Commentary, without any detriment to the contents of this work, the latter was indispensable to it. We may look upon the summary Kárikás as memorial verses, adapted for forming a separate collection for the convenience of teachers and pupils; but

**वार्तिक विवरण इति** & etc.)—The foregoing quotations, which begin with the Sūtra itself, will show the introductory character of these Kárikás.—*In the middle of the discussion* of the Bhāṣhya we find such Kárikás at I. 1, 0 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 201, 202, towards the end of the Introduction); I. 1, 20 (preceding the fourth Vārtika of the Calc. ed.); I. 1, 38 (the first Káriká of the Calc. ed.; it stands after the Vārtikas of this ed.), and is followed by a Káriká of the third category—see note 106,—which is omitted in the Calc. ed.; I. 2, 64 (preceding the eighteenth Vārtika of the ed.); III. 1, 22 (after the Vārtika of the ed., but before other Vārtikas omitted there); V. 3, 55 (Kár. 1. 2; preceding the ninth Vārtika of the Calc. ed.; Patanjali speaks in the first person); VI. 4, 114 (before the third Vārtika of the ed.); VIII. 2, 80 (before the second Vārtika of the ed.)—Uncommented Kárikás occur *at the end of the discussion* of the Bhāṣhya at I. 1, 14, 38 (the last Káriká of the ed.; the Calc. editors add that this Káriká is originally a Vaidik passage referring to **वैदिक**). Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa have no remark to this effect; but even if the editors be right, they ought to have proved first that the

the independent existence of the commentatorial Kárikás is quite unintelligible, and would be altogether purposeless. In short, though there might be a doubt whether Patanjali, or some other grammarian, poetically inclined, had versified the Vārtikas, it seems impossible to assume that the second class of those Kárikás was composed by any one but Patanjali. It is very probable, however, that the author of the Mahābhāṣhya was not the author of the summary or memorial Kárikás. For since there *was* an “author of versified Kárikás,” as we learn from Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa, and as we shall see that a considerable number of the commented Kárikás do not belong to his authorship, the literary activity of this personage would become restricted to,

“Vaidik” passage in question—a very vague definition—is older than Patanjali’s Bhāṣhya, and not taken from it; on I. 1, 70; 4, 51 (Kár. 5—7); II. 4, 36; III. 1, 7 (which occurs once more in the middle of the discussion on V. 2, 94 as Kár. 1); III. 1, 122, 127; 3, 1. Kár. 3 (see note 113). 156 (= VII. 4, 41); 4, 79; IV. 2, 9, 60 (omitted in the Calc. ed.; see note 105, **वैदिक**); V. 3, 55 (Kár. 3—5); VI. 1, 1; VII. 1, 18; 4, 92 (where Patanjali speaks in the first person); VIII. 1, 70; 2, 59.

and his fame would have been founded on, less than half-a-dozen lines, if we did not ascribe to him more Kárikás than those expressly attributed to him by these commentators, or if we fathered these summary Kárikás on Patanjali. Whether the “*other*” mentioned in the first six instances be the same, or not, as the “author of the versified Kárikás,” I have no means of deciding; but, at all events, it becomes certain, after this brief explanation, that *all the uncommented Kárikás are later than the Várttikas of Kátyáyana.*

The Kárikás *commented upon* by Patanjali are in one respect similar to the foregoing class, but in another wholly different from it. As regards an external mark, we again meet here with “another,” who has twice composed a Káriká which is contrasted by Patanjali with a preceding Várttika, and twice a Káriká which he contrasts with a preceding Káriká, the authorship of which is left without a remark.<sup>111</sup> Another such Káriká, too, is distinctly

<sup>111</sup> III. 1, 112, Patanjali says, अपर चाह । संज्ञायां पुंसि etc., when he contrasts the

ascribed by Kaiyyata to the “author of the versified Kárikás.”<sup>112</sup> And when we examine the contents of this second class of Kárikás, we again find many which form an essential part of the arguments in the discussion of Patanjali.<sup>113</sup> Here, however, the analogy stops; for the remainder have in no way the nature of summaries; they are to all intents and purposes identical in character with the Várttikas of Kátyáyana; and even Patanjali’s commentary

Káriká with the preceding Várttika; III. 2, 109, अपर चाह । नोवेचिवात् etc. contrasted with preceding Várttikas omitted in the Calc. ed.; I. 2, 50 (Kár. 2), अपर चाह । नोवात् etc. contrasted with the preceding Káriká; I. 4, 51, अपर चाह । प्रधावकर्मसाक्षिदे etc. (commented on up to खवचो विदुः Kár. 1-4) contrasted with the preceding Káriká.

<sup>112</sup> VI. 4. 22. Compare note 108.

<sup>113</sup> Such Kárikás are met with at or near the beginning of the Bháshya on I. 4, 51 (the two first Kár. of the Calc. ed.); III. 3. 1. (Kár. 1. 2; the last Káriká is left without comment); IV. 1, 3. 54. 78. (the first four Kárikás stand at the beginning, before the first Várttika; the following nine after the second Várttika of the Calcutta edition, which, in the Bháshya, however, is the fourth); 92. 165; V. 2, 45; VI. 1, 103. In the middle of the discussion on I. 1, 57; IV. 1, 93; V. 1, 19; 2, 94, Kár. 2 (before the seventh Várttika of the Calc. ed.); VII. 4, 46 (Kár. 1).

on them follows the same method that he observes in his comment on the Vārtīkās.<sup>114</sup>

This method is analogous to that which has become familiar through the classical commentaries of Śaṅkara on the Upanishads, of Medhātithi and Kullūka on Manu, of Śāyana on the Vedas, of Vijnāneswara on Yājñavalkya, and so on. Its character chiefly consists in establishing, usually by repetition, the correct reading of the

text, in explaining every important or doubtful word, in showing the connection of the principal parts of the sentence, and in adding such observations as may be required for a better understanding of the author. Patanjali even excels, in the latter respect, the commentaries instanced, for he frequently attaches his own critical remarks to the emendations of Kātyāyana, often in support of the views of the latter, but not seldom, too, in order to refute his criticisms and to defend Pāṇini; while, again, at other times, he completes the statement of one of them by his own additional rules.

Now this method Patanjali strictly follows in his comment on the Kārikās I am alluding to. As they nearly always constitute a whole verse, and as such a verse is generally too complicated an assemblage of words to be thoroughly intelligible without being interrupted by some explanatory remark, it seldom happens that the comment of Patanjali does not begin till he has given the whole verse in its uninterrupted order. Nor is it often that so many words of the Kārikā as constitute half a verse remain together in the Bhāṣya, though it is obvious that half a verse is

<sup>114</sup> Kārikās of this description occur in the Bhāṣya at or near the beginning of the commentary on I. 1, 19; 2, 9, 17, 18, 50 (Kār. 1); III. 2, 115; IV. 1, 10 (the Vārtīka of the Calc. ed. on this Sūtra is no Vārtīka but Bhāṣya); 3, 60, 84, 134; V. 3, 83; VI. 1, 77 (Kār. 1 a. b.). 158; 2, 1; 3, 46; 4, 3, 46, 128; VII. 1, 21, 40, 73 (Kār. 1). 96; 2, 107; 3, 3 (Kār. 1). 86; VIII. 1, 60 (?); 2, 25, 55, 58 (Kār. 1. 2); 3, 88; 4, 68.—In the middle, at I. 2, 51; 4, 21 (= HL. 3, 161); III. 2, 57, 139; IV. 1, 18, 32 (the second Vārtīka of the Calc. ed. is no Vārtīka but Bhāṣya on the last part of the Kārikā); 2, 8 (the second Vārtīka of the Calc. ed. is misedited; it runs thus: **इष्टे सामनि जाते सायच्छिष्टिं यो विधीयते**). 48; V. 2, 39; VI. 4, 12, 62, 74; VII. 1, 9; 2, 102; 3, 3 (Kār. 2 and 3).—Towards the end, at IV. 1, 120.—In several of these instances there are no other Vārtīkas to the Sūtra besides the Kārikā, which is then the subject of the whole commentary, e.g. at IV. 3, 60, 84; VI. 4, 46, 128; VII. 1, 21; 3, 88.

more likely to afford undivided matter for comment than a whole one. The rule, therefore, is, that small portions of the Káriká, for the most part of the extent of an ordinary Várttika, are, like so many Várttikas, separately commented upon by Patanjali, and that in all such instances we have to gather the scattered parts of the Káriká from amongst the commentatorial interruptions of Patanjali, in order to see that, put together, they form a verse,—a Śloka, an Indravajra, a Dodhaka, an Áryá, or the like.<sup>115</sup> This trouble we are frequently saved, either by the author of the Great Com-

<sup>115</sup> The text of the *whole* verse of Kárikás of this class is given before the comment of Patanjali, at I. 2. 51 ; V. 2. 94. Kár. 2 ; VI. 4. 46 ; VIII. 4. 68. There occur *half* verses of the Kárikás, without commentatorial interruptions, e.g. at I. 4. 21 ( = III. 3. 161 ). 51 ; III. 2. 57. 115 ; IV. 1. 3. 10. 32. 93. 165 ; 2. 8. 45 ; V. 2. 39 ; VI. 4. 3. 12. 62. 128 ; VII. 1. 9. 96 ; 2. 102. 107 ; 3. 3. 86.—Both modes are combined at VIII. 3. 45 (a Kár. of the *third category*) where Patanjali first comments on the text of the first Káriká, which is given without any interruption ; then on the first half of the second Káriká ; then on the second half of the second and the first half of the third Káriká ; then on the second half of the third ; and lastly, on the first half of the fourth Káriká. The comment on the second half of the fourth Káriká follows first after the words *सिद्धं च*

mentary himself, or by the attentive copyists of his work, as he or they usually repeat, at the end of the gloss on the Várttikas,

ते समाधि, and then after the words *प्रतिषाधार्थं चलो ह्यस्*.—The manner in which the great majority of *these* Kárikás is interrupted in the Mahābhāṣya may be guessed from a very few instances which have escaped the garbling process of the Calcutta editors ; from IV. 1. 120, where the four Várttikas are the literal text of the Káriká ; and from V. 3. 83, where the first five Várttikas constitute the Káriká. The injudiciousness of giving these Kárikás on all other occasions, without indicating the manner in which they have arisen from a number of short Várttikas, requires no remark after the foregoing explanation ; but this proceeding becomes still more subject to censure, when some portions of the Káriká are given as Várttikas and others are omitted, or ascribed to other works than the Bhāṣya, while the Káriká, nevertheless, is printed as belonging to the latter work. For it becomes evident that, in all such cases, there was not even a principle which guided the so-called selection or quotation of the works whence the Várttikas are taken. Thus at IV. 1. 32 the Calcutta edition gives the Káriká, but only the last portion of it as Várttika—mistaking, moreover, the words of the commentary वा ह्यस्ति मुक्तत्वाः for the Káriká-Várttika, which runs thus : वा ह्यस्ति नुगमेत्—A similar mis-edition of the second Várttika to IV. 2. 8, and the attributing to the Kāśikā of the fifth Várttika, make it impossible to see that the Várttikas 2—5 form, in the Mahābhāṣya, the text of the printed Káriká.—In ascribing the third and the fifth Várttika of V. 3. 83 to the Siddhānta-kanmudī, the

the whole Káriká in its metrical integrity. Sometimes, however, they omitted to do this; and if I may judge from the copy of the Mahábháshya in the possession of the Library of the Home Government for India, the Calcutta Pandits, who published an edition of Páṇini, have, in some instances, supplied the apparent defect of this manuscript.<sup>116</sup>

editors obscure the origin of the Káriká to this Sūtra, which repeats the text of the first five Várttikas, such as they occur in the Bháshya.—At VIII. 2, 25 the same edition does not allow us to perceive more than the first stop of the first Káriká, while it gives the three Kárikás in full.—I may mention, too, that there is no such Káriká in the Bháshya as that printed at VI. 4, 19. It certainly was very tempting to roll up into a Śloka the words of Patanjali, तुक्प्रसञ्ज्ञित, which explain the second Várttika तुक्प्रसञ्ज्ञ, together with the three other Várttikas which belong to Kátyáyana; but there is no evidence to show that Patanjali made this verse; nor does it occur in the Káriká or the Siddhánta-kaumudī.—For one Káriká Patanjali seems, indeed, to be himself answerable, for the Várttikas to VIII. 1, 69 merely contain the material for the first fourth and the second half of the Káriká, which occurs at the end of his Bháshya on this Sūtra. It is possible, however, under the circumstances, that this Káriká may be one of the summary class. See note 105.

<sup>116</sup> Dr. Ballantyne's edition of the first Páda of the first Adhyáya of the Mahá-

The foregoing remarks sufficiently express my views on these commented Kárikás. Where the authorship of "another," or of the Śloka-várttika-kára, is distinctly mentioned by Patanjali or Kaiyyāṭa, I see no reason to doubt that the Kárikás to which this remark applies are neither Patanjali's nor Kátyáyana's. When the Kárikás are part of the arguments of the Bháshya itself, it seems certain, as in the case of the analogous Kárikás without comment, that their author is Patanjali; but when they have entirely

bháshya, and the MS. of the E. I. H., which have the four Várttikas to I. 1, 57, निवः परयादिभ्यो निवः । comm. .... । परयादी व्यस्यवा । comm. .... । युवपत्तयस्यो वाचि । comm. .... । चरित्तेन विधति । comm. 1, do not repeat these words without interruptions in order to show their Káriká nature; and the same remark applies to the MS. with regard to the commented Kárikás I. 2, 51; 4, 21. 51; IV. 1, 3. 32. 78. 92. 93. 120. 165; 2, 45; 3, 60. 134; V. 1, 19; 2, 39. 45. 94 (Kár. 2); 3, 83; VI. 1, 158; 4, 46. 62. 74. 128; VII. 1, 96; 4, 46 (Kár. 1); VIII. 2, 25. 55. 58 (Kár. 1, 2); 3, 46; 4, 68. The repetition of some of these Káriká-Várttikas has no doubt been omitted, because the commentary of Patanjali allowed the whole verse or half a verse of this text to remain uninterrupted (see note 115). In the Calcutta edition all these Kárikás are given in their metrical integrity.

the character of Vārttikas—which will later be defined—they are undoubtedly the composition of Kātyāyana; and such, I hold, is the view of Kaiyaṣa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa also. For though it is no part of their task to specify the authorship of the Kārikās, except when such a remark is essential to their gloss, they, nevertheless, have done so occasionally; and when thus we find that they plainly ascribe some of these commented Kārikās either to the author of the Vārttikas or the author of the Great Commentary, as the case may be, we must be allowed to infer that they entertained a similar opinion on other Kārikās which would fall under either of the heads I have mentioned above.<sup>117</sup> Nor need we hesitate at the idea of a

<sup>117</sup> Thus, on the first four Kārikās to IV. 1, 78, Nāgajibhaṭṭa observes : एते श्लोका भाष्यकृत एव च चार्त्तिककृतः—which words, moreover, plainly intimate that there exist Kārikās composed by Kātyāyana; or in the latter part of Kaiyaṣa's comment on the Kārikā to VI. 1, 103 we read : . . . . . एवादिना विशिष्टमेव विदुषश्चण्ड आश्रया-रेकाश्रितम्.—In his comment on the Kārikā to IV. 3, 60, Nāgajibhaṭṭa, in referring to the remark of Patanjali, मुक्षपात्रे ह्येताभ्यां तत्त्वभाषासीयप्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः (which words explain the beginning of the second Kārikā) observes : भाष्ये तत्त्वभाष्यामिति चार्त्तिके आश्रयात्समाहः; and on a further remark of Kaiyaṣa : प्रकृतचार्त्तिकप्रयो-

poetical author of Vārttikas. Not only were whole grammatical works, ancient and modern, written in verse,<sup>118</sup> but it is a common occurrence with scientific commentators in India, that they cannot resist the temptation of running into verse, even at the risk of endangering their prosaic task. We need only remember another celebrated author of Vārttikas, Kumārila, who writes alternately in Śloka and prose. It might seem more remarkable that Patanjali should write in verse and comment upon this himself; but *Mādhava* affords an analogous instance in his Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara; *Viśvanātha-Panchānana*

ब्रह्मसूत्र- On the affix त्वे in the second Kārikā to VI. 1, 158, Nāgajibhaṭṭa remarks : चार्त्तिके त्वेयद्वयं सूत्रोपलक्षणम्; on the first Kārikā to VI. 2, 1 : . . . . . इति विवलो ऽसिद्ध इति चार्त्तिकार्थः; on Kaiyaṣa to the first Kārikā to VI. 3, 46 : चण्डप्रकृतिरिति चार्त्तिकस्यमन्त्रस्य व्याचष्टे; on Kaiyaṣa to the second fourth of Kārikā 1. to VI. 4, 12 : चार्त्तिके सुतीति, etc.; on a various reading in the second Kārikā to VII. 3, 86 : चार्त्तिके ऽन्यथोप इति पाठे, etc.—In his gloss on the Kārikā to VIII. 4, 68, Kaiyaṣa says : तस्य विदुतोपदेष्टादन्वयापि विदुतोपदेशः स्ववर्षयद्वयाच्चे इति चार्त्तिककृता पूर्वमेव प्रतिपादितम्.

<sup>118</sup> For instance, the Pāṇiniya-Śikshā and the Rik-Prātisākhya.



wrote a commentary in prose, the Siddhântamuktávali, on his metrical exposition of the Vaisesika Philosophy, the Bháshá-parichcheda; *Daivajñarâma* explained in prose his versified Muhûrtachintâmani; *Vardhamâna* did the same with his Ganaratnamahodadhi; and many more instances could be adduced to show that there is nothing striking, or even remarkable, in the assumption that Patanjali composed grammatical verses and commented on them in prose.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>119</sup> I owe to the kindness of Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall an extract from his "*Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*," which mentions besides Viśvanátha-Pañcānana, eleven authors who wrote twelve works in verse and commented on them in prose. As this extract is, on other grounds, of considerable interest, I will, with Dr. Hall's permission, forestall the arrival in Europe of his important work, and here subjoin the substance of his communication. He names in it, besides the author of the Bháshá-parichcheda — 1. *Jivârjya-Dikshita*, who wrote the *Tarka-káriká* (on the Vaisesika) in verse, and a commentary on it in prose, the *Tarka-manjari*; 2. *Vidyâraṣya-châkya*, the author of the *Vedântâdihikarâṇa-mâlâ* (in verse) and a prose exposition interspersed; 3. *Prakâśananda* or *Anantânanda-kriṣṇa* (?), the author of the *Siddhântamuktâvali*; 4. *Paṇḍeya-Brahma-Prasâda*,

After the foregoing observations, the authorship of those Kárikás, which, apparently, form a third category, can create no difficulty so far as Kátyáyana is concerned. They were neither written by him, nor before his time. The manner in which Patanjali comments on them, and their very contents, show that they cannot be assimilated to Kátyáyana's Kárikás, which, as I mentioned before, are dealt with by him in the same manner as the Várttikas in prose. There is either scarcely any comment on

the author of the *Sachchidanandanubhava-pradipikâ*; 5. *Lakṣmēdhara-Kavi*, who wrote the *Adwaita-makaraṇḍa*; 6. *Śaṅkara-châkya*, to whom the *Ātmabodha* is ascribed, and likewise a comment on it, entitled *Ajñānabodhinī*; 7. *Śaṅkara-śaṇḍa*, the author of the *Ātmapurāṇa* and a comment on it, the *Ātmapurāṇa-dīpikâ*; 8. *Appayya-Dikshita*, the author of the *Brahmatarka-śaṇḍa* and the *Brahmatarkasāra-vivaraṇa*; 9. 10. *Vallabhâchâkya*, the author of the *Pushyapravāhamaryâdâbheda* and a *Vivaraṇa* on it, and likewise of the *Antahkaraprabodha* and a *Vivṛiti* on it; 11. *Gaṅgâdharasarasvatī*, the author of the *Siddhântasûktimanjarī* (an abridgement of the *Siddhântaleśa*) and a *Prakâśa* of it; and 12. *Govindâśrī*, who wrote the *Ātharvaprârâṣya* and a commentary on it.—All these works (except the first) treat on the *Vēdânta*; their text is in verse and their commentary in prose.

the Kárikás of this class, or his comment assumes more the nature of a general exposition, which is intended to work out the sense of the Káriká, but not to give, at the same time, a gloss, in the usual sense of this word.<sup>120</sup> In short, a comparison of these

<sup>120</sup> Thus the two half verses of a Káriká to I. 1, 38 (omitted in the Calc. ed.), are interrupted and accompanied by a brief remark, as will appear from the following quotation (ed. Ballantyne, p. 492): कृतवितानां सहस्रं तु कार्यं संज्ञाविशेषं ह्यभिनिश्चिता ये (first half verse) । तेषां प्रतिषेधो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । एषा सा भूत् । एको दो बहुव हति । तस्मात्सरादियहसं च कार्यं कृतवितानां सहस्रं च पाठे (second half verse) । पाठे-नेवमवयवसंज्ञा विद्यते शेषे न प्राप्नोति । परमोक्षेः परमविवेचिरिति.—The Bhāṣya on the first two half verses of the Káriká to III. 1, 123 (which are left uninterrupted), merely consists of the words: निवृत्तौ चिन्तीत यमुक्तम्; on the following portion, खादेकस्याद्यनुर्थः स्वर, of the instances: देवद्वयः । प्रवीचः । उन्नीचः । उच्छिखः ।; on अनुर्थस्य चतौ विधिः, of the instances मर्यः । सूर्योच्चर्यः । खन्वः, and the like on the last half verse.—The comment on the Káriká to IV. 2, 13 runs thus: सचवा कुमारीं भवः कीमारः । बदेवं कीमारी भार्येति न सिध्यति पुनोना-दभिधानं भविष्यति । कीमारस्य भार्या कीमारी.—The whole Bhāṣya on the Kárikás to VI. 4, 120, is the following; on the first half verse: ह्यद्वयमिच्छोरयोति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रवीचकम् । वनेष्व००; and on the rest, which is given without any

Kárikás with those of the two other classes, must lead to the conclusion that, in reality, they are no separate class, but belong either to one or the other. They are partly Patanjali's own arguments expressed in verse and amplified in prose, or the composition of that "other" grammarian whom we have encountered before. There are, indeed, two of these Kárikás which are distinctly ascribed by

interruption: सगिलो त्वं विचिरिति.—The Káriká to VI. 4, 149, which also is given entire—up to तथा, which is preceded only by the word सन्निवृद्ध— is followed by these words: सान्निधे च दूरके सूयो.—The Bhāṣya on the whole continuous first Káriká to VIII. 3, 45, consists of these words: व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्ये पूर्वोक्तः । न चात्र व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्ये । किं पुनः कारकम् । पूर्वोक्तिलोने व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यमात्रेयते न पुनरेकार्थभावे यत्तत्त्वम्; on the first half of the second, the Bhāṣya runs: एकार्थे सति वाक्ये बलं न खात् । सर्विकरोति । सर्पिः करो-तीति; on the uninterrupted second half and first half of the third Káriká; यदि ह्यद्वयमेतत्ततो ऽधिकस्त बलं न प्राप्नोति । किं कारकं । प्रत्ययसहच यत्तत्त्व तदा-देवेहसं भवतीति वाक्ये ऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति । परमसर्विकरोति; on the second half of the third Káriká: यद्वयमनुत्तरपदस्येति प्रतिषेधं शक्ति तत्त्वपदवाच्यार्थः । भवति वाक्ये विभाविति; fourth Káriká, etc.

Patanjali to this grammarian, and a third which quotes Kātyāyana, and cannot therefore belong to this author of the Vārtikas.<sup>121</sup>

Another and very important class of grammatical writings frequently adverted to in the Māhabhāshya is familiar to Hindu grammarians under the name of *Paribhāshās*. They do not amend and criticize, but teach the proper application of, the rules of Pāṇini. While the *Sanjñā-rules* explain the technical terms of his work, the *Paribhāshās* explain the general principles, according to which the Sūtras are to be applied. Thus, when Pāṇini or other grammarians teach the meaning of the terms *Guṇa*, *Vṛiddhi*, *Upasarga*,

<sup>121</sup> The Kārikās to I. 1, 38; VI. 4, 149; and VIII. 3, 45, belong, in all probability, to Patanjali, and those to III. 1, 123; 2, 118, 123 (Kār. 3); IV. 2, 13; and VI. 4, 120, to the "other" grammarians. The Kārikā to III. 1, 123, is distinctly introduced by Patanjali with the words अपर साह. —The third Kārikā to III. 2, 123, which has no other comment than the words हिमवानपि वृच्छति, is thus introduced by him, together with the two preceding and the two following verses: अपर साहः । नास्ति वर्तमानः काल इति । अपि सा च लोकायुदाहरति । न वर्तते, etc. Compare note 107. —The first Kārikā to III. 2, 118, explicitly refers to Kātyāyana, in quoting his second Vārtika to this Sūtra.

*Gati*, *Dvandva*, etc., the rules devoted to this purpose are *Sanjñā-rules*; but when Pāṇini says, "If a grammatical element in the Sūtras has the mute letter *m*, this anubandha indicates that such an element has to be added after the last vowel of the radical or base with which it is to be joined;" or if he states, "The sixth case in a Sūtra means that, instead of that which is expressed by this case, something else, enjoined by the Sūtra, is to be substituted,"—such rules are *Paribhāshā-rules*.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Compare I. 1, 1, 2, etc., and other Sūtras marked in the edition संज्ञाप्रदेशः; and I. 1, 47, 49, and other Sūtras marked there पीरभाषासूत्रम्. But the Calcutta editors have failed in accuracy, also, in this respect. Thus the rule I. 1, 21, आबन्तवदे-खसिन्, is marked by them as an सतिदेशः, but Patanjali calls it distinctly परिभाषा; or I. 1, 69, अशुदित्सर्वस्य चाप्रबन्तः, has their mark संज्ञाप्रदेशः, but is called by Kātyāyana himself a Paribhāshā (ed. Ballantyne, p. 763); or I. 1, 72, येन विधिख-दन्तस्य is marked by them संज्ञाप्रदेशः, but Patanjali likewise calls it a Paribhāshā (ed. Ballantyne, p. 372): द्वयोः परिभाषयोः सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोरान्वयवदेक-विधेन विधिखदन्तश्चेति च । इयमिह परिभाषा भविष्यति आबन्तवदेकस्येति । इयं च न भविष्यति येन विधिखदन्तश्चेति, etc.

A *Paribhāshā* contains either a special mark, which enables the reader to recognise at once the Sūtra to which it refers, or it is delivered without such a criterion. In the latter case, it is matter of discrimination to see whether it applies unconditionally or conditionally to a given Sūtra. In explaining, for instance (I. 1, 3), that “whenever *Guṇa* or *Vṛiddhi* is the subject of a rule, these terms are used in reference to the vowels *i, ī, u, ū, ri, rī*, and *li* only,” Pāṇini, by these technical terms, gives us the power of distinguishing at first sight, as it were, the Sūtras affected by this *Paribhāshā*. But when he says (I. 1, 54), “If a rule is given in reference to something which follows, it concerns merely the beginning of such a following element,” it is for the reader to judge whether this *Paribhāshā* prevails unconditionally at, and is an essential part of, for instance, rule VII. 2, 83, or not. Again, when a *Paribhāshā* (I. 4, 2) teaches that “If two rules connected with one another, but of a different purport, apparently apply to the same case, the later rule only is valid,” it is left to his judg-

ment to decide whether it may be applicable or not to rule VII. 3, 103, for instance.<sup>123</sup>

The *Paribhāshās*, however, which are to be the subject of the following remarks, are not those given by Pāṇini himself: they are the *Paribhāshās* met with in the Great Commentary of Patanjali, and have been defined by *Vaidyanātha*, surnamed *Pāyagunda*, in his gloss on the *Paribhāshendūśekhara* of *Nāgo-*

<sup>123</sup> *Parashottama-prīti-tīkā* on Pāṇini, I. 1, 3: परि सर्वज्ञान उपपुला सावी भाषा सा परिभाषा सा च लिङ्गवती लिङ्गकृतेष्वभूता च । या लिङ्गद्वाराभावे (MS. E.L.H. No. 224, \*भावो) नोपयुज्यते सा लिङ्गवती । या सर्वेव विधिवत्क उपयुज्यते सापरा । सापि साविधिवेरङ्गभूता यां विना विधिवत्कानिच प्रवर्तते । यथा । आदेः परल्लेति (I. 1, 54) । च (MS. स) हि लटिवा देदाव इति (VII. 2, 83) प्रवर्तते । सापिच विधिवेभ्वभूता । विप्रतिविधे परमिति (I. 4, 2) सविरोधे युगेविद्यादी द्यल्लेख्यमबाहतेनैव (comp. VII. 3, 103) । विरोधविषये तु एत्तात्परं (MS. सत्तापरं) कारयतीति । The explanation of the *Kāśikā*—which in general is much more lucid, and on the whole not more extensive than the compiled gloss of the Calcutta edition—runs thus on the word *विप्रतिविधे* (I. 4, 2): विरोधो विप्रतिविधः । यत्र दो प्रसङ्गावभाषाविकल्पितनुपपत्त्यायुतः स विप्रतिविधः । गुणवत्सविरोधो विप्रतिविधः.

*jñāta*, surnamed the *Upādhyāya*, as “axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by certain Sūtras of Pāṇini, and axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by the method that governs other works, but is applicable to Pāṇini also.” Each of these categories has been taught, as they state, by “older grammarians, in the shape of Sūtras,” the former however, Vaidyanātha observes, prevail in number and authority over the latter. In other words, these Paribhāshās are, according to the grammarians quoted, special axioms referring to Pāṇini exclusively, and general axioms which avail for *his* Grammar as well as for *other* works. The “certain” Sūtras of Pāṇini which indicate that such Paribhāshās are in existence and are required for a proper application of the rules, are called *Jñāpaka*, and the method of other authors which indicates that those Paribhāshās are applicable as well to them as to Pāṇini, bear the name of *Nyāya*.<sup>124</sup> We shall see, however, that this definition, to be

<sup>124</sup> *Paribhāshendūśekhara*, in the introduction: प्राचीनवैयाकरणतन्त्रे वाचनि-

correct, will have to be modified; and I may mention, besides, that older commentators, Kaiyyāta, for instance, merely speak of Paribhāshās and Nyāyas, not of Paribhāshās founded on Nyāyas; while the author of the Paribhāshendūśekhara himself frequently gives the name of Nyāya to those Paribhāshās which, according to his introductory words, are such as are founded on Nyāya.<sup>125</sup>

काव्यं याचिनीये तन्त्रे प्रापकवाचसिद्धानि भाष्यार्थिकयोनिवद्धानि यानि परिभाषाभ्यानि तानि वाक्यावधौ. *Paribhāshendūśekhara-Kāśikā* of Vaidyanātha on these words: प्राचीनेति । एकादीत्यर्थः । वाचनिकानि । सूत्ररूपेण यदिति । वाच । चक्षि । एवमेव ऽपि प्रापकेत्यत्र प्रायेत्येतादिः । तथा च वाचनिकानामपि तत्सहचरितानां संग्रहः । भाष्यसिद्धान्तापसिद्धान्ताम् (MS. E.I.H. No. 490: वाचसिद्धा ऽद्याः) प्रापकेनाभ्यर्हितत्वाच्चापकशब्दस्य इत्ये पूर्वनिपातः (comp. II. 2, 34, v. 3) । तदैतच्छास्त्रीयसिद्धं प्रापकम् । एतच्छास्त्रीयलोकमानम्प्रसिद्धयुक्तिर्वाचः । सूत्रपाठकपरिभाषावाक्यान्वायाव प्राचीनोक्तानां काव्यविद्ग्रामाकावाचह भावेति etc.

<sup>125</sup> The *Laghuparibhāshendūśitti* is therefore divided into a gloss on what we may call the Paribhāshās proper and a gloss on the वाचयुक्ताः परिभाषाः which comprise twenty-eight axioms. This distinction is somewhat obscured in the

In now adverting to the chronological relation in which these axioms stand to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, we are, in the first place, to

*Paribhāṣadāśekhara*, where both categories are mentioned in the introduction (comp. the preceding note), but afterwards treated promiscuously. The Calcutta edition has, in most instances, correctly appended the *Paribhāṣā* to the *Sūtra* which is its *Jadpaka*: thus the P. निर्दिष्टमात्रादेशा भवन्ति which is required for the proper application of, e.g. the *Sūtra* VI. 4, 130; VII. 2, 101, etc., is correctly appended in this edition to the *Jadpaka-Sūtra* I. 1, 49; the P. अनुबन्धकतमेवकारसम्प्लेयम् which applies e.g. to VI. 4, 127, to the *Jadpaka* I. 1, 55; the P. सङ्घटतो विप्रतिषेधे यदाचितं सङ्घटितमिव which applies e.g. to VI. 4, 105 combined with VII. 1, 35, to the *Jadpaka* I. 4, 2, and so on. Sometimes, however, the editors have appended the *Paribhāṣā* to the *Sūtra* for the interpretation of which it is required, but not to the *Jadpaka* rule where it ought to have been placed; e.g. the P. विकरसेवो नियमो बलीयान् applies to I. 3, 12, but its *Jadpaka* is I. 3, 43; or the P. अनुबन्धकतमेवकारसम्प्लेयम् is required for the proper interpretation of I. 1, 20; VI. 1, 45, etc., but its *Jadpaka* is III. 4, 19, etc. In some instances the authorities named differ as to the *Jadpaka* of a *Paribhāṣā*; thus the P. षष्ठ्यवसानवर्षकस्य यद्वत्सम्प्लेयम् is indicated according to the *Paribhāṣadāśekhara* which invokes the authority of Patanjali, by the *Jadpaka* I. 1, 34; the Calc. editors have placed it under I. 1, 68. —The P. प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति is indicated, according to the first named work, by the *Jadpaka* VI. 4, 58, according to the second, by the *Jadpaka* I. 3, 18; the editors

enabled to decide that *Paribhāṣas* of this kind must have existed before the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, for the latter quotes such *Paribhāṣas* in his *Vārttikas*.<sup>125</sup> Another question, how-

have appended it to VIII. 2, 46, which *Sūtra*, however, merely illustrates its applicability. Many other instances of this kind might be alleged in order to show that the matter is one of great difficulty to the Hindu grammarians themselves, and that in this respect, also, much scope is left for a future conscientious editor of Pāṇini. That the *Paribhāṣas* are not met with at the end of Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* to a *Sūtra*, requires no further observation after the statement of note 109; for they are an essential portion of the arguments of his discussion.—The term *ज्ञाप* is applied six times to *Paribhāṣas* by the Calcutta editors (viz. at the *Sūtras* I. 1, 23, 42, 47; twice II. 1, 1; III. 1, 12); but if they followed the *Paribhāṣā* collections quoted, they ought to have marked in a similar manner several axioms which are given by them simply as *Paribhāṣas*. At all events, they ought not to have called the same axiom *अविबुद्धस्य० Nyāya*, at III. 1, 12, and *Paribhāṣā*, at VI. 1, 71; and since they repeated it in order to show its application, they might have mentioned it also at VI. 1, 135, where it likewise occurs in the commentary of Patanjali.

<sup>125</sup> A *Vārttika* to I. 1, 65, which has disappeared in the Calcutta edition, says: *अस्त्वविज्ञानास्तिस्रमिति चेन्नानर्थके ऽसौ ऽस्त्वविचरन्त्यासदिकारे*; its last words *आनर्थके*. etc., are a *Paribhāṣā*, as results from the *Bhāṣya* on this *Vārttika*:

ever, is, whether those Paribhāshās which existed before Kātyāyana existed also before Pāṇini, and whether we should be justified in looking upon the Paribhāshas collected in the Paribhāshenduśekhara, the Paribhāshāsaṅgraha, and similar works, as the original Paribhāshās to the Sūtras of Pāṇini. If we believed Vaidyanātha's definition of the two categories of Paribhāshās, and of the distinction he establishes between *Jñāpaka* and *Nyāya*, as just mentioned, it would become very probable that the Paribhāshās were composed *after* the Grammar of Pāṇini, and by another grammarian than Pāṇini, since there is no evidence to show that he wrote other Paribhāshās than those which are embodied in his own Sūtras; and if we assumed that the collections of Paribhāshās made and commented upon by Nāgajibhaṭṭa, Śrādeva, and others, are the original collections, there would be a

सम्बन्धव्यतिरेकमिति चेत् । तत्र । किं कारणम् । नानर्थके ऽहो ऽस्त्वस्यचिरन्म्या-  
स्यविकारे । ननर्थके ऽहो ऽस्त्वस्य विचिरेतिवा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । किमपिरेव ।  
नेत्याह । सन्म्यास्यविकारे. Compare also a similar instance, in note 137.

certainty that the "older grammarians," whom the former quotes as his authority, did not precede Pāṇini, for one, or perhaps two, of these axioms, *mentioned in each of these collections*, distinctly refer to him.<sup>17</sup>

There are, however, reasons which must induce us to doubt the originality of the Paribhāshās contained in these collections, and to doubt too the strict correctness of Vaidyanātha's definition. In the first place, because these collections, each of which appears to be entitled to equal authority, differ in the number, and even in the wording, of the Paribhāshās which they contain, though they coincide in giving all those Paribhāshās which espe-

<sup>17</sup> The Paribhāshā to IV. 1, 82: **सङ्गतपूर्वः पाणिनीयः**; and the P. to VIII. I. 1: **पूर्वपाणिनीयमस्ति**, which is, *perhaps*, founded on the Sūtra VIII. 2, 1; but as the expression **पूर्वपाणिने** need not be a quotation from Pāṇini, it would not be safe to found a conclusion on it with the same certainty as on the word **पाणिनीयः**. For this reason I do not lay stress on another Paribhāshā which occurs in the *Paribhāshādrkhaṇḍagavyākhyāśāndrikā* and the *Laghaparibhāshāderitā*, and is founded on VII. 4, 2: **पूर्वपाणिने न स्यान्निवत्** (its wording in the *Laghap.* **पूर्वपाणिनीये न स्यान्निवत्** is erroneous. Compare note 132).

cially concern us here.<sup>128</sup> It is not probable, therefore, that the original collection of Paribhāshās was any of those now preserved in manuscript. But there is more ground to confirm this doubt. The *Paribhāshendusekhara* states, in its introduction, that it is going to explain "the axioms explicitly mentioned by the older grammarians . . . . and recorded in the *Bhāshya* and the *Vārtikas*;"—whereupon Vaidyanātha comments: "'The older grammarians' are Indra and so on; 'explicitly mentioned' means read in the shape of Sūtras; . . . . 'in the Bhāshya' says the author of the Paribhāshendusekhara, because it is not his intention to explain the Paribhāshās which are embodied in Pāṇini's Sūtras,

<sup>128</sup> The number of Paribhāshās in the *Paribhāshendusekhara* is 108; it may, however, be given as 112, as several P. are contracted into one; in the *Paribhāshārṇṇī* of Śrīmadra it is 130; in the *Laghuparibhāshārṇṇī* and the *Paribhāshārthasaṅgrahavyākhyāchन्द्रīkā* there are 108 Paribhāshās proper and 28 *vyājanūddā* P., some of the latter being included in the 108 of the first named work. Another collection, which does not mention the name of the compiler, but bears the title of *Pāṇinimānūṣīmī Paribhāshā*, has 123 Paribhāshās. Each of these collections has some Paribhāshās which are not named in several of the others.

and because some of those mentioned by the older grammarians carry no authority with them."<sup>129</sup>

Now, if we compare the Paribhāshās collected in the last-named work, and in the other works devoted to the same purpose, with the Great Commentary itself, we find that they frequently call that a Paribhāshā which is not a quotation made by Patanjali from authorities which preceded him, but simply a portion of his own argument. No doubt, when this great critic considered himself justified in laying down general principles, according to which certain Sūtras are to be interpreted or applied, such axioms of his are to all intents and purposes Paribhāshās, but they are Paribhāshās of his, not of the authorities who preceded him.<sup>130</sup> And this dis-

<sup>129</sup> See note 124.

<sup>130</sup> I mentioned in note 109 that the absence or presence in the Bhāshya of the quotational word *ṛt* affords no criterion in the case of the *metrical Kṛtikā*. It is necessary to state now that this word is always met with when a Paribhāshā is quoted by Patanjali, and its absence is therefore a safe mark that a general axiom which occurs in his commentary is one of his own creation. A few instances chosen from the first



tion we must draw in order to judge whether Patanjali originated an axiom merely for the purpose of defending Pāṇini, or whether the Sūtra in question is *bona fide* entitled to the benefit of

chapters of the Mahābhāṣya will make good this assertion. We read in the Bhāṣya on I. 1, 20 (p. 395, ed. Ballantyne): दोष एवितक्षाः परिभाषायाः । अथप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्येति । नामादायहोष्यविशेष इति (the former of these P. is omitted in the Calc. ed.); or at I. 1, 49 (p. 565) निर्दिष्टमात्रादिना अवन्तीति परिभाषा इति; or at I. 1, 55 (p. 606) अस्तेषां परिभाषा । मानुषव्यक्तमनैकार्थं अवतीति; or at I. 1, 15 (p. 277) एवं तर्हि नीचमुखावोमुखौ कार्यसंप्रत्यय इति; or at I. 2, 63 तज्ज्ञापयत्वाचार्यः खनौ इत्यो विभावदीक्यव्रजतीति (not विभाषीक° as in the Calc. ed.); or at I. 4, 2 विप्रतिषेधे परमेव अवतीति तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति । सङ्गती विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाचितं तद्वाचितमेवेति; when in the latter three instances the word इति indicates that the preceding words are a Paribhāṣā, while in the first three instances the term itself is added, and इति afterwards. On the other hand, when we read at I. 1, 27 (p. 442): ..... शिव दोषः । भवति हि यजुःश्रीहो तदुपसंविज्ञानमपि । तत्रचा । विषयसमाजय इति; or in the Bhāṣya on the same Sūtra (p. 448): कर्तव्यो ऽथ यज्ञः । वाचकान्वेय हि विपत्तयानि भवन्ति, the words यजुःश्रीहो ° ° मयि and वाचकान्वेय° are undoubtedly Patanjali's own; and it may, in passing, be observed that the Paribhāṣendūśekhara and the Calc. ed. have omitted the word हि in giving

such a general rule, since it is certain that several of these axioms were invented at later periods, either to palliate the shortcomings of Pāṇini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend

these words as Paribhāṣās. Or when the Bhāṣya on the Vārtika श्रुत्यानयोच निमित्तभावात्तुलो ऽभावस्योरपवादत्वात् (omitted in the Calc. ed.), to II. 3, 46, says : ... श्रुत्यानयो तिकुपवादेती चाच याचयौ । न चापवादविचयमुत्सर्गो ऽभिनिविद्यते । पूर्वे ह्यपवादा अभिनिविद्यते पञ्चादुत्सर्गः । प्रकल्प्य वापवादविवचं तत् उत्सर्गो ऽभिनिविद्यते । न तावदत्र कदाचित्तिकुदिदो भवति इति, the words पूर्वे ° ° ऽभिनिविद्यते are clearly a portion of Patanjali's general argument, and do not contain Paribhāṣās of older grammarians.—These instances will illustrate the uncritical condition of the actual collections of Paribhāṣās. Some of these Paribhāṣās, moreover, are nothing else than Vārtikas of Kātyāyana forming part of the discussion of the latter; they, too, are therefore not the oldest Paribhāṣās, since, as we have seen above (note 126) Kātyāyana quotes a Paribhāṣā which must have preceded his Vārtikas. Such Paribhāṣās—while he generally contents himself with merely quoting a Paribhāṣā rule—are, for instance, the P. to I, 66: उभयविदेशे विप्रतिषेधाप्यवन्तीतिदेशो; or to I, 72: व्यपदेशिपञ्चावो ऽप्रातिपदिकेन; or ऽथ यदाङ्गतिचकारे तस्य च सङ्गतरपदस्य च; or प्रत्ययवहस्य चापह्वयः, etc. Other Paribhāṣās of the Paribhāṣendūśekhara, etc., do not even represent the words of Patanjali, but merely the meaning of his general argu-

from the time at which he lived down to a period of linguistic development, which could not but find them defective in many respects.<sup>121</sup>

There is a material difference, therefore, between the Paribhāshas contained in these collections, *when taken as a whole*, and the Paribhāshas quoted by Patanjali; and no conclusion becomes safe until we know which Paribhāshas are quotations made by Kātyāyana and Patanjali, and which belong to their authorship, or even to other and later works. It suffices for our present purpose to add, that neither the first Paribhāshā already mentioned, which distinctly refers to Pāṇini, nor the second, is a Paribhāshā quoted by Patanjali or Kātyāyana.<sup>122</sup>

ments; e.g., the P. given at I. 2, 9, पूर्ववदव्ययप्रमुक्तिः, is the representative of the following words of the Bhāshya : इतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पूर्ववत् । तत्रा । पूर्ववो वावदूनं पूर्वं च सर्वमभिवर्धति, etc.; and other Paribhāshas, again, so far as I was able to ascertain, do not occur at all in the Bhāshya; e.g., the P. at I. 1, 62. 63; II. 3, 46 (par. 2), etc.

<sup>121</sup> Such Paribhāshas are, e.g., समावाक्यविधिरनित्यः, at VI. 2, 197, and the nine P. mentioned at III. 1, 79, by the Calcutta editors.

<sup>122</sup> The Paribhāshā चकतवृद्धः पाणिनीयाः is mentioned in Kaiyata's gloss on the

We are left, then, free to judge of the relative age of these axioms entirely from their contents, and to weigh the probabilities which decide whether they could all have been written after Pāṇini or not. These probabilities strongly tend in favour of the latter alternative. For, however many of these *old* Paribhāshas may have been additions made after Pāṇini's

Bhāshya to IV. 1, 82, but not by Patanjali. The P. पूर्ववाक्यीयमभिवर्धने is, in my opinion, a portion of Patanjali's own argument, when commenting on the 10th Vārtika (of the Calcutta edition), to VIII. 1, 1, as results from the following quotation: ..... पीनःपुनर्ध्वं पीनःपुनर्ध्वं एति । अग्रतिपदिकत्वात्तत्त्वितो-त्पत्तिर्न खात् । यदि तर्हि खाने दिवर्धनं रात्रा वाक्याक्यद्वयेति (?) नलोपा-दीनि न सिद्ध्यन्ति । इदमिह संप्रधायं दिवर्धनं क्रियता नलोपादीनीति । कि-मत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वात्नलोपादीनि पूर्वचासिद्धे नलोपादीनि सिद्धासिद्धयोश्च नास्ति संप्रधारणा । एवं तर्हि पूर्वचासिद्धीयमभिवर्धन एति चक्षामि etc. The same remark applies to the third Paribhāshā mentioned in note 127; for the passage of the Bhāshya to VII. 4, 2, whence this Paribhāshā is taken, runs thus : तज्ज्ञापयन्नाचार्यः । एत उच्यते खानिवद्भावो न भवतीति । किमेतत्त ज्ञापने प्रचोदनं पूर्वचासिद्धे न खानिव दिव्युक्तम् । तत्र वाक्यं भवति etc.

though before Patanjali's time, we still shall have to admit that without a *great number* of them, a *proper* application of his rules is absolutely impossible. Without them, many rules would become open to equivocations and doubts, nay, to such serious objections, that it is hardly possible to conceive a grammarian of the mould of Pāṇini handling his work to his contemporaries in a condition so needlessly precarious, and so little creditable to his skill.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Two instances will suffice to illustrate this character of what I consider to be the oldest Paribhāśas. In the rule III. 1, 94, Pāṇini teaches that if, in his chapter on *kṛit*-affixes, a subsequent rule supercedes a preceding rule, either of the kind of affixes enjoined by such rules may be at will employed in the formation of a *kṛit*-derivative, except when the affix enjoined is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and when the affixes in the preceding and subsequent rules are of *the same form*. Thus the Sūtra III. 1, 133, teaches that nouns denoting the agent are formed with the affixes *gṛat* (= *aka*) and *trich* (= *tri*). Again, Sūtra III. 1, 135, says that from *kship* and other radicals there named, such derivatives are formed with the affix *ka* (= *a*); hence, according to the Paribhāśa-rule III. 1, 94, the nouns of agent formed of *kship* may be *kshipa*, or *kshēpa* or *kshēptri*, since none of these affixes is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and none has the same form as the two remaining ones. But when Pāṇini rules, in III. 2, 3, that from *dā* a derivative may be formed *-da* (as latter part of compounds like *go-da*, etc.), and,

Nevertheless, if he had delivered his grammar entirely without any Paribhāśá, we might still be free to assume, without inconsistency, that in doing so, he meant to leave to the acumen of

in III. 3, 12, a derivative *-diya* (as latter part of such compounds as *go-dāya*, etc.) it would become doubtful whether there be an option also in these instances, since the technical affix of the form *-da* is *ka*, and of the form *-dāya*, *aa*, and since it is not clear whether *ka* and *aa* could be considered as affixes of a different form, or—on account of their representing the real affix *a*, though with a different influence on the radical—as affixes of the same form. This doubt is not solved by Pāṇini himself, but by a Paribhāśá quoted by Patanjali, which says : *नानुबन्धितमसाङ्गस्य*, “dissimilarity (of the affixes) is not produced by the mute *anubandha*.” And Pāṇini must have supposed that his readers were acquainted with this Paribhāśá; for otherwise, as an accurate writer, he could not—in the Sūtra III. 1, 139—have treated, without any further explanation, the affixes *śa* (= *a*) and *ṇa* (= *a*) as similar affixes, and exempted them as such from the influence of the rule III. 1, 94.—Or when, in the Sūtra VI. 1, 48 (and VII. 3, 36), he says that the radical *i*, before the affix of the causal, becomes *úp*, his rule (VI. 4, 57) on *úp* would be equivocal, since the form *úp* may represent a simple radical, too,—unless he relied on the familiarity of his reader with the Paribhāśá, which states : *प्रतिपदीकृत्य* (be meant), the primitive form (has the precedence).”

his commentators the task of eliciting these general principles from his grammatical rules. But we know that such is not the case; his work bears evidence that he *has* given Paribhāshā-rules,—axioms which are in no way more important than many of those which are met with in the Mahābhāshya, but not in his work;—axioms which admit of the same arguments for or against their desirability or their indispensableness in a book of this kind. The omission of these rules, then, would not be one made on principle; it would assume the nature of a serious defect, unless we discovered a motive which would reconcile it with the accuracy that characterizes this great grammarian.

We have proof—and some will be afforded in the sequel—that Pāṇini was not the *inventor* of the grammatical system preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, and made his own additions to it. We shall see, moreover, that he availed himself of the technical means of the older grammarians, and, in such a case, never gave any explanation of those technicalities which must have been known to his contemporaries, and,

therefore, required no remark. If, then, we supposed that he followed the same course with regard to the Paribhāshā-rules—and there is no reason why he should not—our inference would, of necessity, be that he was compelled to give such Paribhāshās as did not occur in the works of his predecessors, and were required as special axioms for his own work; but that, without exposing himself to the reproach of carelessness, he could omit all those Paribhāshās which were already in existence, and were available, as well for the grammar of his predecessors as for his own.

And this conclusion is confirmed by the sense in which the term *Jnāpaka* is used in the older commentaries, especially in the Mahābhāshya itself, where by this name are called such rules of Pāṇini as “indicate” or point to other rules which show how the former rules are to be applied properly. In commenting, for instance, on a Vārttika to the Sūtra I. 1, 23, which defines the technical term *saṅkhyā*, Patanjali asks, “how will there be in rules on *saṅkhyā* a correct understanding of this term?” and

answers this question in the following manner : “ (This understanding) results from the *Jnāpaka*-rule. What is such a *Jnāpaka*-rule ? When Pāṇini, in his Sūtra V. 1, 23, teaches that bases formed with the affix *vat*, have an additional vowel *i* before the affix *ka* enjoined in the preceding rule for *sankhyās*,—is this Sūtra V. 1, 23, the *Jnāpaka*-rule of *sankhyā* ? (*i.e.* does this Sūtra indicate that bases formed with *vat* are comprised under the technical name *sankhyā* ?) No. For the term *Jnāpaka* concerns the application of a rule (*i.e.* this term is not used of a Sūtra when its application is prohibited ; the Sūtras V. 2, 51 and 52, for instance, as Kaiyaṇa observes, are *Jnāpakas* of the Sūtra on *sankhyā*).<sup>134</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Vārttika to I. 1, 23 (om. in the Calc. ed. ; p. 432 ed. Ballantyne) : बह्वादीनाम-यद्वयम्. *Patañjali* : बह्वादीनां यद्वयं शक्यमकर्तुम् । केनेदानीं संख्याप्रदेशेषु संख्या-संग्रहयो भविष्यति । ज्ञापकास्तिङम् । ज्ञापकं किम् । यदयं वतोरिङ्गिति (V. 1, 23) संख्याया विहितस्य कर्त्तुं (comp. V. 1, 22) बलनादिटं शास्ति । वतोरिव तज्ज्ञापकं खात । नेत्याह । योगापेक्षं ज्ञापकम्.—*Kaiyaṇa* : ज्ञापकास्तिङमिति । एकादिवन्नि-यतसंख्यावाचित्वं बह्वादीनां नास्तीति ज्ञापकाश्रयः । योगापेक्षमिति । अस्य योगस्य

Hence, though a rule may stand in relation to another rule, it is not its *Jnāpaka* unless it indicate its real purpose ;<sup>135</sup>

प्रत्याख्यानदेतद्योगापेक्षमिति न बोद्धव्यम् । किं तु योगानपेक्षत इति योगापेक्षम् । यदयं बहुपूरणसंघस्य त्रियुक् (V. 2, 52) षट्कृतीति (V. 2, 51) इति परत आगमं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयति भवति संख्याकार्यमिति. Nāgajibhaṭṭa explains : . . . . योगापेक्षमिति । प्रयोगापेक्षमित्यर्थः.—This instance will suffice to illustrate the use of the word *jnāpaka*, which is of constant occurrence in the Bhāṣya, and is always employed in a similar manner. In order to obviate an objection which might be raised by those not familiar with the Mahābhāṣya against my rendering वतोरिव तज्ज्ञापकं खात “ is this Sūtra V. 1, 23,” etc.,—I have to observe that Patañjali when quoting a Sūtra, often merely mentions its principal word, instead of repeating the words of the Sūtra and adding after them the quotational word इति. The word वतोः taken from the Sūtra वतोरिङ्गा is therefore here an equivalent of वतोरिङ्गिति. Analogous instances will be found in note 136.

<sup>135</sup> Patañjali observes, for instance, in his comment on the first Śivasūtra (p. 87 ed. Ballantyne) : कथं ज्ञायते यदयम् अ (VIII. 4, 68) ह्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृतताप्रत्या-पत्तिं शास्ति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य प्रयोजनम् etc. ; or on the Vārttika to I. 1, 36, आदिभुवोरिटप्रतिषेधः. he observes (p. 633, ed. Ballantyne) : आदिभुवो-रीटप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । आत्य । अमृत । अस्ति ब्रूयह्येन यद्वयादीट प्राप्नोति । आहोला-

and as Patanjali expressly and repeatedly states, a rule has the character of a Jnápaka only when it is given in reference to a rule already previously established, and when its sense becomes completed by it. Thus the Sūtra III. 2, 97, says Patanjali, is no *Jnápaka* of the Guṇa-rule I. 1, 3, since the former rule does not become completed through the contents of the latter. Or, the Sūtra VII. 2, 103 is not a *Jnápaka* of the rule VII. 2, 102, since its object would not be accomplished by the contents of this latter rule, though the words concerned by both rules are comprised under the term *suranāman*.<sup>136</sup> In

वत्त वक्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति । नहिरीद भवतीति । यदयमाहस्य इति (VIII. 2, 35) इत्यादिप्रकरणे यत्वं शक्ति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयो-  
जनम् । किम् । भूतपूर्वगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत । इत्यादियौ भूतपूर्वं इति । यत्वेवं यवचनम-  
नर्थकं स्यात् etc.; and the like in other instances.

<sup>136</sup> Patanjali e.g. in his gloss on the Vārtikas to I. 1. 3 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 248): . . . .  
यदप्युच्यते जनेर्भवचनं (III. 2, 97) ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति सिद्धे विधिरा-  
रम्भाशो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति : on the last words of the third

consequence, a *Jnápaka* rule cannot precede, but must come after the rule which is indicated by it.

In now considering the relation which exists between the Jnápakas and the Paribhāshā-Sūtras,<sup>137</sup> we cannot but perceive that it nowise differs from the relation which exists between rules in-  
stanced before and ordinary rules indicated by these Jnápakas. In the same manner as there are Jnápaka-rules which indicate the purpose of other rules, there are Jnápaka-rules which indicate the purpose of Paribhāshās, and all the Paribhāshās given by Pāṇini

Kārikā to VII. 2, 102: एवं तर्हीचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सर्वेषां त्वदादीनामत्वं भव-  
तीति । यदयं किमः क इति (VII. 2, 103) आदेशं शक्ति । इतरथा हि किमोऽङ्गवतीत्वव  
व्रयात् । सिद्धे विधिरारम्भाशो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च किमोऽत्वेन सिध्यति .

<sup>137</sup> A Paribhāshā is, on account of this relation, also called *ज्ञाय*. In his comment, for instance, to I. 4, 14, Patanjali says : अन्तग्रहणं किमर्थम् । न सुप्तिङ्यपदमिखिवोच्यते  
ज्जेनेदानां तदन्तानां भविष्यति । तदन्तविधिना । अत उत्तरं पठति .—Vārtika : यद-  
संज्ञायामन्तवचनमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थं .—Patanjali :  
पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं क्रियते । किं ज्ञायम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः । अन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ  
प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति etc. Compare note 126.

himself, therefore, precede their Jnápaka-rules. If, then, as we learn from Kātyāyana and Patanjali, there existed Paribhāṣās which are not contained in Pāṇini's grammar, but which nevertheless are indicated by Jnápaka, which are Sūtras of Pāṇini, such Paribhāṣās must, at least in Patanjali's opinion, have existed before Pāṇini's work; for otherwise the definition given by the Mahābhāṣya of the term *Jnápaka* would become inconsistent with itself. And since Paribhāṣās or principles of interpretation cannot be conceived without matter to be interpreted according to them, such Paribhāṣās must not only have preceded Pāṇini, but they must have been taught in one or more other grammatical works; and Vaidyanātha, therefore, as I suggested above, cannot be correct in basing his distinction between *Ngāya* and *Jnápaka* on the circumstance that the latter refers to Pāṇini exclusively, while the former applies also to other works. In all probability the difference is this: that *Jnápaka* is used especially of grammatical rules, while *Ngāya* is a synonyme of Paribhāṣā, but applies to writings which are not grammatical.

In now summing up the result we have obtained from the previous investigation, so far as it bears on our immediate problem, we find that the oldest author on record who wrote on Pāṇini was Kātyāyana, and that he was not merely the author of the Vārttikas, properly so called, but also of a certain number of Kārikās, which, in reality, however, are nothing else than an assemblage of single Vārttikas, forming, combined, a stanza or a verse. We have seen, too, that Vārttikas, which form an essential part of the Mahābhāṣya itself, are of Patanjali's authorship.

What, then, is the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, and of Patanjali to Pāṇini and to Kātyāyana? Is it that of commentators, or is it to be defined otherwise?

Professor Müller confers upon Kātyāyana the title of "editor" of Pāṇini, and says that "the Great Commentary of Patanjali embraces both the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the Sūtras of Pāṇini."<sup>128</sup> Professor Weber, on the contrary—who, even in some

<sup>128</sup> Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 353 and 243.

of his latest writings, candidly confesses that he has never read the *Mahābhāṣya*, but nevertheless, or perhaps for this reason, abounds in conjectures on this work, which not only is in existence but within reach,—goes so far as to throw doubt on the genuineness of those Sūtras which are not explained, *because* they are not explained, in the Great Commentary.<sup>129</sup> I fear that neither scholar

<sup>129</sup> For instance, in the *Indische Studien*, vol. IV., p. 78: "Die *Pāṇis* kommen in dem Schol. zu Pāṇini (IV. 1, 95; 2, 112) vor (ob aus dem *Mahābhāṣya* ?);" or in a note to the same vol., p. 168, when referring to the Sūtra VI. 2, 142 of Pāṇini, he observes: "Allerdings: *dhāhye tu na vyākhyāyān*, also unsicher, ob ihm gebörig." ["*Also*" —, on what basis does this conclusion rest? "*Unsicher*" —, for whom?] The same confession and the same conjecture occur, indeed, so often in Professor Weber's multifarious writings, that it becomes a matter of psychological curiosity to see how an author, apparently much concerned about a certain subject, instead of acquiring the necessary information—which in the present case could not have caused any great difficulty,—or of consulting at least some one who might have allayed his inquietude, constantly displays before the public his feelings and theories, whereas, by dint of a stereotyped repetition of the same words, he must convey to a confiding reader the impression that there may be some foundation, at least, for his would-be critical surmise.

will find adherents for his opinion amongst the pupils of Pāṇinī and Kātyāyana. The mutual relation of these latter grammarians and their relation to Pāṇini is, indeed, implied by the word *Vārtika*.

"The characteristic feature of a *Vārtika*," says Nāgajibhatta, "is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a Sūtra."<sup>130</sup> A *Vārtika* of Kātyāyana is therefore not a commentary which explains, but an animadversion which completes. In proposing to himself to write *Vārtikas* on Pāṇini, Kātyāyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini, but to find fault with them; and whoever has gone through his work must avow that he has done so to his heart's content. He will even have to admit that Kātyāyana has frequently failed in justice to Pāṇini, by twisting the words of the Sūtras into a sense which they need not have, or by upbraiding Pāṇini with

<sup>130</sup> Nāgajibhatta on Kaiyaṣa to the first *Vārtika* (of the Calc. ed.) of I. 1, 1 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 213): **वार्तिकमिति । सूत्रे गुणदुर्लभविनाकारं वार्तिकत्वम्.**



failings he was not guilty of. On this score he is not unfrequently rebuked by Patanjali, who on such occasions severely rates him for his ungenerous treatment of Pāṇini, and, as we have seen in an instance above (p. 52), proves to him that he himself is wanting in proficiency, not Pāṇini. Kātyāyana, in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pāṇini, but that of an antagonist,—often, too, of an unfair antagonist. In consequence, his remarks are attached to those Sūtras alone which are open to the censure of abstruseness or ambiguity, and the contents of which were liable to being completed or modified : he is silent on those which do not admit of criticism or rebuke.

The position of Patanjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he also could more properly be called an author of Vārttikas. But as he has two predecessors to deal with, instead of one,—and two predecessors, too, one of whom is an adversary of the other,—his Great Commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he has to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini and then of animad-

verting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the Vārttikas of this latter grammarian ; and thus the Mahābhāshya became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion, *on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana* ; while its *Ishtis*, on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such Sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his own remarks.

I have already mentioned that Patanjali often refutes the strictures of Kātyāyana and takes the part of Pāṇini ; I may now add that, in my opinion, and as a few instances hereafter will show, he sometimes overdoes his defence of Pāṇini, and becomes unjust to Kātyāyana. It is easy, however, to understand the cause of this tendency in Patanjali. The spirit of independent thought, combined with the great acumen and consummate scholarship which pervade the work of this admirable grammarian—to whom, as far as my knowledge goes, only one author of the later literature bears a comparison, I mean the Mīmāṃsā philosopher, Kumārila—

could not allow him to become a mere paraphraser of another's words. An author like Patanjali can only comment on the condition that, in doing so, he develops his own mind, be it as adherent or as antagonist. And since Kātyāyana had left but little chance for a successor to discover many more blemishes in the Grammar of Pāṇini than he had pointed out, an active and critical mind like that of Patanjali would find more scope and more satisfaction in contending with Kātyāyana than in completing Pāṇini; and thus, I hold, we may explain his proneness to weaken even those censures of Kātyāyana which we should see reason to approve, did we not discover in favour of Pāṇini arguments which will appear hereafter, but which were foreign to Patanjali.

As little, therefore, as it entered into the purpose of Kātyāyana to advert to every Sūtra of Pāṇini, did it come within the aim of Patanjali to write a commentary on Pāṇini, and, according to the requirements of such a commentary, to explain every rule of this grammarian. His object being, like that of Kātyāyana, merely a critical one, Patanjali comments upon the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana,

because such a comment of his implies, of necessity, criticisms, either on Pāṇini or on Kātyāyana; and, in consequence, no Vārttika could be left unnoticed by him. Again, independently of Kātyāyana, he writes his own Vārttikas to Sūtras not sufficiently or not at all animadverted upon by the latter grammarian, because they, too, are criticisms, viz., on Pāṇini. And, like Kātyāyana, therefore, he passes over altogether all those Sūtras which are unexceptionable to his mind. It is obvious, therefore, that no doubt whatever concerning the genuineness of a Sūtra of Pāṇini can be justified on the ground alone that it has no Bhāṣya of Patanjali; and the unsoundness of such a doubt becomes still more obvious when we consider that a great many Sūtras of Pāṇini, which have no Vārttikas and no Bhāṣya of Patanjali, nevertheless make their appearance as quotations and as part of Patanjali's argument in his Commentary on other Sūtras criticized by Kātyāyana.

Now, if we take a summary view of the labours of Kātyāyana, we find that of the 3993 or 3992 Sūtras of Pāṇini, more than 1500 offered him the opportunity of showing his superior skill; that his

criticisms called forth more than 4000 Vārtikas, which, at the lowest estimate, contain 10,000 special cases comprised in his remarks.

Having arrived at this point, let us ask—How could India resound with the fame of a work which was so imperfect as to contain at least 10,000 inaccuracies, omissions, and mistakes? Suppose that there existed in our days a work of 4000 paragraphs, every second or third of which not merely called for an emendation, an addition, and corrections, in formal respects, but which, on the whole, compelled us to draw the conclusion that there were twice and a half times as many blunders in it as it contained matter to be relied upon,—is it possible to assume that such a work could create a reputation for its author except one which no sensible man would be desirous of? If we assumed such a possibility, it could only be on the supposition that such an author originated the subject he brought before the public, and, as an inventor, had a special claim to indulgence and fame; or, on the supposition of public ignorance and individual immorality. ✓

But there is evidence to show that Pāṇini was not the first

Hindu grammarian who wrote, nor even the inventor of the technical system which has caused so much uneasiness to would-be philologists. It is certain, too, that grammar was not, in ancient India, the esoteric study of the few; and there is no proof of any kind that Pāṇini had influenced or hired a number of scribes to puff his Grammar and his fame. We must needs, therefore, resort to another explanation, if we want to reconcile the fact of the Vārtikas with the fact of Pāṇini's reputation, which was so great that supernatural agency was considered as having assisted him in his work.

This explanation, I hold, can only be derived from the circumstance that *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* belonged to different periods of *Hindu antiquity*,—periods separated by such a space of time as was sufficient to allow—

1. *Grammatical forms which were current in the time of Pāṇini to become obsolete or even incorrect;*

2. *Words to assume meanings which they did not possess at the period when he lived;*

3. *Words and meanings of words used by him to become antiquated; and*

4. *A literature unknown to him to arise.*

It is on this supposition alone that it seems possible to realise Pāṇini's influence and celebrity; of course, on the supposition, too, that in his time he gave so accurate, so complete, and so learned a record of the language he spoke, that his contemporaries, and the next ages which succeeded him, could look with admiration on the rules he uttered, as if they were founded on revelations from above. If he had bungled along, as he must appear to have done, had he been a contemporary of Kātyāyana,—not he, but the author of the Vārttikas, would have been the inspired Rishi and the reputed father of the Vyākaraṇa. It is not necessary to exaggerate this view by assuming that Pāṇini was an infallible author, who committed no mistakes, omitted no linguistic fact, and gave complete perfection to a system already in use: we need take no other view of the causes of his great success than we should take of those which produce the fame of a living man. His work may or may

not have been looked upon by his contemporaries as having attained the summit of excellency, but, at all events, it must have ascended far beyond mediocrity. At its own period it cannot have failed so signally, and in so many respects, as it would have done if Pāṇini and Kātyāyana had been contemporaries.

In order fully to substantiate this view, I should have to submit a considerable portion of Pāṇini's Grammar and the Vārttikas connected with it, to an investigation which would exceed by far the limits prescribed by the present inquiry; and such an investigation might, moreover, appear to be superfluous on the present occasion, since I shall adduce hereafter arguments of another kind, which will add materially to the force of these deductions. Yet the importance of this question is so great that I will indicate, at least by a few instances, the direction in which, I believe, the facts may be found that lead to the conclusions named.

1. Pāṇini says (I. 2, 6) that the radical *indh* is *kit* in *līṭ*, which words mean that, according to rule VI. 4, 24, the preterit of *indh* is

*idhe*. This radical he treats together with *dhā*; and he does not observe—as he always does if such be the case—that his rule concerns the Vaidik use of the preterit of *indh*. Yet Kātyāyana corrects the injunction of the Sūtra by adding this restriction; and, for reasons connected with the latter, goes so far as to declare this Sūtra of Pāṇini to be superfluous.<sup>14</sup>

In rule VII. 1, 25, Pāṇini states that the *sarvanāmāni* (which word is usually but inaccurately rendered “pronouns”) which are formed with the affixes *datara*, and *datama*,—moreover, *itara*, *anya*, and *anyatara* (Gaṇa to I. 1, 27) form their neuters not in *m*, but in *d*, e.g. *katarad*, *katamad*, *anyad*, etc.; but he says in a

<sup>14</sup> I. 2, 6: एभिर्भवतिषां च.—Vārttika: एवेच्छदोविषयान्मुवो नुको निबलान्ता- ताभां विदचनानर्भवत्.—Bhāṣya: एवेच्छदोविषयो विद । न ह्यनारेण छन्द एवेरनारो विद सखः । आमा भाषायां भवितव्यम् । मुवो नुको निबलान्नवतेरपि निबलो नुक्ते नुवे प्राप्नोति । सखते ऽपि प्राप्नोति । ताभां विदचनानर्भवत् । ताभा- निविमवतिषां विदचनमनर्भवत्. (The Calcutta editors have on this occasion mis- taken Kātyāyana's Vārttika for Patanjali's Bhāṣya).

following special rule, that, in the Veda, *itara* has *itaram* for its neuter. It is obvious, therefore, that he intended to exhaust his subject by these rules; yet Kātyāyana has to state that “*ekatara* forms *ekataram* in the Veda as well as in the language of common life.”<sup>142</sup>

The letters *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p*, at the end of a Pada, says Pāṇini (VIII. 4, 45) may become *g*, *d*, *ḍ*, *b*, before a following nasal, or be changed into the nasal of their class. Kātyāyana adds: “If, however, the following nasal is part of an affix, these letters *must always* become the nasal of their class, *in the language of common life*.”<sup>143</sup>

Now I have chosen these instances from the sphere of conjugation, declension, and phonetic laws, simply because they at once suggest the question whether Pāṇini knew as much grammar as

<sup>142</sup> VII. 1, 26: नैतराच्छदसि.—Vārttika: एतराच्छदसि प्रतिषेध एकतरात्सर्वच.

<sup>143</sup> VIII. 4, 45: दरो ऽनुनासिके ऽनुनासिको वा.—Vārttika: दरो ऽनुनासिके प्रलब्धे भाषायां निबलवचनम्.—Bhāṣya: दरो ऽनुनासिके प्रलब्धे भाषायां निबलमिति वक्तव्यम् । वाङ्मयं लघुवचनम्.

we should fairly expect from a beginner, who had studied Sanskrit for a few months. Is it probable or not, that he was proficient enough to form the preterite of the common radical *indh*, "to kindle," the nominative of the neuter of *ekatarā*, "one of two,"—a word which, moreover, is the subject of one of his special rules (V. 3, 94)? and was he really so ignorant as not to be able to combine *vāk* or *twak*, with the common affix *maya* into *vāṅmaya* or *twāṅmaya*, though a phonetic influence of the affix *maya* on the base *hiranya* is adverted to in his rule VI. 4, 174? Or is it more plausible to assume that *idhe* and *ekatarād* were forms current in his time, though no longer current and correct when Kātyāyana wrote; and that when Pāṇini lived, *vāgmaya* or *twāgmaya* were as legitimate as *vāṅmaya* or *twāṅmaya*? That Kātyāyana's stricture may be as much open to censure as the rule of Pāṇini, unless we, in fairness, gave it the benefit of a similar argument, is proved by the words *kakūlānat*, *kakūlmin*, and *garukhāt*, which "in the (classical) language of common life" are quite correct, but would have been incorrect according to the

Vārttika, if they had been used in such language at the time when it was composed.<sup>14</sup>

2. Pāṇini says (VI. 1, 150), "the bird (*nominative*) may be *viškira* or *vikira*" (either of which means any eatable bird but a cock). This rule is thus modified by Kātyāyana: "the form may be *viškira* or *vikira* if the sense of the word is 'bird'" (*locative*). Patanjali, it is true, sides with Pāṇini. The Vārttika, he says, is irrelevant, since it teaches that either form *viškira* or *vikira*, is correct, if the word means "bird," but that *viškira* would be the only legitimate form, if the word has any other sense. Pāṇini, however, he adds, did not mean to affect the sense "bird" by his optional "or," but the irregular form of the derivative.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> It is not permitted to adduce also चरिग्नम्, for this word ought to be written— as, for instance, the commentators of the Amarakosha do write it—चरिग्नम्, since the affix is not चिन्, but रिन्, according to Pāṇini, V. 2, 124: चापो रिमनिः. चिन् is रिमनि the letter च् is not an *anubandha*, results from I. 3, 8.

<sup>15</sup> VI. 1, 150: विक्किरः प्रकुनिर्विकिरे वा.—विकिरः विकिरः प्रकुनी विकिरे इति वक्ष्यम्.—Bhāṣya: प्रकुनी वेत्तुवन्मने प्रकुनी ज्ञा (ज्ञः) सादृश्यं तापि विज्ञानम्।

Nevertheless, it appears to me that both grammarians are right, and that Patanjali's decision is open to doubt. Whenever Pāṇini binds the application of a rule to the condition of a special sense, he expresses the latter by a word either in the locative or nominative. If he gives the meaning of the word in the locative it does not necessarily follow, though it usually happens to be the case, that such a word has other meanings, too, which are then excluded from the influence of the rule; but if he expresses the sense of the word in the nominative, he seems always to indicate that the word has this sense, and this sense only,—that both sense and word, being expressed in the same case, are, as it were, congruous.<sup>146</sup> His present rule would therefore imply that each form, *viśhkira* or *vikīra*, has no other sense than that of "bird;" but

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । न वाच्यत्वेन शुक्लनिरभिसंबध्यते किं तर्हि निपातनमभिसंबध्यते विक्किर इत्येतन्निपातनं शुक्लनो वा निपात्यत इति.

<sup>146</sup> Compare e.g. III. 3, 80. 81. 87; V. 2, 15; VI. 1, 149 (the meanings 2 and 3 of चपलक, in my Dictionary, are of later origin); VI. 1, 155. 156, etc.

Kātyāyana's corrections would mean that both forms are optional in the sense of "bird," while in any other sense both forms represent separate words. This fact is borne out by the meanings given in Wilson's Dictionary under each form.

The word *úscharya* is rendered by Pāṇini *anitya* (VI. 1, 147), i.e. "not permanent, rare." Kātyāyana corrects this meaning, in substituting for it *adbhuta*, i.e. "that which has not existed before, miraculous, wonderful." On this occasion, too, Patanjali defends Pāṇini, by observing that this remark might have been spared, for the sense, "wonderful, miraculous," is implied by the sense "rare;" and he gives instances to confirm this view, viz., "the height of (this) tree is something 'rare' (or wonderful); the blueness of the sky is something 'rare' (or wonderful);" but I very much doubt whether logicians will assent to this view of Patanjali; for, though all that is wonderful is rare, not all that is rare need be wonderful. And he himself seems to break down under his third instance, which runs thus: "That the stars which are not fastened in the

atmosphere do not fall down, is"—surely not rare, but wonderful.<sup>147</sup> In other terms, the meaning of *úścharjya*, given by Pāṇini, seems to have been only "rare;" and if so, it preceded that which became more usual at a later time, and is mentioned by Kātyāyana.

Another and, perhaps, more striking instance is afforded by the Sūtra (VII. 3, 69) where Pāṇini renders the word *bhojya* by *bhakshya*; for Kātyāyana corrects him in saying that he ought to have rendered *bhojya* by *abhyaṇahārya*. Now, if we consult the use of these words in the classical language, there can be no doubt that *bhojya*

<sup>147</sup> VI. 1, 147 : आचर्यमनिलि .—Vārtika (mis-edited in the Calc. ed.): आचर्यममृत इति वक्तव्यम्.—Bhāṣhya : रहापि यथा खात । आचर्यमुद्यता वृषस्य । आचर्यं नीला बोः । आचर्यमन्तरिचे त्वन्वनानि नचचाणि न पतन्तीति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । अनिल इतिव सिद्धम् । इह तावदाचर्यमुद्यता वृषस्येति । आचर्ययद्दणेन न वृषो ऽभि-संबध्यते किं तर्ह्युद्यता सा चानिला । आचर्यं नीला बोः इति नाचर्ययद्दणेन वीरभि-संबध्यते किं तर्हि नीलता सा चानिला । आचर्यमन्तरिचे त्वन्वनानि नचचाणि न पतन्तीति नाचर्ययद्दणेन नचचास्त्रभिसंबध्यते किं तर्हि पतनक्रिया सा चानिला । तच्चानिल इतिव सिद्धम्.

and *abhyaṇahārya* mean "what is fit for consumption," and apply to solid as well as to liquid substances; that, on the other hand, *bhakshya* means "what is fit to be eaten," and applies to solid food only. Is it likely, however, that Pāṇini should have blundered in the application of words which, it would seem, the most ignorant would employ properly? Patanjali, who, as I have already observed, is always disposed to stand by Pāṇini, again takes up his defence, and observes, that Pāṇini's using the word *bhakshya* instead of *abhyaṇahārya* need not have been criticised by Kātyāyana, for there are expressions like *ab-bhaksha*, "one who eats water," or *vāyu-bhaksha*, "one who eats air," which show that the radical *bhaksh* is used also in reference to other than solid food.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>148</sup> VII. 3, 69 : भोज्यं भक्ष्ये .—Vārtika : भोज्यमन्ववहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम् (where the nominative of *अन्ववहार्य* implies an additional criticism against the locative of *भक्ष्य* : see the foregoing remark, page 126).—Bhāṣhya : रहापि यथा खात । भोज्यः सूपः । भोज्या यवाद्युरिति । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । भक्षिरयं खरविशदे वर्तते तेन द्रवे न प्राप्नोति । नावस्त्रं भक्षिः खरविशदे वर्तते किं तर्ह्यन्वचापि वर्तते । तच्चया । अन्व-चो वायुमन्व इति.



But both instances alleged by Patanjali are conventional terms; they imply a condition of fasting, and derive their citizenship amongst other *classical* words from a Vaidik expression, as Patanjali himself admits, when, in his introduction to Pānini, he speaks of *ekapadaś*, or words, the sense of which can only be established from the context of a Vaidik passage to which they originally belong;<sup>140</sup> they do not show, therefore, that *bhākṣh* is applied also to other phrases of the classical language, so as to refer to liquid food. It seems evident, therefore, that in Pānini's time, which preceded the classical epoch, *bhākṣhya* must have been used as a convertible term for *bhojya*; while, at Kātyāyana's period, this rendering became incorrect, and required the substitution of another word.

3. The words and the meanings of words employed by Kātyāyana are such as we meet with in the scientific writers of the classical literature: his expressions would not invite any special

attention nor call forth any special remark. This cannot be said of the language of Pānini. In his Sūtras occur a great number of words and meanings of words, which—so far as my own knowledge goes—have become antiquated in the classical literature. I will mention, for instance, *pratyavasānā*, eating (I. 4. 52; III. 4. 76); *upasamvāda*, making a bargain (III. 4. 8); *rishi*, in the sense of Veda, or Vaidik hymn (IV. 4. 96); *utsanjana*, throwing up (I. 3. 36); *vyāgha*, application, employment in (I. 3. 36); *upasambhāshā*, talking over, reconciling (I. 3. 47); *svakarana*, appropriating, especially a wife, marrying (I. 3. 56); *sālinikarāṇa*, humbling (I. 3. 70); *mati*, desire (III. 2. 188); *abhreṣa*, propriety (III. 3. 37); *avakṛipti*, imagining (III. 3. 145); *abhyādāna*, commencement (VIII. 2. 87); *hoṭrā*, in the sense of *ritvij*, priest (V. 1. 135); *upājekṛi* and *anuvājekṛi*, to strengthen (I. 4. 73); *nivachaneṭṛi*, to hold one's speech, to be silent (I. 4. 76); *kanēhan* and *manohan*, to fulfil one's longing (I. 4. 66), etc. etc.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Some of these expressions, or others belonging to the same category, occur also

<sup>140</sup> For the quotation from Patanjali's preface to Pānini (ed. Ballantyne, p. 46) see my Dictionary, s.v. **पञ्चमहाभाष्य**.

4. To prove a negative, is, no doubt, the hardest of all problems. There are circumstances, however, which may lessen the danger of drawing the conclusion that an author cannot have possessed such and such knowledge when he wrote. If we take into account the evidence afforded by the author's character and work, the judgment passed on his writings by his countrymen, and the condition of the latter,—these elements put together into the scale of criticism will show whether the scale of the author's proficiency can spare, or not, a certain amount of weight without disturbing the balance required. That Pāṇini was an eminent writer, is not only manifest from his Grammar, but acknowledged by the common judgment of his countrymen; and the learning and civilization of ancient India was such that we must admit the fullest

is the *Kośhas*, and in the artificial poetry, especially the *Bhāṣī-kāvya*. This circumstance, however, does not disprove that they are obsolete in the real literature, since the *Kośhas* have borrowed them from Pāṇini, whereas the *Bhāṣī-kāvya* is expressly written to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini, and the artificial poetry bases its chief merits on the strangeness of its style and words.

competence in those who established his celebrity. But we know, too, that Pāṇini was a Brahmanic writer. No amount of scholarship could have ensured to him the position he holds in the ancient literature if he had been a professor of the Buddhistic creed. In forming, then, an opinion on Pāṇini we must always bear in mind his learning and his religious faith, and the consequences which follow from both these premises.

After these preliminary remarks I will first advert to the Sūtra (IV. 2. 129) in which Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word *Āranyaka*, and says that it means, "a man who lives in a forest." That *Āranyaka* has this meaning is unquestionable. It means, too, if we consult the lexicographers, "a forest," "a forest-elephant, a jackall, etc.;" but above all it is the name of those theosophical works which are the precursors of the Upanishads, and are held in the greatest awe by the Hindu authorities.<sup>131</sup> If a learned Hindu were

<sup>131</sup> Manu, IV. 123, for instance, applies the same injunction to the termination of a lecture of an *Āranyaka* as to that of a whole Veda: *सामन्वयावसुधुनी वाचीपीठे कदाचन । विद्वत्साधूनि राजन्मरीचकमधीन च ।*

asked the meaning of *Āraṇyaka*, he would certainly first point to the sacred works which bear this name, and then refer to the meaning "forester," just as, I suppose, a European questioned on the sense of the word "Bible," would first say that it means "Testament," and then remember its etymological sense, "book." Yet Pāṇini merely speaks of *Āraṇyaka*, "the forester." No wonder that Kātyāyana supplies, in a Vārttika of his, the defect which must have struck him if, and since, he was acquainted with this portion of the sacred literature.<sup>123</sup> But is it possible to assume

<sup>122</sup> Pāṇini, IV. 2, 129 : *आरखामनुषे*.—Patanjali : *अबल्लमिदमुच्यते मनुष इति*.—Kātyāyana : *पञ्चखायवायविहारमनुषइति* वक्तव्यम्.—Patanjali : *आरखः पञ्चः । आरखको ऽवायः । आरखको वायः । आरखको विहारः । आरखको मनुषः । आरखको इती*.—Kātyāyana : *वा नोमयेषु*.—Patanjali : *वा नोमयेति* वक्तव्यम् । *आरखका नोमयाः । आरखा नोमयाः*. (Both Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, as if they did only occur in the Siddhanta-kaumudī). Professor Müller has pointed out that Pāṇini does not mention the principal meaning of *Āraṇyaka*, but expresses himself thus (page 339) : "Whether Pāṇini knew the *Āraṇyaka* as a branch of sacred literature is uncertain. Although he mentions the word

that Pāṇini could have known this sense of the word *Āraṇyaka*, when he is altogether silent on it; and if he did not know it, that the works so called could have already existed in his time?

The acquaintance of Pāṇini with a Yajurveda is evidenced by several Sūtras of his.<sup>123</sup> But in speaking of a Yajurveda, he does not tell us whether he knew the *Black* as well as the *White* version, or only the *Black* version of it. That the former, which is considered as the literary property of the *Tittiri* school, is older in form and contents than the latter, the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*, requires no observation of mine, after the conclusive proofs which have been given by previous writers. To decide, however, whether Pāṇini had a knowledge of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā or not,—in other words, whether both versions of 'āraṇyaka,' he only uses it in the sense of 'living in the forest;' and it is the author of the Vārttikas who first remarks that the same word is also used in the sense of 'read in the forest.'"

<sup>123</sup> For instance, by the Sūtras II. 4, 4 (*adhvayam*) ; VI. 1, 117 ; VII. 4, 38 ; VIII. 3, 104, etc.



between the old and new text, we must admit that he had a greater right to be called an author than the founders of the Charaṇas of other Vedas whose texts we possess. In this sense, Kātyāyana says, in his Anukramanī, that Yājñavalkya received the Yajur-veda from the Sun. In the same sense, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa ends with the assertion that the White Yajur-veda was proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā."

If, then, we turn our attention to the word *Śatapatha*, we have again to state that it occurs only in a Gāna to V. 3, 100 (compare also note 105), but is not mentioned authentically in any Sūtra of Pāṇini. Yet Kātyāyana, I hold, has helped us to untie this knot, which has been drawn still tighter than it was by Professors Müller and Weber, in spite of the excellent counsel which the latter gives, "not to increase, by inattention, the darkness, which is great enough already in the history of Sanskrit literature."<sup>156</sup>

A rule of Pāṇini's, which, literally translated, runs thus,

<sup>156</sup> Indische Studien, vol. I., p. 483: "We have already darkness enough in the

"amongst the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpas* which have been proclaimed by an *Old one* (or by the *Old*)," <sup>157</sup> teaches, in its connection with preceding rules, that names of Brāhmaṇas and Kalpas are formed by adding the (technical) affix *nīni* (i.e. the real affix *in* with *Vṛddhi* in the base), to the proper name of the personage who proclaimed them, provided that such a personage is an *old* authority. Kaiyaṇa gives as an instance of a Brāhmaṇa so formed, the word *Sātyāyanin*, derived from *Sātyāyana*, the saint who proclaimed this Brāhmaṇa; and other instances are mentioned by Patanjali in his comment on a previous Sūtra. To this rule *Kātyāyana* added a *Vārtika*, which, according to the text in the Calcutta edition, would mean literally:—"In reference to *Yājñavalkya* and so on (there is) an exception, on account of the contemporaneous-

history of Hindu literature; let us abstain at least from increasing it through our own inattention!"

<sup>157</sup> IV. 3, 105: **पुराणप्रोक्तसु ब्राह्मणकल्पसु**, which words are completed by the Sūtras IV. 3, 101 and 103.

ness,"<sup>128</sup> and the comment on this additional rule is afforded by Patanjali, in the instance he gives: *Yājñavalkyaṇi Brāhmaṇāni*, where the Brāhmaṇa referred to the authorship of Yājñavalkya, is not formed by means of the (technical) affix *ṇini*, but by the (technical) affix *an* (i.e. *a*, with *Vṛiddhi* in the base).

The great importance of this additional rule of Kātyāyana is obvious. It has been made the subject of several remarks in the "Indische Studien," where Professor Weber writes (vol. i. p. 57, note):—"By the Yājñavalkyaṇi-brāhmaṇāni [*Yājñavalkyaṇi*, as the "Indische Studien" writes it, is probably an error of the press] there [*i.e.* in the commentary of the Calcutta edition to IV. 3, 105], and also in the *Vārtika*, and in IV. 2. 66, there can probably be meant none but the Çatapatha-brāhmaṇa, either the whole of it, or from XI. to XIV., which, therefore, Patanjali even did not consider as purāṇa-proktam [*i.e.* proclaimed by an old

authority]." Again (vol. i. p. 146), "A matter of importance is the distinct separation of Brāhmaṇas composed by the *Old* (purāṇa) IV. 3. 105, by which [expression], in contradistinction, the existence also of such as belong to a more recent time (tulyakālāni, says the *Vārtika*) is necessarily implied; amongst the latter, recent ones, the Yājñavalkyaṇi [the repeated error of the press, "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*," becomes suspicious] (comp. p. 57, note), and the Saulabhāni (otherwise unknown) Brāhmaṇāni are mentioned in the *Vārtika*; amongst the old ones, the scholiast there, (is it on Patanjali's authority? <sup>129</sup>) names the Bhāllavinaḥ and the Çātyāya-

<sup>128</sup> For this query of Professor Weber, compare note 139. But I cannot help asking how he reconciles the statement of the note to vol. I. p. 57, just quoted, where he speaks of Patanjali in terms of that assurance which can only proceed from personal knowledge,—with his repeated avowal of not having read the *Mahābhāṣya*, and with the text itself of p. 57 to which this note refers, since he is doubtful even there whether the Calcutta editors have taken their instances to IV. 3, 105 from Patanjali or not? As a guess, his attributing the words **याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः** to Patanjali happens to be quite correct; but it would have been certainly much better to give it distinctly as such, than leave us doubtful now as to the nature of other statements of his.

<sup>129</sup> *Vārtika* of the Calcutta edition to IV. 3, 105 : **याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिविद्य-बुद्ध्यावस्यत्वात्**.

ninah." And (vol. i. p. 177, *note*):—"Now we have seen (pp. 57 *note*, and 146) that the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni ["Yājñavalkyaṇi" again, which now becomes very suspicious], are considered by the author of the Vārtikas as *contemporaneous* with Pāṇini. The question, therefore, is whether by it [*i.e.* the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni] we have really to understand the Ṣaṭapatha-brāhmaṇa itself, or, in general, Brāhmaṇas only, which were *composed* by Yājñavalkya, or such as merely *treated* of him. In the former case, it would follow, too, from his proved contemporaneity with Uddālaka, and from Uddālaka's preceding Pāṇḍu, that the epoch of Pāṇḍu is later than that of Pāṇini." But (vol. ii. p. 393) he observes: "By the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni<sup>100</sup> we, probably, have not to understand those [Brāhmaṇas] which have been *composed* by Yājñavalkya him-

<sup>100</sup> Professor Weber again writes "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*." Being compelled, therefore, to abandon the hypothesis of an error of the press, the more so as the same "*Yājñavalkyaṇi-brāhmaṇāni*" make their reappearance, in their *alphabetical place*, in his Index to the first two volumes of the "Indische Studien"—I must refer him for the correct form "*Yājñavalkāni*," to Pāṇini VI. 4, 151.—It is needless for me to say that

self, but those which merely *treated* of him; and a specimen of these is preserved us in the Yājñavalkya-kāṇḍam of the Vṛihadarānyaka (see my Akad. Vorles. p. 125-26); therefore, if this [my] second view is correct, the contemporaneity of Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka with Pāṇini, which is the necessary consequence of my first view, would fall to the ground, together with Pāṇini's preceding Pāṇḍu, whose priority in time is again the consequence of such a contemporaneity."<sup>101</sup>

There is nothing novel or remarkable in the circumstance of

the "*editor*" of Pāṇini likewise writes *याज्ञवल्क्याणि* IV. 3, 93 and 3, 105, intending probably to improve on the Calcutta edition, which IV. 3, 105 writes *याज्ञवल्क्याणि*, but IV. 2, 66 *याज्ञवल्क्याणि*. *Habent sua fata libelli*!

<sup>101</sup> The self-quotation of Professor Weber (Akad. Vorles. p. 125, 126) need not be repeated here, since it merely contains the same conjecture that the *Yājñavalkāni* (correctly written in the Akad. Vorles., but re-quoted from this work "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*" in the Ind. Stud. vol. II. p. 390) *brāhmaṇāni* are the same as the *Yājñavalkya-kāṇḍam* which *treats of* Yājñavalkya.—The text of the quotations given above, it is superfluous for me to mention, is in German. To save space I have confined myself to communicating merely a translation of it, which, I trust, no one will find wanting in strictest

Professor Weber's recanting on one page what he maintained with the most specious arguments on another, or of his leaving the bewildered reader between a chaos of what are to him established facts; but however interesting it may be thus to obtain from him an autobiography of his mind, and an insight into the state of maturity in which he presents us with his researches, I must, this time, defend him against himself, and show that, *within the sphere of his own presumptive facts*, there is not the slightest ground for immolating by his last conjecture the statements contained in the first three quotations from his essays. ✓

The exception made by Kātyāyana to the rule of Pānini (IV. 3, 105) is contained in the word *Yājñavalkya*, as we learn from the authentic comment of Patanjali. There is no proof, whatever, that it can extend to any other derivative of Yājñavalkya. Whatever, therefore, be the import of the word *Yājñavalkya*, the *fairness and literal accuracy*. The words between brackets, marked [ ], are my own parenthetical explanations, as the reader will easily see for himself. The italics in the quotation are Professor Weber's own.

*Yājñavalkya* *kāṇḍam* has nothing to do with the *Yājñavalkya* *brāhmaṇi* mentioned by Patanjali in reference to our Vārttika. But, in the second instance, the word *pratiśedha*, or "exception," used by Kātyāyana necessarily concerns works of the *same category*. As little as an author could, for instance, call geology an exception to astronomy, as little, I hold, could Kātyāyana speak of an "exception" to names of Brāhmaṇas when he had in his mind, as Professor Weber thinks, the name of a particular chapter of an Aranyaka. And thirdly, this same word 'exception' in the Vārttika must likewise concern the *proclaiming* of such a work by the personage who becomes the base of the derivative; for Pānini uses the word *prokta* "proclaimed," distinctly enough in the Śūtra which is criticized by the Vārttika. There would be no "exception," if the formation alluded to by Kātyāyana, meant a work "*treating of*" the personage who is the base of the derivative. But, when Professor Weber, in his "Akademische Vorlesungen" (pp. 125, 126) crowns his syllogism by the remark that he prefers his last conjecture because it "appears, indeed, extremely ticklish (bedenk-



lich)" to him "to consider the whole Çatapathabrāhmaṇa or as much as its last books, as bearing distinctly the name of Yājñavalkya—however much it may contain his system [?]—or as contemporaneous with, or as preceding even by little, Pāṇini's time;" and when he adds, in the fulness of his authority, "but for the Yājñavalkyam-kāṇḍam I have not the slightest hesitation in doing the latter" [*Letzteres zu thun*,—what latter?], I fear I should overstep the limits of *scientific* criticism, if I attached a single remark to a passage like this, which treats its readers as if the personal feelings of Professor Weber had all the weight of scientific arguments, and deals with one of the most important problems of Sanskrit literature in such a manner as if it were matter for table talk.

Before I proceed in my observations on the point at issue, I will state the views of Professor Müller on this Vārttika. He writes (p. 353): "In the same sense Pāṇini, or rather his editor, says in the first Vārttika to IV. 3, 105, that there were modern Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya, and that their title differed by its formation from the title given to more ancient Brāhmaṇas,"

and (p. 363): "It is wrong, for instance, to speak of the Yājñavalkyas in the same sense as we speak of the Pāṭiriyas, and the works promulgated by Yājñavalkya, although they are Brāhmaṇas, are called Yājñavalkyaṇi [*sic*] Brāhmaṇāni. And why?" says Kātyāyana; 'because they are of too recent an origin; that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves.'

Where, I must now ask, does Kātyāyana speak of Brāhmaṇas "more ancient" than the Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya? and where, I must further ask, does he say that the latter are "almost" contemporaneous? Again, what proof has Professor Weber that Kātyāyana meant by contemporaneous, as he says (see above, p. 134), *contemporaneous with Pāṇini*? and what proof has Professor Müller that Kātyāyana implied by this word, *contemporaneous with himself*? Assuredly, all these questions ought to have been settled first, and by very substantial proofs, before an edifice of chronology was allowed to be built on them. Not only does Kātyāyana nowhere indicate a *degree*, either in the relative age of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and those subject to the

Sūtra of Pāṇini, or in the contemporaneousness of the former with him,—but, in my opinion, the word *pratishedha*, “*exception*,” already adverted to, is altogether fatal to the ellipsis supplied by Professors Weber and Müller when they refer to the word *contemporaneous*. This word “*exception*” clearly proves that Kātyāyana could never have held the dialogue with which Müller enlivens the scene of the Vārttika. For if the Brāhmanas spoken of in the Vārttika, were contemporaneous with Pāṇini or with Kātyāyana, the Vārttika would have made an *addition*, not an *exception* to the rule of Pāṇini, since the latter merely treats of such Brāhmanas as are *old* from his point of view, and is no wise concerned with any Brāhmanas of *his* time.

In short, the Vārttika can, on account of the word *exception*, convey no other sense than that Pāṇini himself was guilty of an inaccuracy, by omitting to state that the Brāhmanas which had been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya (and others) were exempt from his Sūtra IV. 3, 105, *these Brāhmanas being as old as those which he had in view when he gave this rule.*

Did the words of the Vārttika, such as they are printed in the Calcutta edition, admit of the slightest doubt—if interpreted properly,—or had the inferences drawn from them been propounded with less consequence, and did not the discussion I have raised concern a principle, viz. the method of examining the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, the course I should have taken, in refuting the opinion of Professors Weber and Müller would have been a different one. I should have at once stated the fact, that the inadvertence of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini—(need I repeat that Dr. Boehtlingk's reprint is as conscientious in this case as in all analogous instances?)—has skipped *two words* which belong to the Vārttika,—words, which, indeed, are not absolutely required for a correct understanding of the Vārttika, but the presence of which would have prevented as much as the possibility of a misconception, however inattentive the reader of the Vārttika might be. These words are no other than the words of Pāṇini's Sūtra itself, which Kātyāyana, no doubt with the distinct purpose of obviating the very possibility of a misunder-

standing, has embodied again in his Vārttika in placing them before his own critical remark. In short, the Vārttika runs thus : “ Among the Brāhmanas and Kalpas, which are proclaimed by an *old* one (or by the *old*), there is an exception in reference to Yājñavalkya, on account of the contemporaneousness,” viz., of *these latter Brāhmanas with the old Brāhmanas spoken of by Pāṇini*. In this sense, then, Patanjali remarks, after having named the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya and Sulabha, “ Why (is there an exception to these ?) ‘ On account of the contemporaneousness ;’ that is to say, because they, *too*, are of the same time ;” and Kaiyaṣa adds : ‘ *because they belong to the same time as the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Śātyāyana, and so on.*’ ”<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Pāṇini, IV. 3, 105 : पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्युः पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्यु वाचवत्कादिव्यः प्रतिविद्युत्कावत् । —Patanjali : पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्यु वाचवत्कादिव्यः प्रतिविद्यो वत्तवः । वाचवत्काणि ब्राह्मणि । सीकभावीति । किं कारवम । तुल्यकावत् । एताव्यपि तुल्यकावानीति । —Kaiyaṣa : तुल्यकावत्तादिति । ब्राह्मण्युनादिमोतिमोहिरिकावत्तादिव्यः . For the sake of greater clearness, and in

The ground on which we now stand is once more the ground we have occupied before. And when I previously asked whether it is likely that Pāṇini could have blundered in conjugating or declining a common word, or whether he was not proficient enough to use the expression “ eatable,” or whether he could have ignored the meaning of Āraṇyaka, —I must now add the question whether he was likely to give a rule which, by an essential omission, would have vitiated the name of a principal Brāhmana ? Could he have ignored that name which stands foremost amongst all the authors

order to anticipate any objection, I will mention, that the Sūtra of Pāṇini itself precedes the words of the Vārttika in the MS. E.I.H. 330, whence this passage is quoted ; so that there can be no assumption of a meaningless or careless repetition of the words पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्यु. Moreover, the beginning of Patanjali’s commentary on the Vārttika, and his method of commenting, as explained above, is sufficient to remove all doubt—if any still existed—that they belong to the Vārttika. —Professor Benfey, too, is therefore mistaken, when, in his learned and valuable “ *Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache* ” (§ 519) he says, “ it has been explicitly stated [viz. by our Vārttika] that Yājñavalkya and some others do not belong to the *old*.”

of Brāhmaṇas ? So much so, that we have heard only by name of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhaḷlu, Śātyāyana, and Sulabha ; but are full of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, proclaimed by Yājñavalkya ?

In my belief there is but this alternative : either Patanjali, who mentions the Bhāḷlavins, together with other Brāhmaṇas, in his comment on the Vārttika 26 to IV. 2, 104, is correct in saying that the Brāhmaṇa of Yājñavalkya is coeval with them, in this case all these Brāhmaṇas must have been unknown to Pāṇini, and other Brāhmaṇas must have been before his mind's eye, when he wrote the Sūtra IV. 3, 105 ; or Pāṇini *did* know and *meant* to imply in his rule the Brāhmaṇa of Bhaḷlu, and of others named by Patanjali, — then the error must be on Patanjali's side, when he asserts that Yājñavalkya was their contemporary. I say purposely, it must be an error of Patanjali, for there is no evidence to show that Kātyāyana alluded to *Bhaḷlu*, for instance, when he speaks of contemporaries of Yājñavalkya ; he may have referred, for aught we know, to proper names belonging to other old authorities—old

from Pāṇini's point of view ; and his error would then have consisted in making Yājñavalkya the contemporary of the personages who were the authors of those old works.

Yet both—the error of Patanjali and the error of Kātyāyana—become explainable on the assumption that there is *such a considerable period of time between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and much more so between Pāṇini and Patanjali* that Kātyāyana even could consider as “ old ” that which was not only not old, but in all probability did not yet exist in Pāṇini's time.

It is curious, though I lay no stress on this circumstance, that the *Kāśikā-vṛttis* should *pass over in silence the whole Vārttika of Kātyāyana*, but should, in giving the counter-instance, “ Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni,” add : “ Why does this rule of Pāṇini (restrict the formation of Brāhmaṇa-names with the affix *in*) to those Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by the ‘ old ? ’ ” Because the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya, etc., are called Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni, etc ; for, *according to legendary reports, these and similar Brāhmaṇas do not belong to a*

*remote time*.<sup>18</sup> Thus, on traditional grounds—which we should have thanked Jayāditya if he had designated in more precise terms—the Kāśikā, too, discards the notion of the *Yājñavalkya Brāhmaṇī* being an exception to the much-quoted rule of Pāṇini. On the contrary, it looks, as we see, on the derivative *Yājñavalkya* as a counter-instance, which confirms the statement of Pāṇini; but, I hold that this commentary was wanting in judgment when it passed over in silence the Vārtika of Kātyāyana, since the latter, by its very mistaken reproach, affords us a valuable means of judging on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

Before I support with further arguments the conclusions I have drawn with regard to this chronological relation between the two grammarians, it will be expedient to take a cursory view of the

<sup>18</sup> The commentary of the Kāśikā on this Sūtra which, as in general, is much better and more clearly worded than the comment of the Calcutta Pandits, runs thus (MS. E.I.H. 2440): प्रत्ययार्थविशेषवर्जितम् । गुणीवासमर्षात्मोक्ते विनिप्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रत्ययान्तं पुराब्रह्मोक्तं चेत् । ब्राह्मणकल्पासौ भवन्ति । पुराब्रह्म चिरन्तनविषया प्रोक्तं पुरा-

*principal categories of known* ancient writings not already mentioned; acquaintance with which, on the one hand, is shown by Pāṇini himself; and the existence of which, on the other, may either be assumed to fall within a period not very distant from the time when Pāṇini wrote, or in his time, to be open to doubt, on account of the reasons previously alleged.

Since Pāṇini teaches, in the rule I have so often referred to, that all ancient Brāhmanas and Kalpa works bear names which end in the (technical) affix *śini*, the names of the former by the common consent of all commentators, ancient and modern, being used in the plural only, we are justified in inferring that none of the works of the category now preserved in manuscript, so far as my knowledge

ब्रह्मोक्तम् । ब्राह्मणेषु तावत् । भाष्यविक्रयः । शास्त्रावनिवः (should be शास्त्रावनिवः) । ऐतरेयविक्रयः । कल्येपु । पैङ्गी कल्यः । आरक्षयपरावी । पुराब्रह्मोक्तेति किम् । याच्यवत्कानि ब्राह्मणानि । याच्यवः कल्यः । याच्यवत्कानि दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा । I may add, that the Siddhānta-kaumudī also makes no mention of the Vārtika of Kātyāyana, but, in reference to our question, merely contains these words (p. 81 b. line 1): पुराब्रह्मोक्तेति किम् । याच्यवत्कानि (miseditied याच्यवत्कानि) ब्राह्मणानि.

goes, are ancient works from Pāṇini's point of view. That one of them, at least, the Kalpa work of Kātyāyana, cannot have existed in Pāṇini's time, would be the consequence of the foregoing inquiry; but I should not venture to say more than I have said of the other ritual books of the same category.

Again, if the conclusion I drew as to Pāṇini's not having been acquainted with the *Āraṇyakas* be correct, it would imply, of necessity, that the *Upanishads* could not have existed when he lived, since they are a further development of this class of works; and this conclusion, again, strengthens the arguments I have adduced for the non-existence, in Pāṇini's time, of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā, arranged by Yājñavalkya; for an important Upanishad, the *Īśa-Upanishad*, is the last portion of this version of the Yajurveda.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Pāṇini mentions the word *Upanishad* once, viz. I. 4, 79, but not in the sense of a sacred work. It occurs twice in the Gāṇas, viz., to IV. 3, 73 and 4, 12; in the former it has the sense of such a work, but it is doubtful whether it has in the latter also.—In a note at page 325, Professor Müller gives a detailed account of the history of *Anquetil's*

That Pāṇini was conversant, not only with a *Black Yajur-Perron's Oupnekhat*, "which contains the translation of fifty Upanishads from Persian into Latin." Since his bibliographical sketch cannot fail to be of much interest and use to many of his readers, it will not be superfluous to correct a mistake of his when he states that the *French translation* of Anquetil du Perron was "not published." It was not published *entirely*; but in the well-known work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil, Rennell, and Bernoulli: "*Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, etc. *Berlin*; vol. I. second edition, 1791; vol. II. 1788; vol. III. 1788," the second part of the second volume contains his translation "en français barbare," as the author himself calls it, of the "*Oupnekhat Narāin (tiré de l'Atharva Beid*" (p. 297 ff.); of the "*Oupnekhat tadiv (tiré de Djedjr Beid*" (p. 301 ff.); of the "*Oupnekhat Athar (tiré de l'Atharva Beid*" (p. 308 ff.) and of the "*Oupnekhat Schat Roudri (tiré de Djedjr Beid*" (p. 323 ff.). The same volume also contains an interesting paper of his: "*nouvelles preuves que l'Oupnekhat ne parle nulle part du Kalougum, ni des trois autres longams*" (Table des Articles; p. 548 ff.).—There is another work, published anonymously, which comprises, besides other interesting matter, translations in German of portions of Oriental works; the first volume of this work—the only one that appeared, I believe—bears the title "*Sammlung Asiatischer Original-Schriften.—Indische Schriften.—Zürich*, 1791," and contains, amongst others, a German translation of the first three Upanishads published in the work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil du Perron, etc. As this volume is curious and of great scarcity, I subjoin a list of its contents, as given by the

veda,<sup>105</sup> but with a *Rig-* and and a *Sāma-* veda, is borne out by several author himself : “ *Begruendung. Tractat. Der Telepoeng Reg. Patimuk. Des Fo. Buch. Upnekhat. Mahabarat. Ind. Raschah. Amertkend. Bedang Schauten. Dirm Schauter: Nendiren. Götter Verzeichniss. Schautah-Bade. Borda Schauter. Tivsamalci. Remensuram. Remensuram Phil. Gespräch. Sastirum.*”—A note appended to the translation of the “Upnekhat Athrbisar,” at p. 286 of this work, drew my attention to “A prayer directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the Sanscrit language, and translated by C. W. Boughton Rowe, Esq.; from a Persian Version of Dara Shikoh, a son of Jah Jehan, Emperor of Hindostan”—which prayer is appended to the “*Institutes of Timour*,” by Joseph White (Oxford, 1783); for the note in question says that this prayer is a free and abridged version, from the Persian, of the same Upnekhat Athrbisar (or Upanishad Atharvasūtras). But having compared them, I cannot convince myself that such is the case; though the ideas expressed in both compositions have much similarity.—In passing, I may mention, also, that this same prayer attracted the attention of the “Monthly Review of 1783,” and, in consequence, that of August Hennings in his interesting work, “*Versuch einer Ostindischen Litteratur-Geschichte nebst einer kritischen Beurtheilung der Aechtheit der Zend-Bücher.*” Hamburg und Kiel, 1786.” This work, which is extremely rare, bears testimony to the extensive scholarship of its author; it gives a critical review—more or less detailed—of 114 works, and has an Appendix, entitled “*Grundlage zu einem vollständigen Verzeichnisse aller Schriften die Ostindien und die damit verbundene*

Sūtras of his. We may expect, too, that he, like every other Hindu, looked upon the Rigveda as the principal Veda; and this assumption is confirmed by the circumstance of his calling a *Páda* of the Rigveda simply *the* “*Páda*,” without the addition of the word *Rik*.<sup>106</sup> But there is no evidence to show that he knew an *Atharvaveda*. The word *átharvan*, it is true, occurs three times, but only in the Ganas to his rules, and there even only as the name of a priest. We may add, also, that the word *átharvanika* is found in two Sūtras (IV. 3, 133, and VI. 4, 174), where it is ex-

*Länder betreffen.* In *alphabetischer Ordnung als ein Anhang zur Litteratur-Geschichte Ostindiens. Hamburg.*” This Appendix contains the titles of not less than 1372 works of the 16th, 17th, and 18th century, referring to the history, “antiquities, nations, languages, religions, and the natural history of India,” many of which are unknown not only to me, but to several Oriental scholars, librarians, and bibliographers whom I have consulted about them.

<sup>105</sup> See note 153.

<sup>106</sup> For his knowledge of the *Rigveda*, compare VI. 3, 55, 133; VII. 4, 39, etc.; for the occurrence of *páda*, VI. 1, 115; VII. 1, 57; VIII. 1, 18, etc.; for *Sāma-*veda, I. 2, 34; IV. 2, 7; V. 2, 59, etc.

plained by Patañjali as meaning "the office and the sacred record of the Atharvan,"—that Patañjali confirms the occurrence of the word *atharvan* in the Gāṇa to the Sūtra IV. 2, 63, where it can only mean a literary work; and, besides, that the word *átharvāna* occurs twice in the Gāṇas.<sup>157</sup> Yet even the testimony of Patañjali cannot entirely remove the uncertainty which, as we have seen above, must always adhere to the Gāṇas as evidence for or against Pāṇini, with the exception of their first word, mentioned by himself, or such of their words as are referred to by other rules of his. Nor does the occurrence of the word *átharvanika* in the two Sūtras

<sup>157</sup> For *Átharvas*, see the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 38 and 63; (it occurs, too, in a Vārtika to IV. 3, 133). For *Átharvanika*, IV. 3, 133; VI. 4, 174 and the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 63 and (in the Kāṇika) 60; for *Átharvas* the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 38 and 63 and (in the Kāṇika) 60.—On IV. 3, 133, Patañjali remarks, after the words of the Sūtra: . . . **आचर्वतो यमः । आचर्वन् आवायः । इत्याचर्ववायम् । आचर्वविवाये च चतुर्वहसं क्रियते । वसनादिवचर्वश्च आचर्ववश्च** (comp. IV. 2, 63) **यथा ते वहे ज्याये** (VI. 4, 174) **प्रकृतिमावाये यवसं क्रियते** etc.

quoted necessarily confirm the interpretation of Patañjali. It may there only mean the office of an Atharvan priest, who, probably, was employed in the performance of sacrificial acts. In short, there is no valid ground for attributing to Pāṇini a knowledge of the fourth and least sacred Veda, the Atharvaveda; and this doubt derives some additional weight from the fact that, though the word *Angiras*, one of the reputed Rishis of the Atharvaveda, is mentioned in a Sūtra (II. 4. 65), neither the compound *Átharvángirasas*, nor its derivative, *Átharvángirasa*, is met with in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, though the former is the name, as well of the two seers of the Atharvaveda, as especially of the hymns of this Veda itself,—while the latter means the observances connected with the Atharvaveda, and would have deserved a place amongst grammatical rules. ✓

In the last chapter of his learned work, Professor Müller gives instances of hymns which he considers as belonging to the oldest portion of Vaidik literature. It seems difficult to follow his arguments so as to arrive at a settled conviction on this point; for the



reasons he gives in assigning these hymns to the earliest portions of Hindu poetry rest on impressions so individual, that assent or dissent of those who read the Rîgveda hymns will depend much on their own disposition. I should, for instance, for my part, hesitate very much to assign to a hymn which speaks of thirty-three gods<sup>100</sup> a place amongst the most ancient hymns, since it betrays, in my opinion, a very artificial and developed condition of religiousness, and a considerable deviation from what I hold to be the primitive feeling of the human mind. The impression I derive from another hymn, a poetical version of which Professor Müller gives (p. 564), and a prose translation of which we owed already to Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. I. p. 33), would be to the same effect,—that it belongs, not to the earliest, but to the very latest hymns of the Rîgveda-Saṁhitā; for it seems to me that a song which begins, “There was no entity, nor non-entity . . . . death was not, nor was there immortality;” and concludes: “Then who can

know whence it proceeded, or whence this varied world arose, or whether it uphold itself, or not? He who, in the highest heaven, is the ruler of this universe, does indeed know, but not another can possess that knowledge”—it seems to me that such a song must be already the result of the greatest struggles of the human heart: the full-grown fruit of a long experience in thought,—in other words, that it marks the end, and not the beginning, of a phase of religious development.

I agree with Müller in one important point, viz. (p. 566): that “the evidence of language is the most decisive for settling the relative age of Vedic hymns,” and I should have agreed with him still more if he had said that it is the only safe criterion with a European of the nineteenth century to settle this point. Therefore, when he adds that “the occurrence of such a word as *tadānim* is more calculated to rouse doubts as to the early date of this [last-named] hymn than the most abstruse metaphysical ideas which may be discovered in it,”—though I do not share the opinion expressed in his latter words,—I hold the adverb he men-

<sup>100</sup> Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 531.

tions to be quite sufficient authority for removing this hymn from the earliest portion of Hindu songs.

But setting aside our personal feelings, which, after all, are of no consequence, we cannot be indifferent about learning what Pāṇini considered to be the older or the more recent Vaidik hymns. A direct opinion on this point we can scarcely expect to obtain from himself; but indirect evidence of his own impressions, or, more probably, of the tradition current in his time, I believe may be collected from his Sūtras; and, however scanty it be, and however much we may think we may be able, without his aid, to arrive at a similar result in regard to the hymns I am going to name, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here. The hymns of the Rig-veda—and, consequently, those collected from it for the version of the Sāma-, and the two other Vedas—were “seen,” as I have shown above (p. 62), by the Rishis, who received them from a divinity. This general belief was, as I there proved, shared in by Pāṇini, who, therefore, was not so unshackled by the inspiration-doctrine as Professor Müller represents him to have been in his

discussion on old and new Brāhmaṇas.<sup>100</sup> But there is a marked difference in the language he uses when speaking at one time of one category, and, at another, of another category of hymns; and it is this difference which induces me to express a doubt whether he looked upon all Vaidik hymns as *immediate* revelations from above.

In his Sūtras IV. 2, 7 to 9, he teaches the formation of words expressing the name of Sāmaveda-hymns, and he applies to the latter the word “*seen*,” *i.e.*, received by inspiration from the divinity. In the Sūtra IV. 3, 101, on the other hand, he heads a chapter, which comprises the next ten rules, with the words, “*promulgated by him*,” which words imply that the Vaidik compositions—the names of which he teaches the student to form in these rules—were *promulgated* by the Rishis, whose names are the bases of the several derivatives.<sup>100</sup> That these two different expressions were

<sup>100</sup> Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 361 : “Pāṇini, whose views are not shackled by the inspiration-doctrines which blinded and misled all the followers of the orthodox Mīmāṃsā school, broadly states the fact that there are old and new Brāhmaṇas, etc.”

<sup>100</sup> IV. 2, 7 : दृष्टं साम — IV. 3, 101 : तेन प्रोक्तम्. — Praudhmanoranā : प्रकृतैर्ब्रह्मणे

chosen by Pāṇini deliberately, results from the contents of the last-named rules. They contain amongst others (IV. 3, 105), names of Kalpa works, which, at no period of the Hindu religion, were "seen" or ascribed to superhuman authorship. This word "proclaimed" has also been noticed especially by Kātyāyana and Patanjali, who judge as follows of its import in these rules:—*Kātyāyana*: " (It might seem that) this word 'proclaimed' is purposeless, since no affix is visible in (certain) derivatives (which imply its sense)."—*Patanjali*: "Why is it purposeless? 'Because,' says Kātyāyana, 'no affix is visible.' That is to say, if 'proclaimed' means that the Vaidik version of the Kalāpas or Kāthas is recited village for village, a derivative implying such a sense has no (special) affix."—*Kātyāyana*: " (It is purposeless, too) if applied to the sense 'book,' for (in this case) an affix is taught (elsewhere)."—*Patanjali*: "There is an affix, if the

sense 'composed, as a book,' is implied by it; but such an affix is provided for by another rule of Pāṇini, viz., IV. 3, 116. Could we, then, consider this word 'proclaimed' (in our rule) as used in reference to the Veda? But again, the Vedas are not made (like a book); they are permanent (or eternal)."—*Kātyāyana*: "If (however, one should assert that this word) concerns the Veda, (he would be correct, provided that he meant to impart to the word 'proclaimed') a *figurative* sense."—*Patanjali* (after repeating these latter words): "Is it not said, however, that 'the Vedas are not made, but that they are permanent (i.e., eternal)?' (Quite so); yet, though their sense is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same; and it is through the difference in the latter respect that we may speak of the versions of the Kāthas, Kalāpas, Mudakas, Pippalādakas, and so on."<sup>17</sup> Now, whatever opinion we may entertain of

प्रोक्तम् । अथादनेनार्थवाक्यानि वा प्रकाशितमित्यर्थः । प्रकथयति वचनाद्वेह । द्वे-  
दनेनाधारितम्. Compare the following note.

<sup>17</sup> Pāṇini: तेन प्रोक्तम्.—*Kātyāyana*: प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकं तच्चादर्थेनात्.—*Patanjali*:  
प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकम् । किं कारकम् । तच्चादर्थेनात् । अस्मि यस्मि वाचाप्यकं वाचकं च

Patanjali's accounting for the various versions of the Vaidik texts, it is evident that Pāṇini—who comprises Kalpas under the term "proclaimed"—looked upon the works, the names of which

प्रोचते । न तत्र प्रत्ययो दृश्यते.—Kātyāyana : यन्त्रे च दर्शनात्.—Patanjali : यत्र दृश्यते यन्त्रः स भवति तत्र कृते यन्त्र इत्येव सिद्धम् (IV. 3, 116) । छन्दो-र्थं तर्हीदं यत्तन्त्रम् । न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते । गितानि छन्दांसि.—Kātyāyana : छन्दो-र्थमिति चेपुकारम्.—Patanjali : छन्दो-र्थमिति चेपुकारमिति भवति । [The MS. contains here a repetition, which is evidently a mistake of the copyist] ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते गितानि छन्दासीति । यद्यप्यर्थो गितः । या तस्यी यवी-मुपूर्वी यागिता तन्नेदासीतन्नवति काठवं कात्यायकं नौदवं धिप्यन्तादकमिति । न तर्हीदानीमिदं यत्तन्त्रम् । यत्तन्त्रं च । किं प्रयोजनम् । यत्नेन प्रोक्तं न च तेन कृतम् । माधुरी [cf. Kātyāyana : माधुरी] युक्तिः । यदि तर्हि (त)स्य निवचनमस्ति । इदमेव यत्तन्त्रम् । तदप्यवशं यत्तन्त्रम् । यत्नेन कृतं न च प्रोक्तं वारस्य काव्यम् । चायूक्षाः शोकाः.—Kātyāyana : प्रपूर्वो यचितः प्रकाशने ऽध्यायनस्ये वा वर्तते करवी वा । तत्राथे ऽर्धे प्रत्ययो न दृश्यते । द्वितीये तु सूत्रान्तरेण (i.e. IV. 3, 116) सिद्धमिति मलाह । प्रोक्तयहस्यमिति याम् इति । सुशमीदीनां प्रतिपादं प्रवक्तुले ऽपि सुशमीनां प्रोक्तं काठकमसीदमिति [probably : काठकम् । सी०] प्रयोक्तो न दृश्यते

are taught in these rules, not as having been "seen" or received *immediately* from the divinity. They must, in his mind, therefore, belong to a later period than the Sāmaveda hymns which he treats

रत्त्वर्थः । गितानीति । कर्तुरकारणस्यैवामिति भावः । या स्यादिति । महाप्रत्ययादिषु यवीमुपूर्वीविनाशे पुनस्त्यस्य (MS. पुनस्त्यस्य) स्यस्यः संस्कारातिशयादेदार्ये कुत्वा शब्दरचना विदधतीत्यर्थः (MS. विदधतीत्यर्थः) । तन्नेदादिति । आमुपूर्वीभिर्दि-त्यर्थः । ततश्च काठदयो वेदामुपूर्वाः कर्तार एव ननु खिता एव सुशमीदिवत्प्रवक्तारः । ततश्च छन्दस्यपि कृते यन्त्र इत्येव (IV. 3, 116) सिद्धः प्रत्यय इति भावः । माधुरीति । माधुरेण प्रथमतः प्रकाशितेत्यर्थः । (IV. 3, 108) कस्यापि नो ऽखिलान्यहस्यकाधिकविधानार्थे काठकादप्यकारभवति (MS. ०र्थेकादृष्टा०) । द्विविधं चेह प्रोक्तं युज्यते परकृतं स(क)तं वा यत्प्रकाशितं तेन प्रोक्ताधिकार एव काठदिव्यो यत्तन्त्राप्रत्ययविधानम्.—Kātyāyana : तेन प्रोक्तम् । कात्यायककाठकयोर्नोपचरकाठुम् (IV. 3, 120) धर्मी-चाययोरिति बोध्यम् । प्रपूर्वो वचिरिति । अध्यायनस्ये प्रकाशने वा [both MSS. of the E. I. H., No. 350 and 1209, in the same order] वर्तते करवे सेलन्वयः । ननु काठकगितत्वादी प्रत्ययदर्शनात् प्रत्ययो दृश्यत इत्यनुपपन्नमत आह । सुशमीदीनामिति । भाष्ये यन्त्रे चेति तेन कृते यन्त्र इत्यर्थः (IV. 3, 116) । यन्त्रः स इति तेन कृतो यन्त्रः स इत्यर्थः । यत्नेन वेदस्य गितत्वं स्वीकृत्यशेषेनाखिलत्वमाह । यद्यप्यर्थ इति । कृतेन

of in the rules IV. 2. 7-9 as having been "*seen*." Nor would there be anything remarkable in this view, if it merely referred to the Brāhmaṇa works which also are the subject of his rules; for this

वेदं सर्वं शब्दाद्योमवयववृत्तिर्ध्वनितम् (MS. 1209 °नृत्तिर्ध्वः ; perhaps °नृत्तिरितिर्ध्वः) । यनु धाता यथा पूर्वमकस्ययदित्वादिभ्रुतिवशेनागुपूर्वेषु सिदेति यवपूर्वमीमांसाविद्याकात्सा नितित्वयुक्तमत आह । महाप्रज्ञवादिस्थिति । आगुपूर्वोक्तान्त्यवयववृत्तित्वेनानित्यत्वमिति भाव इति चेचित् । तत्र । यवयवो नित्य एवादिवाक्यशेषविरोधात् । सर्वस्यापि ज्योतिषोमादेरनित्यत्वात् । प्रवाहाविच्छेदेन नित्यत्वं तुमवोर्विरोधात् । यवयवव्यवहारभेदेनागुपूर्वी भिन्निव । प्रतिमन्वत्तरं यथा भ्रुतिरन्वा विधीयत रजुत्वेनैवेति । परे तु । यवो नित्य एव च कृतकत्वविरोधनित्यत्वस्यैवाभ्युपगमः पूर्वपक्षिवा तादृशनित्यत्वस्यैव चन्दःयुक्तिः । एवं चार्थशब्देनापेक्षरः । मुक्ततया तस्मैव सर्ववेदतात्यर्थविवक्षयात् । चेदेष सर्वैरुमेव वेद इति भीतोक्तिरित्याहुः (XV. 15) । यवोऽगुपूर्वो नित्यत्वस्यैव साक्षात् तद्वेदवेति । अनित्यत्वस्याप्यभेदेन तत्सिद्धिः । भेदो ऽत्र नाभावात् । ईदरे तु न नावात् (? MSS. यत्तत्त्वं ?) । भेदे सावं यवहारमाह । काठकोशादि । सर्वे को ऽगुपूर्वभेदादेव काठकाकापकादिव्यवहार इति भावः । यवानुपूर्वनिमित्तयुक्तिः पदानि तान्वेति ध्वनितं तदाह । ततश्च कटादय इत्यधिकं यजुषायां द्रष्टव्यम् । यनु माधुरागुषाक्षेप भावमत आह (comp. IV. 2, 114) । यवपिनी ऽस्ति (IV. 3, 108) ।

class of inspired literature is looked upon by all the authorities as being inferior in degree, and, I hold therefore, less immediate, as an emanation than the hymns of the Saṁhitās. But there

वन्निव कटादयः प्रोक्ताधिकारि प्रत्ययविधानं यवम् । तत्र । यलोत्तं न च तेष कृत-  
मित्यर्थवाचादत्त आह । द्विविधं चेति प्रोक्ताधिकार एवेति । कृतयवदेव साप्रकाशि-  
तल्लक्षतस्मैव यववादिति भावः. [Obvious mis-spellings in the MSS.—especially in  
MS. 350, which here is more indifferent than MS. 1209—whence this passage is taken  
have been left unnoticed by me. The text here given is, in my opinion, as correct as the  
MSS. in question will allow to edit it.]

I have quoted the full gloss of the three principal commentators on this important Sūtra and its Vārtikas, because it is of considerable interest in many respects and, at the same time, bears out my statement at page 65. We see Kālyāṇa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa writhing under the difficulty of reconciling the eternity of the Veda with the differences of its various versions, which nevertheless maintain an equal claim to infallibility. Patanjali makes rather short work of this much vexed question; and unless it be allowed here to render his expression *evam* (which means "letter"), "word," it is barely possible even to understand how he can save consistently the eternity or permanence of the "sense" of the Veda. That the modern Mimāṃsists maintain not only the "eternity of the sense" but also the "permanence of the text," which is tantamount to the exclusive right of one single version, we learn, amongst others, from Nāgajibhaṭṭa. But as such a doctrine has its obvious dangers, it is not shared in

occurs in midst of these rules one (IV. 3, 106) which contains the word *Chhandas*, which, being contradistinguished from the word *Bráhmaṇa* in the preceding rule (IV. 3, 105), cannot have there any other sense than that of *Mantra*, as I have shown above; or, if it should be thought that it is contrasted there with *Kalpa* as well as with *Bráhmaṇa* in the preceding rule, it would mean *Veda* in general—*Mantra and Bráhmaṇa*. And, in connection with this

by the old *Mīmāṃsists*, nor by *Nágoji*, as he tells us himself. He and *Kaiyaṣa* inform us therefore that, *amongst other theories*, there is one, according to which the order of the letters (or, rather, words) in the Vaidik texts got lost in the several *Pralayas* or destructions of the worlds; and, since each *Manwantara* had its own revelation, which differed only in the expression, not in the sense of the Vaidik texts, the various versions known to these commentators represent these successive revelations which were “remembered,” through “their excessive accomplishments,” by the *Rishis*, who, in this manner, produced, or rather reproduced, the texts current in their time, under the name of the versions of the *Kaṭhas*, *Kalápas*, and so on. In this way each version had an equal claim to sanctity. There is a very interesting discussion on the same subject by *Kumárika*, in his *Mīmāṃsā-Páritika* (I. 3, 10). I forbear, however, quoting it on the present occasion on account of its great length, and because I hope to be able to give it in a more appropriate place.

word *Pánini* writes, “*Śaunaka*.” *Śaunaka*, however, we know, from *Sáyana*’s commentary on the *Rigveda* and the *Anukramanī*, was the *Rishi* who is supposed to be the author of the second *Mandala*, as we now possess it, though in a former version it appears to have belonged to the *Rishi Gritsamada*.<sup>173</sup>

Should, then, my view of *Pánini*’s rule be correct, it will follow that *Pánini* considered this second *Mandala* as of a later date than the other *Mandalas*; and we cannot but admit that even the first hymn of the second *Mandala* fully confirms this impression, for, by speaking of *Hotri*, *Potri*, *Neshtri*, *Agnidhra*, *Prasástri*, *Adhwaryu*, and *Bráhmaṇ* priests, it certainly betrays a very advanced development of sacrificial and artificial rites.

*Mīmāṃsá* is a word of special grammatical interest, not in so

<sup>173</sup> Compare *Sáyana* in the beginning of his commentary on the second *Mandala*; Professor Wilson’s detailed account in his translation, vol. ii., p. 207; and Professor Müller’s *Ancient Literature*, pp. 231, 232; as well as the corresponding passage from *Shadgurunishya*, at p. 237.

far as its affix *á* is concerned—for the latter belongs to a general category of derivatives dealt with by Pāṇini in his rule III. 3, 102—but on account of the irregular formation of its base. It must be admitted that the Sūtra I. 3, 62 may be looked upon as including this base also; but whether the instance *mīmāns*, given by the commentators, has there the general sense of *considering*, or the special sense of the philosophical reasoning of the Mīmāṃsā, cannot be inferred from the general tenor of this rule. This latter sense is emphatically expressed by two words derived from *mīmāns*, viz., *Mīmāṃsā*, the name of the philosophy; and *Mīmāṃsaka*, a Mīmāṃsā philosopher. Neither word occurs in Pāṇini.<sup>173</sup> Nor

<sup>173</sup> Even Kātyāyana gives no Vārtika to teach the formation of *mīmāṃsaka*, though this word is of some interest from a grammatical point of view. Amongst those words which designate followers of a doctrine or philosophy, it is the only one formed with a *kṛt*-affix. It occurs, e.g. as an instance of Paṇasjali, to I. 2, 64, v. 17, II. 2, 29, and in a Kāśikā of the latter to III. 2, 123, where it is rendered by Kaiyaṇa *etichāraka*; it occurs, too, as an instance, not in the Mahabhashya, but the Kāśikā and Siddh.-k. to II. 1, 53, in the compound *mīmāṃsakuḍḍiḥ*; and it is probably the property of the Calcutta Paṇḍits, as an instance to IV. 3, 9.

does he mention *Jaimini*, the author of the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra; and it is, perhaps, worthy of our attention, that not even the Gāṇas to Pāṇini contain the formation of this word, which is of as much interest as any other word of the Gaṇa *Bāhwadī* (IV. 1, 96).<sup>174</sup>

The word *Vedānta* having no remarkable grammatical peculiarities, had no claim to the notice of Pāṇini; but had he been aware of the word *Vedāntin*, “one who knows the Vedānta,” it would certainly have required a special rule of his, since there is no Sūtra in his Grammar by which the sense of this derivative could be made out satisfactorily. And as Pāṇini notices but *one single word* in which the base is not a proper name, and the affix *in* (technically *ini*) imparts to the

<sup>174</sup> With regard to Jaimini, I have only to add that the instance *मिमिक्षुडिह* or *मिमिक्षुडिह* to II. 2, 38 has not yet found a place in the Bhāṣya or in Kaiyaṇa's commentary; it occurs in the Kāśikā and the Gaṇatanubodhī; but on what authority Jayāditya and Vardhamāna give this handsome epithet to the old Jaimini, or whether it is levelled against another Jaimini, I have no means of stating.

derivative the sense of studying or knowing, viz., *anubrāhmaṇin*, "one who studies or knows a work like a Brāhmaṇa" (IV. 2, 62), the omission of *Vedāntin* acquires increased significance.<sup>173</sup>

*Sāṅkhya* is a peculiar form. It comes from *sāṅkhyá*, and designates the philosophy which is based on *synthetic* (sam) *reasoning* (khyá). Its very name shows that it is the counterpart, as it were, of *Nyāya* (ni-āya), or the philosophy founded on "*analytical reasoning*." For while the former builds up a system of the universe, the latter dissects it into categories, and "enters into" its component parts. Yet a grammatical rule would have had to explain why the name of the former system is not a *kṛit*-formation,—for instance, its very base, *sāṅkhyá*, analogously to the *kṛit*-formation *nyāya*. It has not been noticed by Pāṇini. Nor does he teach—as he probably would have done had this philo-

<sup>173</sup> In the Sūtra IV. 3, 111, the affix *is* (technically, *ist*) has a similar purport, but the base implies a proper name; thus, *Karmandin*, *Kṛtistērin* mean "one who studies or knows the works of Karmanda, Kṛtīśāwa."

sophy existed in his time—that the same word means, as a masculine, a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.<sup>174</sup>

The word *Yoga* occurs several times in the Sūtras,<sup>175</sup> but never in the sense of a system of philosophy; and the only two derivatives of this word which are taught by Pāṇini, viz., *yogyā* and *yangika* (V. 1, 102) are two words which have no

<sup>174</sup> For the various explanations, given by native authorities, of this term, I need now refer to one essay only, since it probably comprises all the literary information—and not *only* on *this point*—which can be obtained in our days on Sāṅkhya writers, and certainly more than any one scholar in Europe would have at his command—I mean the learned and excellent preface of Dr. Hail to his elaborate edition of the *Sāṅkhya-Pravachana*. The latter sense of the word *Sāṅkhya*, "a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy," occurs, e.g. in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, III. 3; or, together with the word *Képāśa*, "a follower of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine," in the commentary of *Śaṅkara* on the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, II. 3, 51: यङ्ख्यायामु सर्वन्तेषु प्रतिशरीरं साङ्ख्यभ्यन्तरविशेष संनिहितेषु मनोवाक्कायिर्भौतधर्मेष्वनष्टमुताच्यते । साङ्ख्यानां तावत्तत् । . . . . . साबादा-नामपि etc.

<sup>175</sup> I. 2, 54. 55.—III. 4, 20.—V. 1, 102; 4, 44. 47. 50. 126.—VI. 4, 74. 75.—VIII. 1, 59.



connection whatever with its philosophical meaning. In the sense of "religious austerity," it *seems* to have been known by Pāṇini, though he has no rule on the formation of this word, apparently because it offers no other grammatical interest than that which would be satisfied by his general rules III. 3, 18 and VII. 3, 52; for he has a rule on the formation of *yogin* (III. 2, 142). But this word means *a man who practises religious austerities*; it does not mean a follower of the Yoga system of philosophy.

That *Nyāya* was known to Pāṇini in the sense of *syllogism* or *logical reasoning*, or perhaps *logical science*, I conclude from the Sūtra III. 3, 122,<sup>173</sup> where its affix conveys the sense of instrumentality, i.e. that by which analysis (*lit.* entering-into) is effected, for the same form, *nyāya*, is made the subject of another rule (III. 3, 37), where Pāṇini gives as its meaning "propriety, good

<sup>173</sup> I regret that I must again animadvert on an error of the Calcutta editors. In their gloss on the Sūtra III. 3, 122, they give the following etymology of *न्यायः*, "न्यायः नोचते लुकिति । न्यायः." According to them, this word would therefore

conduct," which would lead to its later meaning, "policy." Unless we drew this distinction between the two Sūtras named, the first Sūtra would become superfluous. Nor is it probable that a civilization like that which is traceable in Pāṇini's rules could have done without a word for syllogistic thought. But between this sense of the word *nyāya*, and its designating the special

come from नी "to lead," an etymology which, of course, is absolutely impossible. Nor is there any trace of it in any of the commentaries known to me. Patanjali and his commentators have no remark on this easy word. The *Kāśikā*, which explains every Sūtra, writes नीचते लुकिति न्यायः, but neither allows these words to be preceded by "न्यायः" nor, as this quotation shows, to contain a third person of the plural (नीचते). Its gloss obviously means, "because entering is made (नि + रयति) by it, the derivative is न्यायः." The *Siddhānta-kanmudī* (fol. 211 a, line 7) has an analogous interpretation: "निरयति . . . चनेयः," etc., which is still more transparent. But what must one think of the proficiency of an "editor" of Pāṇini, who has none of the laborious work—which always gives a title to indulgence—of comparing MSS. and compiling a commentary,—who merely reprints the labour of others,—and yet, even in a simple case like this, does not feel induced to consult the *Kāśikā* or *Siddhānta-kanmudī*, though he *talks* a great deal, even on this occasion, of the *Kāśikā* "A. B. and C," but without mentioning its "a, b, c," simply repeats the gross blunder of the editors of his edition of Pāṇini!

system of Gautama there is a vast difference. Nay, had Pāṇini even written the Gaṇa IV. 2, 60, which implies, in its present version, the formation *naiyāyika*, this latter word would not require us to infer that it means there a follower of Gautama's school; it may only signify a man who studies or knows the laws of syllogism.<sup>173</sup> To substantiate this conclusion, with all the detail it deserves, would be a matter of great interest; for no philosophical school has dealt more largely with grammatical subjects than the *Nyāya* school, and its branch, the *Vāśeṣika*. The nature of "sound" and "word," the question whether word is "eternal or transitory," the "power" or purport of words, the relation of base and affix, and such kindred matters are treated of in a vast

<sup>173</sup> To arrive at the form *नैयायिक* it is necessary to combine with the Gaṇa quoted, the Sūtra VII. 3, 3. The same word *न्याय* in the philosophical sense, occurs in the Gaṇa to IV. 3, 73, where a MS. of the Kāśikā has even the reading *न्यायविद्या*; and probably, in the same sense in the Gaṇa to VIII. 1, 27; but even if Pāṇini himself had written it there, we should not be justified in giving it a more definite sense than the one stated. In the Sūtra IV, 4, 92, and the Gaṇa to IV. 3, 54, it has the sense of "propriety."

literature based on the Sūtras of Gautama; and the controversies of the Naiyāyikas with the Vaiyākaranas or etymologists need not blush before those of our modern philosophers. I must, however, confine myself on the present occasion, as heretofore, to giving a small amount of proof, that Pāṇini could not have known the Sūtras of Gautama.

After having refuted the opinion that the sense of a word conveys either the notion of *genus* or that of *species*, or that of *individual*, each taken separately, *Gautama* continues:—"1. The sense of a word conveys (at the same time) as well the notion of *genus* (*jāti*), as that of *species* (*ākṛiti*), as that of an *individual* (*vyakti*). 2. An individual (*vyakti*) is a bodily form as a receptacle for the particularization of qualities. 3. Species (*ākṛiti*) is called the characteristic mark of genus. 4. Genus (*jāti*) is that which has the property of (intellectually) producing (species) of the same kind."<sup>180</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Nyāya Sūtras II. 131—134: **आत्मकतिलकवस्तु पदार्थः । अतिरिक्तविशेषादयो**

Let us now refer to the terminology of Pāṇini, and see how he dealt with similar notions. In the first place, we find that he does not make use of a term *ākṛiti*. We meet, in his Grammar

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only with the two terms *jāti* and *vyakti*. In the rule I. 2, 52, he speaks of (words which express) “qualities as far as a *jāti* goes;” and the instance of the *jāti*, given by Patanjali, is a tree.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>151</sup> I. 2, 52: **विशेषणानां जायतिः**.—I must observe here that the Kāśikā and, on its authority, the Calcutta edition, are quite at variance with Patanjali, in explaining the last words of this Sūtra, as if it had the sense **च जायतिः**. Patanjali distinctly rejects such an explanation, on the ground that it is impossible to speak of qualities which are not *jāti*. He rejects, too, such instances as **यस्यासा जगपदः**, **सुमित्रा संयज्ञपात्रीवः**, **वज्रमाज्जफलः**, which illustrate his *pārasparika*; an instance of his conclusion is **वदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा द्रुवः**.—Patanjali: **अथविद्ं विज्ञायते । जातिर्विशेषणसमाहोस्त्वित्येवमिति विशेषणानीति । विज्ञातः । यदि विज्ञायते जातिर्विशेषणमिति त्विदं यस्यासा जगपद इति । सुमित्रा (MS. ०७): संयज्ञपात्रीवः । वज्रमाज्जफल इति त्विदं यस्यासा जगपद इति । सुमित्रा (MS. ०७): संयज्ञपात्रीवः । वज्रमाज्जफल इति । यस्यासा जगपद इति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि केन विज्ञायते जातिर्विशेषणमिति नापि जातिर्येवमिति विशेषणानीति । कथं तर्हि विशेषणानां द्रुत्वज्ञानावो भवति ।—Vārttika: **आ जायतिः**.—Patanjali: **आ जातिप्रसवोनात् । किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते**.—Vārttika: विशेषणानां वचनं जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थम्.—Patanjali: **जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं । इवमारब्धः । किमुच्यते जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं इति न पुनर्विशेषणानामपि द्रुत्वज्ञानावो यथा****

At I. 2, 58, he treats of the optional use of the singular or plural: "if the word expresses a *jāti*," (e.g. a Brāhmaṇa or the Brāhmaṇas); at V. 2, 133, he applies the term *jāti* to the elephant,—at V. 4, 97, to herbs,—at V. 4, 94, to stones and iron, a lake and a cart,—at VI. 1, 143, to the fruit Kustumburu,—at VI. 3, 103, to grass;—and IV. 1, 63, is a rule on "*jāti*-words, which are not permanently used in the feminine gender." It is not necessary to multiply these instances, in order to show that Pāṇini understands by *jāti* the same thing that Gautama understands by *ākṛīti*, viz., *species*; <sup>182</sup> and I may add at once, that he has no word at all for the notion of "*genus*."

आदिति.—Vārttika: समानाधिकरत्नत्वसिद्धम्.—Patanjali: समानाधिकरत्नत्वादिति शब्दानां युक्तवद्भावो भविष्यति । दत्तेषु नावौ ऽनेन युगे ऽवेषायि जातिवृत्तवद्भावो न भवति । ज्ञानाच्च । वदरी युक्तकष्टका मधुरा वृष इति । त्विं पुनः कारत्नत्ववर्णयि जातिवृत्तवद्भावो न भवति etc.—Kaiyyaṭa: ..... शब्दातिरिक्तसमर्थवशात्: । भवति मानवः संकषात् । उभयवशाच्चावाप्तिः प्रतिविधेयमिति प्रश्नः । आ जातिप्रयोगादिति वृष आकः प्रक्षिपः न तु गजः etc.

<sup>182</sup> There is, indeed, a Kārikā of Patanjali which explicitly corroborates this com-

As to *vyakti*, it occurs but once in the Sūtras, viz., I. 2, 51, parison which I have made between Pāṇini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording evidence that Gautama is prior to Patanjali. I mean the Kārikā to IV. 1, 63, which says: **आकृतिवद्वा जातिवृत्तानां च न सर्वेषाम् । सकृदास्मात्प्रविश्यान्न नोप च परैः सह, i.e., "jāti has (in Pāṇini) the sense of *ākṛīti*; it does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognized (elsewhere); but it is, too, a family with its schools."** The following passages from Kaiyyaṭa will bear out my translation: **आकृतिवद्वा चक्षाः सकृत्सर्वेषाम्पदव्ययसमिविविधव्ययैः** [For these last words compare *Vīrasādāka's* comment on the *Nyāya Sūtra* II. 133, in note 180.] **एतेन जीवादिजातिवृत्ततां प्राकृत्यत्वादिसु च संगृहीता प्राकृत्यव्ययिणादीनां संज्ञान्ता सहस्रत्वादिति तत्संग्रहायाह । चिक्रानामिति, etc. .... । सकृदिति । अयं नीरिति सकृदुपदिष्टा जातिनिर्णयीतुं निवेतुं विद्यान्तरे प्रत्येकवर्षः । नोपमिति । अपत्यनिर्णयः । परब्रह्मण्येव ब्राह्मणाचार्यो मुक्तये । नोपस्य सर्वविश्वत्वात्पुरुषादायम् । माहात्म्यं यमुक्तमिति दर्शनात्. And after having explained the Kārikā of "another" quoted by Patanjali, on the same subject, Kaiyyaṭa adds, "from this quotation by Patanjali it has been inferred that the former Kārikā expresses his own opinion:" **पूर्वोक्तमेष सचक्षं भाष्यकारस्य मतम् । अपर आहिलमिषावादिवाङ्मः**.—On another occasion Patanjali, in adapting himself to Pāṇini's use of the term *jāti* (i.e. = *ākṛīti*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I. 2, 52, after the last words of the quotation from the Bhāṭya in note 181): **आविष्टसिद्धा****

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**मूर्तिः । आकृत्यैवैति विज्ञाया । समानप्रसवाम्बिका जातिः ।**—The object of Gautama is to show that *individual*, *species*, and *genus* are notions which cannot be conceived, independently of one another, and that a separation of one from the other produces a fallacy. In translating the term *vyākṛīti*, stress must be laid on the word *vīśeṣha*, “particularization;” otherwise there would be but *one* individual. The same consideration induced me to differ, in my translation of *ākṛīti*, from Dr. Ballantyne, who, in his meritorious edition and learned translation of the Nāyā-Sūtras, renders this term “form,” which undoubtedly is its usual sense in *non-philosophical* writings. But when *Vīśeṣadhāra*, in his comment on the Sūtra II. 124, writes: **आकृतिरवयवसंज्ञानविशेषः** and on II. 133: **जातिविज्ञानाया यस्या जातेर्नोत्पादेतिः साक्षाद्विसंज्ञानविशेषो विज्ञानः**,—he intends, in my opinion, to convey the understanding, that *ākṛīti* is “the particularization of organisms,” and “the characteristic mark of ‘cowhood’ is the particularization of the organism of a cow,” which, translated into our philosophical language, would mean that *ākṛīti* is *species*. In my rendering of the fourth Sūtra (II. 134), the parenthetical words are borrowed from *Vīśeṣadhāra*, who comments on them thus; **समानः समानाकारकः प्रसवो बुद्धिवनमात्रा स्वरूपं यस्याः सा तथा च समानाकारबुद्धिवनयोर्व्यवसर्गः**. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Gautama meant our term *genus*.

only with the two terms *jāti* and *vyākṛīti*. In the rule I. 2, 52, he speaks of (words which express) “qualities as far as a *jāti* goes;” and the instance of the *jāti*, given by Patanjali, is a tree.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup> I. 2, 52: **विशेषणानीं जायते**:—I must observe here that the Kāśikā and, on its authority, the Calcutta edition, are quite at variance with Patanjali, in explaining the last words of this Sūtra, as if it had the sense **न जायते**: Patanjali distinctly rejects such an explanation, on the ground that it is impossible to speak of qualities which are not *jāti*. He rejects, too, such instances as **पद्माद्या वनपदः**, **कुम्बिका संयज्ञ-पानीयः**, **वज्रमाद्यफलः**, which illustrate his *group-sense*; an instance of his conclusion is **वदरी यूक्षवष्टका मधुरा पुषः**:—Patanjali: **यद्यपिदं विज्ञायते । जातिर्वैद्विशेष-ब्रह्मोत्पत्तिर्यथैव विशेयवानीति । किं चातः । यदि विज्ञायते जातिर्वैद्विशेषवानीति त्विदं यथावा वनपद इति । कुम्बिका (MS. ०७) संयज्ञपानीयः । वज्रमाद्यफल इति न सिध्यति । यद्यपि विज्ञायते जातिर्वैद्विशेषवानीति त्विदं कुम्बिका (MS. ०७) संयज्ञपानीयः । यद्यपि विज्ञायते जातिर्वैद्विशेषवानीति त्विदं कुम्बिका वनपद इति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि किं विज्ञायते जातिर्वैद्विशेषवानीति नपि जातेर्यथैव विशेयवानीति । एवं तर्हि विशेयवानीं युक्तव-ज्ञावो भवति ।—Vārtika: **या जातिः**:—Patanjali: **या जातिप्रयोवात् । किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते**:—Vārtika: **विशेषणानां वचनं जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थम्**:—Patanjali: **जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं** । किमुच्यते जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं इति न पुनर्वैद्विशेषवानीमपि युक्तवज्ञावो यथा**

At I. 2, 58, he treats of the optional use of the singular or plural: "if the word expresses a *jāti*," (e.g. a Brāhmaṇa or the Brāhmaṇas); at V. 2, 133, he applies the term *jāti* to the elephant,—at V. 4, 37, to herbs,—at V. 4, 94, to stones and iron, a lake and a cart,—at VI. 1, 143, to the fruit Kustumburu,—at VI. 3, 103, to grass;—and IV. 1, 63, is a rule on "*jāti*-words, which are not permanently used in the feminine gender." It is not necessary to multiply these instances, in order to show that Pāṇini understands by *jāti* the same thing that Gautama understands by *śrīṇī*, viz., *species*; <sup>122</sup> and I may add at once, that he has no word at all for the notion of "*genus*."

आदिति.—Vārtika: समानाधिकरत्वात्सिद्धम्.—Patanjali: समानाधिकरत्वात्सिद्धेयत्वात् नुक्तपक्षात् न भवति । यदेवं नास्तीति नुपुं स्त्वभावि यातिर्युक्तपक्षात् न भवति । आद्यत् । यदरी सूक्ष्मवत्त्वा मधुरा वृक्ष इति । किं पुनः आरब्धमन्वयाय यातिर्युक्तपक्षात् न भवति etc.—Kalyāṇa: ..... सत्वातिरित्यसमर्थसमाधेः । भवति मानवः संवत्सारः । उभयव्या याव्याप्तिः प्रतिविषयैति प्रश्नः । आ यातिप्रयोगादिति वृक्ष आरुः प्रक्षिपः न गु नमः etc.

<sup>122</sup> There is, indeed, a Kārikā of Patanjali which explicitly corroborates this com-

As to *vyakti*, it occurs but once in the Sūtras, viz., I. 2, 51, parison which I have made between Pāṇini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording evidence that Gautama is prior to Patanjali. I mean the Kārikā to IV. 1, 63, which says: आकृतिकस्या कानिचित्प्राणां च न सर्वभाष्यम् । सङ्कटा-स्मात्तद्विषया नोप च चरति: सह, i.e., "*jāti* has (in Pāṇini) the sense of *śrīṇī*; it does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognized (elsewhere); but it is, too, a family with its schools." The following passages from Kalyāṇa will bear out my translation: आकृतिर्यहं सत्ता: सत्कृतिसहस्रावयवसमिधेयविषय-ज्ञेयत्वर्थः [For these last words compare *Vīśeṣādhikā*'s comment on the *Nyāya Sūtra* II. 133, in note 180.] एतेन नोत्पादिकातिवर्चिता प्राकृत्यत्वादिसु च संनृतीता प्राकृत्यवचिवादीनां संज्ञानस्य सदृशत्वादिति तत्संनृतावाह । चिकानामिति, etc. .... । सङ्कटिति । यत् नोतिरिति सङ्कटमुपदिष्टा यातिर्यहं नु विवेतुं पिच्छात्तरे यत्नेत्वर्थः । नोचनिति । यत्नेत्वर्थः । चरत्सत्त्वेन प्राकृत्याविवो नुक्तये । नोचन सर्वविश्वस्यानुपगमादायम् । मादायनं ननुचनमिति दर्शनात् । And after having explained the Kārikā of "another" quoted by Patanjali, on the same subject, Kalyāṇa adds, "from this quotation by Patanjali it has been inferred that the former Kārikā expresses his own opinion." पूर्वोक्तमेष सचत्वं भाष्यकारस्य मतम् । अपर आहलभियानादित्याह:—On another occasion Patanjali, in adapting himself to Pāṇini's use of the term *jāti* (i.e. = *śrīṇī*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I. 2, 52, after the last words of the quotation from the Bhāṣya in note 181): आविष्टविष्णु

and means there “*linga*” generic mark, which, in grammatical and means there “*linga*” generic mark, which, in grammatical  
 सतिर्विश्वमुपादाय प्रवर्तते । उत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गात् विनाशप्रसङ्गिणं न सङ्गतिः [Kaiyaṣa:  
 स्वरिणं विणं स्यात् साविष्टविज्ञा विचलितविज्ञात्वे, etc.] i.e., “If *jāti* has a fixed  
 gender,—whenever it has taken that gender, from birth to death it does not abandon  
 that gender.”—I must also call attention to another passage from the Mahābhāṣya,  
 which likewise shows that *jāti* has, in Pāṇini, Gautama’s sense of *ākṛiti*, and which at the  
 same time proves that Patanjali not only had a knowledge of the philosophical applica-  
 tion of the latter term, but, when speaking in his own name, uses *ākṛiti* in the same  
 manner in which it is used by Gautama. In the passage I am alluding to, he  
 broaches the same problem which is proposed by the Nyāya-Sūtras, but as a gram-  
 marian, and in reference to Pāṇini, who has no term for *genus*, he comprises in his  
 question merely the alternative whether the sense of a word in Pāṇini implies “species”  
 (*ākṛiti*), or “individuality” (*dravya*). His answer is, that it comprises both, for those  
 who maintain the former alternative are justified in their opinion by the Sūtra I. 2. 58,  
 and those who incline towards the latter, by the Sūtra I. 2. 64. *Patanjali’s Introduction*  
 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 40-42): किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थे साहेत्यिदं च । उभयमिवाह ।  
 एवं ज्ञाते । उभयथा ज्ञात्वायेव सूत्राणि प्रवीतानि । आकृति पदार्थे मत्वा सात्वा-  
 ज्ञात्वाभिव्यक्तिरुभयमन्वतरसाभिमुख्यते । इदं पदार्थे मत्वा सत्प्राधान्येनैव  
 चारयति ।—Whether *Kātyāyana*, in using the expression असर्वलिङ्गा जातिः (I. 4, 1.  
 v. 3, of the Calcutta edition), merely adapted himself to the manner in which Pāṇini  
 uses जाति, or whether he, too, had not yet a knowledge of Gautama’s definition would

terminology, is *gender*.<sup>18</sup> The notion of individuality is not repre-  
 sented by a special word in the language of Pāṇini; the nearest  
 approach to it is his word *adhikarana*, as it is used in the rules  
 II. 4, 13. 15, and V. 3, 43, where it is rendered by the com-  
 mentators by *dravya* “substance.” The term *viśeṣya* may be  
 compared to *adhikarana*; but as it signifies “the object to be

have remained doubtful, had he not availed himself, in another of his Vārtikas, of the  
 term *ākṛiti* exactly in the sense in which it is defined by the Nyāya Sūtra—viz., in the  
 Vārtika 5 (ed. Calc.) to VII. 1, 74: न वा समानावाभाकतौ भावित्युक्तविज्ञानात्;  
 and though Patanjali observes that this Vārtika is superfluous, since its contents are a  
 matter of course, we may, nevertheless, be thankful for its word जाकृति, and the conclu-  
 sions it enables us to draw in our present case.—Patanjali: न वा सत्त्वत् । किं चारयत् ।  
 समानावाभाकतौ भावित्युक्तविज्ञानात् । समानावाभाकतौ यज्ञाचित्युक्तम् । जा-  
 कृतत्वे चैतज्जावित्युक्तम् । किं सत्त्वमेतत् । न हि सत्त्वमुच्यमानं ज्ञेयते । एतदस्य-  
 निर्देशात्सिद्धम्; and Kaiyaṣa ..... तत्र पीडयन्तो नृपाकतौ पुनश्च: एवाकतौ  
 नृपुसकलिङ्ग रति मुवज्जावाप्रसङ्गः..

<sup>18</sup> *Vyakṛti* is used in the same sense by Kātyāyana in the Vārtika 1 (of the Calc.  
 ed.) to I. 2, 52.

qualified," it is not the counterpart of *jāti*, but of *vīśeṣhaṇa*, "the quality."<sup>14</sup>

The result of the foregoing comparison between Pāṇini and Gautama must remove, I believe, every doubt as to the chronological position of both. The expressions of Pāṇini show that he had not even conceived so much as the philosophical problem started and solved by Gautama. The very manner in which Patanjali is compelled to answer the question, whether "the sense of a word" in Pāṇini "implies species or individuality"—viz., that at one time it implies the former, and at another, the latter, shows that philosophical investigations into the "sense of the word" had not yet troubled Pāṇini's mind. A mere difference of opinion between the grammarian and the Nyāya philosopher would be no proof for the posteriority of the latter; but the absence of the problem itself, in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, is, I hold, sufficient ground for this inference. A problem of this kind could not have been slighted

by Pāṇini if he had been aware of it; it would have entered unconsciously, as it were, into his terminology, and into the mode of delivering his rules. There is abundant evidence in Patanjali's Great Commentary, that his training must have been a philosophical one; and it is Kātyāyana's superiority, too, in this respect, which inflicts on Pāṇini a quantity of Vārtikas finding fault with his empiric and unphilosophical treatment of grammatical facts.

After this conclusion, it seems needless to add that the Sūtras ignore the word *vaiśeṣhika*, which, from a grammatical point of view, would have had as much claim to being noticed by Pāṇini as any word comprised in his rules IV. 2, 60 and 63. The fact, however, that *vaiśeṣhika* is taught in the Gāṇa to V. 4, 34, but merely in the sense of *vīśeṣha*.

There is an important class of ancient works the chronological relation of which to Pāṇini deserves our peculiar attention here, from the circumstance that their contents are more or less kindred

<sup>14</sup> Compare II. 1, 57; also V. 1, 119, v. 5 (ed. Calcutta.)



with those of Pāṇini's work,—I mean the grammatical works known under the name of *Unādi-Sūtras*, *Dhātupāṭha*, *Prātiśākhya*, *Phit-Sūtras*, and we may add to them the *Nirukta*, the exegetical work of *Yāska*. Each of these works, with *perhaps* the exception of one, if I am not mistaken, is unanimously considered by Sanskrit scholars, as prior to the Grammar of Pāṇini.

Before I proceed to examine whether this view can be upheld or not, I will quote Professor Müller's opinion on the age of the *Unādi-Sūtras*. "We do not know," he says, "by whom these Unādi affixes were first collected, nor by whom the Unādi-Sūtras, as we now possess them, were first composed. All we can say is, that, as Pāṇini mentions them, and gives several general rules with regard to them, they must have existed before his time."<sup>145</sup>

On the same subject, Dr. Aufrecht, to whom we are indebted for a careful edition of the *Unādi-Sūtras*, together with a

commentary by *Ujjvaladatta*, expresses himself thus<sup>146</sup>:—"We have no direct tradition as to the author of the *sūtras*. They were composed before the time of *Pāṇini*, as they are referred to by him in two different passages of his Grammar. The fact, however, that both *Yāska* and the author of the above-quoted *Kārikā* [viz., to III. 3, 1] specify *Ākāśatāyana* as the grammarian who derived all nouns from verbs, speaks in favour of *Nāgeji's* conjecture, that the authorship is to be attributed to *Ākāśatāyana*. Nor is this supposition entirely unsupported by the evidence of the *sūtras* themselves. In one place (II. 38) we are told that the people of the north used the word *kāśhaka* for 'a husbandman,' in another (IV. 128), that they employed *kāri* in the meaning of 'an artisan.' This distinction refers to a period of the language

<sup>145</sup> "Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Unādi-Sūtras, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of the East India House, by Theodor Aufrecht. Bonn, 1859;" Preface, p. viii.—The Unādi-Sūtras were first published in the Calcutta edition of the *Siddhānta-kauṇḍī*, afterwards reprinted—without any further consultation of MSS., but with deteriorations, by—Dr. Boettlingk. Compare note 53.

<sup>146</sup> Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 151.

of which no mention is made by any grammarian after Pāṇini. In another rule (III. 144,) we find the name of *Śākravarmana*, an old grammarian who is only once more quoted, namely, in Pāṇini, VI. 1, 130. It is of some importance also, that the author of the *sūtras* considers *aṛman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidic, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence. These facts, even when taken collectively, furnish no decisive evidence as to the authorship of the *sūtras*, but they show, at all events, that they were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini."

I have in the first instance, to demur to the correctness of one of these "facts," which, if it were real, would dispense with any further proof of the Unādi-Sūtras having preceded—not, indeed, Pāṇini, for such an inference would always remain hazardous—but his grammatical work. It is true that this grammarian speaks twice of *Unādis*, but he *never* speaks of *Unādi-Sūtras*.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>167</sup> III. 3, 1: उवाद्दयो वज्रमः; and III. 4, 75: तावामवचोवाद्दयः.

The former term merely implies a list of Unādi affixes, and may imply, according to analogous expressions in Pāṇini, a list of words formed with these affixes;<sup>168</sup> but it can never imply a work which treats of these affixes and these formations, like the Unādi-Sūtras which we are speaking of. Between a list of Unādis—affixes or words—and Unādi-Sūtras, there is all the difference which exists between a lexicographical and a grammatical work. All the conclusions, therefore, which are based on the identity of both, vanish at once.

With the conjecture of Nāgajibhaṭṭa I shall deal hereafter; but when Dr. Aufrecht quotes the meaning of *kārshaka*, 'husband-man,' and of *kāri*, 'artisan' as proving his conclusion, I candidly confess that I do not understand how the fact of these words having been used by the people of the north, in the sense given, can have the remotest bearing on the point at issue, even if in

<sup>168</sup> *Vaidyandha* on the *Paribhāṣā* उवाद्दयो ऽनुयन्तानि प्रातिपदिकानि—: उवाद्दयः । तद्वानि तदन्तलेवाभिमतानि वा.

the *whole stretch of the voluminous* grammatical literature subsequent to Pāṇini, all of which, of course, is covered by his assertion, no grammarian had made mention of the distinction he is adverting to.<sup>100</sup> The Unnādi Sūtras profess to give such information as is not contained in Pāṇini's work; he himself informs us of this character of the Unnādi list in the two rules alleged. It is but natural, therefore, that we should find in these two Unnādi rules, as indeed we find in all the rest, much interesting matter of which no trace occurs in the Sūtras of Pāṇini.

But even assuming that my inability to understand this premiss of Dr. Aufrecht only proves my own incapacity, I might go further and ask—What proof does there exist that these two Sūtras, which have nothing characteristic or peculiar in them, were not added to the original Sūtras at a later time, since Dr. Aufrecht himself has shown that the genuineness of *sixteen* Sūtras was

<sup>100</sup> And has this question—which portion of the grammatical literature is later than Pāṇini?—been so finally settled that, *at present*, any one is allowed to speak of it as a *matter of course*?

suspected by Ujjwaladatta himself? And I may add—Are there not, for instance, in a valuable commentary on more than 300 of these Unnādi-Sūtras, composed by *Nṛsiṅha*, who lived *Samvat* 1577, or 1520 after Christ, at least in the MS. I have consulted, not only many readings which differ from the text of Ujjwaladatta, as edited by Dr. Aufrecht, but three Sūtras the substance of which is now in the Commentary, and three Sūtras which are neither met with in the text of Bhaṭṭoji nor in that of Ujjwaladatta?<sup>100</sup> It seems,

<sup>100</sup> Between the Sūtras III. 60 and 61 we read in the E. I. H. MS. 98 of *Nṛsiṅha's Svaramanjari* (on accentuation)—where these Unnādi-Sūtras occur—a Sūtra which is neither amongst those of Ujjwaladatta, nor in his Commentary, viz.: धादिबिक् च । Comm.: धादयतीति धरवः । दिवो धमे धरवे । धरवः एवविधः । मधोदरातः. Between IV. 2 and 3, it has a Sūtra the contents—but not the wording—of which are embodied in Ujjwaladatta's Sūtra IV. 2: कञे: क्विक् । Comm.: कञेरागुम्रत्ववः क्विक् । क्वयतीति क्वानुः । सकारविवि क्वानुक्. Between IV. 90 and 91: तमेनुक्च (its substance occurs in the commentary on Sūtra IV. 90) ; Comm.: तमेकप्रत्ययः । तुवानमो दीर्घश्च । ..... (?) । ताव्यति तेनेति तावुक्च ; and युवातिर्दुमुक्च (embodied also in the Commentary of Ujjwaladatta) । Comm.: युवातिरुक्प्रत्ययः । दुमुक्च । युवातीति यादूक्च । नववः यादूक्चाव रावः. Before V. 28, it mentions a Sūtra which is neither

therefore, that with the actual doubts we must entertain as to the originality of several Unnādi-Sūtras, it is by no means safe to appeal to two or any such Sūtras for chronological evidence, unless they be able to show cause why they should not be ranked amongst the additions of later times.<sup>124</sup> ✓

amongst those of Ujjvaladatta nor embodied in his Commentary : शास्त्रा ॥ Comm. : प्रायेति निपातते । यो तन्मूलरथे । शास्त्राथः स्थापना etc. Before V. 52 which precedes V. 70, and follows V. 69 and the new Sūtra (i.e. V. 69—the new Sūtra—52. 70) : दिदेहिदेहिबन् ॥ Comm. : दीयतीति योः । दिवो । दिवः ; this Sūtra, too, is neither amongst the Sūtras nor in the Commentary of Ujjvaladatta.

<sup>124</sup> Dr. Aufrecht himself observes (p. ix) with perfect accuracy : “ the upādisūtras have not been handed down to us in their original form. It was not the intention of the author to give a complete list of all the upādi-words, but merely to collect the most important of them. Hence we frequently meet with the sentence : वृद्धसमन्वयापि ‘in various other words, too,’ or नन्विष्यो ऽपि वृद्धेति ‘the same suffixes are found in other words, too.’ ” The former of these expressions, quoted by Dr. Aufrecht, occurs, indeed, five times and the latter once ; and Patanjali says in his Kārikā to III. 3, 1, and in his comment on it : वाडसवं प्रकृतिसमुद्भूतः ॥ तन्वीथः प्रकृतिश्च उच्चादयो वृद्धन्ते न सर्वान्यो वृद्धन्ते ॥ प्रायसमुच्चयादपि तेषाम् ॥ प्रायेण खलपि समुच्चिताः । न सर्वे समुच्चिताः ॥ कार्यस्यैवविधेय तदुक्तम् ॥ कार्योऽपि खलपि स्यैवापि कृतानि । न

And again, what possible conclusion as to the chronological relation of the Unnādi-Sūtras to Pāṇini can be drawn from another quotation made by Dr. Aufrecht ? *Chākravartīyana*, he says, is once quoted by the Unnādi-Sūtras, and “ *only once more, namely, in Pāṇini*.” I will make no remark on these latter words. That they are quoted by both is undeniable ; but since it happens that both Dr. Aufrecht and I have quoted Pāṇini, does it follow that either of us lived a “considerable time” before the other, or before any other writer who may also have quoted Pāṇini ? When, however, Dr. Aufrecht points out that the author of the Unnādi-Sūtras “considers *arman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidic, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence,” I, too, lay much stress on the statement contained in this passage of the Unnādi-Sūtras, but by it arrive at the

सर्वोऽपि सचयेन परिसमाप्तानि . Since, then, the Unnādis are admitted, even by Patanjali, to be an incomplete list, and if there is evidence to prove that at recent periods writers permitted themselves to supply the deficiencies, it will be admitted that my hesitation is not a hypercritical one.

very opposite inference to that which has suggested itself to him. For, if Pāṇini treated these words which occur in the Vedas as words of common life, and, on the other hand, the author of the Sūtras in question had ceased to use them in his conversational speech, and records the fact that they belong, not only to literary language, but to that of the very oldest literature,—I do not conclude that such facts “show, at all events, that they (the Unādi-Sūtras) were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini;” but I conclude that Pāṇini lived in that Vaidik age when *āśman* and *bhuvana* were as well Vaidik as common words, and therefore required no distinctive remark of his; that, on the contrary, the author of the *two* Unādi-Sūtras in question belonged to a period when these words had become obsolete in common life,—in short, that Pāṇini lived a considerable time before this grammarian.

An inference, however, of such importance as this could not be considered as resting on sufficiently solid ground if there were no other means of establishing it than two Sūtras of a work

avowedly open to interpolations at various periods of Sanskrit literature.

In order to support it with stronger arguments, I must raise a previous question, which does not concern the Unādi-Sūtras alone—the question, *whether or not Pāṇini was the originator of all the technical terms he employs in his work?* Since he adverts, several times, in his rules, to grammarians who preceded him,<sup>127</sup> it would probably—not necessarily—be possible to answer ~~the~~ question if we possessed the works of these grammarians. *Sākaśāyana's* grammar seems indeed, to have come down to us, but ~~though~~, in such a case it would be within my reach, it must still remain at present a sealed book to me, and I must treat it like the works of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and the other predecessors of Pāṇini who merely survive in name and fame.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> See note 97.

<sup>128</sup> The knowledge that Sākaśāyana's Grammar exists, and is preserved amongst the treasures of the Library of the Home Government for India, we owe, like so much of our knowledge of Sanskrit literature, to the lamented Professor Wilson, who speaks of

There are, in my opinion, two Sūtras of Pāṇini which may serve as a clue through the intricacies of this problem.

In five important rules of his, Pāṇini states that, on principle, he will exclude from his Grammar certain subjects, as they do not fall within his scope. But since he gives reasons for doing so, he at the same time enables us to infer what he considered his duty, as a grammarian, to teach.<sup>14</sup> Amongst these rules, one

it in his *MacKenzie Collection*, vol. I. p. 160. Many years ago I obtained sight of the precious volume; but as it is written on palm leaves in the Hāṭṭa Kermāta character, and as I could not attempt to make it out without a magnifying glass, and then only with much difficulty, I was compelled to abandon my desire of mastering its contents. It is to be hoped now that a learned, laborious, and competent Sanskrit scholar will transcribe and publish this awkward MS., and thus relieve Sanskrit studies from a suspense which no one can feel more keenly than I do in writing these lines. I must add, at the same time, that doubts have been lately expressed to me whether this MS. contains really the original work of Śākaṭyāna, or merely a Grammar founded on his.

<sup>14</sup> These rules are I. 2, 53-57. They contain Pāṇini's grammatical creed, and are the key-stone of his work. But all that the "editor" of Pāṇini has to offer with respect to them is the following attempt at an epigram (vol. II. p. 47): "Pāṇini makes an expedi-

(I. 2, 53) referring to a subject touched on by him in a previous Sūtra, says: "Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms, which are settled (and

tion against his predecessors." And thus, in taking up that which is merely incidental, and, compared with the subject itself, quite irrelevant, he completely leads the reader away from the real importance of these rules. The *Kāśikā*, it is true, mentions that Pāṇini differs in the principles he lays down in these rules from previous grammarians; but it is far from making a joke or concentrating the essence of its comment on so futile a point. It shows, on the contrary, the full bearing of these rules, and, I believe, it would have done still better had it embodied in its gloss the remarks of Patanjali on some of these Sūtras. At all events, the commentary of the *Kāśikā* on them was deemed important enough even by Dr. Boehtlingk to be quoted by him on this occasion in its full extent, though his reason for doing so is merely to show the "expedition of Pāṇini against his predecessors." "The whole," (viz., this expedition) he writes in introducing the *Kāśikā*, "*becomes sufficiently clear through an excellent commentary, I mean the Kāśikā-ṭīṭī, which will make any other remark superfluous.*" As the quotation he then gives from the *Kāśikā* is the only one, of any extent, in his whole second volume, and as he assumes all the appearance of treating it with that minute and critical and conscientious circumstantiality which even in an incidental quotation must be extremely welcome,—I mean by giving the various readings of his MSS. ("A" = MS. 829; "B" = MS. 2440 of the East India House—*strongly*

therefore do not require any rule of mine; *literally*: for it has the authority of a *sanjñā* or conventional term)." To these words *Patanjali* appends the following gloss: "When Pāṇini speaks of *described by him* at p. liv.), by recording the omissions in either of them, even so far as the omission of a "च" is concerned,—in short, as he gives us in his lengthened and highly valuable extract from the Kāśikā a specimen of his *editorial character*, I considered it my duty to make a comparison of his edition of this portion of the Kāśikā with the two MSS. named and used by him. For though I was perfectly well acquainted with his so-called Commentary on Pāṇini, and though it has been my thorough conviction for very many years that his curtailed reprint of the Calcutta edition—I will not qualify it now otherwise—by suppressing important texts and by propagating errors which, even in a reprint, are not excusable, has been more an impediment to a *conscious* study of Sanskrit grammar, and of Pāṇini in particular, than his very imperfect commentarial remarks may have done service to beginners,—though my opinion of the literary activity of Dr. Boehdtingk was the result of a careful study of his works, and was by no means founded on occasional errors of his, or formed in disregard of all the difficulties he had to contend with;—in short, though not all the imperfections of his writings—if they amounted only to such—would ever have induced me to stint the share of indulgence which I hold ought to be always and largely awarded to *laborious* and *honest* work, whatever be its failings, I have considered it my duty to make this comparison since, within the chain of the peculiar circumstances which weigh

conventional terms which he will not teach, because they are settled, does he mean, by this expression, such technical terms as *tī*, *ghu*, *bla*, and the like? ~~technical~~ *sanjñā* is here the on his edition of Pāṇini and on some of his other "editions," too, the point I wanted to ascertain, once more, did not so much concern a question of scholarship as one of scientific reliability. The result of my comparison was this. Dr. Boehdtingk records at his quotation from the Kāśikā to I. 2, 53, the various readings of MS. A: निर्दिशति (for B प्रतिनिदिशति), क्ख्यात (for B युतः), वरखावर (for B वरखा), लिङ्गवचन (for B लिङ्गवचन च), and यथा च (for B यथा); but he does not say that A reads the last words: आपो दारा गुहा: खिता (sic) वर्षा इति.—At I. 2, 54 he mentions that MS. A has omitted the word शुब्द; but he does not state that A reads वक्तः instead of B's reading वक्तवः, nor that B has a marginal note on the word अप्रख्यानात् which runs thus: योगजनपदादि: चचियादिभि: संबन्ध: । तस्याप्रख्यानाद्गुणव्यञ्जिरत्वर्ष:—And he edits on his own authority—without any remark whatever—युषयोव यदरे— which is perfectly meaningless—while both MSS. read युषयोव यदरे.—At I. 2, 55, he mentions that A has omitted यदि and तस्त्व; moreover that B reads: चचियसंबन्ध जनपदे पक्षात्शब्द: । ततो; but he does not say that A omits also योगभावे before तस्त्व, and adds तच्च before the last words प्रयुक्त इति. And what is much worse, he not only edits तक्षावसमयुपगतवत्स्वम्, while both MSS. read तक्षावसमैवाभ्युपगतवत्स्वम्, but नायं निमित्तकः—which is simple nonsense—while both MSS. have the intelligible reading नायं योननिमित्तकः.—At I. 2, 56, he observes that इति is omitted in B and

same as *sanjñāna*, 'understanding' (i.e. a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically)." And *Kaṇyaka* enlarges upon these words in the following strain :

तत् in *A* ; but he does not mention that instead of *B*'s 'प्रमाणात् । अथ, etc., *A* reads : 'प्रमाणादित्यर्थः, etc. ; nor does he mention that *B* reads 'अर्थसिद्धयर्थं किं यत्निव' while *A* reads 'अर्थः सिद्धः किं तच्च यत्निव' ; but, again, he edits, without any remark whatever, 'अर्थाव्यप्रमाणात्', which is *sagrammatical*, in spite of the concurrent and correct reading of both MSSs. : 'अर्थस्याव्यप्रमाणात्' (or *A* 'स्तादिति', see before).—His remarks at I. 2, 67, are that *A* omits 'अशिक्ष' — भवतः, and that *B* reads 'हि' (for *A* च), परिभाषयः (for *A* परिभाषयते), and सत्ये (for *A* सत्यपदार्थः). Yet he does not record the various inaccuracies of *A*, which are essential for those not acquainted with this MS., in order that they may form an opinion on it and on its relation to the readings of *B*. Thus he omits stating that *A* reads the commencing words 'अशिक्षमिति वर्तते', that it omits 'इदं चः कर्तव्यं', and reads 'पुनराकर्तुं उभ०' for *B*'s more correct reading 'पुनराकर्तुः । चरुच०'. But Dr. Boehtlingk likewise does not mention that *B* has a marginal note to the word 'व्याख्यात', viz., 'व्याख्यो (sic) यमः' ; that *A* reads 'चाशिक्षि ते' for *L*'s 'चाशिक्षि (in the commencement)' ; that *B* adds 'तु after अपरे' (last line of his page 48) ; that *A* reads 'तथा उपसर्जनं' for *B* 'तचोपसर्जनं' (first line of his page 49), and 'नेव खुप्तावन्ते' for *B* 'न शैवं खुप्तावन्ते'. And to crown the edition of this portion of the "excellent commentary, I mean the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, which will make all further explanation superfluous," Dr. Boehtlingk prints, without a single remark (p. 49, line 4), 'तचोपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति

"The question of Patanjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative, because context itself has a greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Pāṇini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology.' 'Understanding,' (as Patanjali paraphrases *sanjñā*) means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word, [or it means the words which admit of this mental process.]"<sup>195</sup>

नस्यते ; when *A* has the following passage : तचोपसर्जनं वयमत्र गृहे यामि वा । उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति नस्ये (sic.), whereas *B* gives the complete sentence in this way : तचोपसर्जनं । प्रकावादयनोचित्वादिशकान्विमानतः । शब्देरर्थः प्रतीयते न शब्दादिव केवलात् । वयमत्र गृहे यामि वा उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति नस्यते.—And such is his edition of even an easy text of a commentary to *only fire* Sūtras of Pāṇini,—of a commentary, too, so pompously announced by himself, and laid before the public with so much appearance of rare and conscientiousness !

<sup>195</sup> Pāṇini, I. 2, 53 : तदशिक्षं संज्ञाप्रमाणात्.—Patanjali : किं वा एताः कश्चि-



From this rule of Pāṇini and the commentaries alleged we learn therefore—

1. That his Grammar does not treat of those *sanjñās* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.
2. That this term *sanjñā* must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.
3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.
4. That such terms as *tī*, *ghu*, and *bha*, were known and settled before Pāṇini's Grammar, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms.

Having thus obtained, through the comment of Patanjali on

मादिभुमादिसंज्ञाः तन्माभावाद्दिश्यन् । नेत्याह । संज्ञानं संज्ञा—Kaiyyataः विं वा एता इति । प्रत्यासत्तिव्यापान्नयेन प्रपन्नः । नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासत्तेः सामर्थ्ये ननु यत् । न हि दिभुमादिसंज्ञाणां प्रमादत्वं युक्तवन्नाप्यस्यसाश्रित्ये हेतुव्यपत्तये । संज्ञाभावात् । संज्ञानमिति । ननुतमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः.

the Sūtra in question, a means by which to judge of the originality of Pāṇini's terms, we must feel induced to test its accuracy before we base our inferences on it; and the opportunity of doing so is afforded not merely by the technical symbols which Patanjali himself names,—we easily ascertain that Pāṇini has given a definition of them,—but also by another of these important five Sūtras. This Sūtra (I. 2, 56) says: “Nor shall I teach the purport of the principal part of a compound (*pradhāna*), or that of an affix (*pratyaya*), because they, too, have been settled by others (*i.e.* people know already from other authorities, that in a compound the sense of the word gravitates towards its principal part, and in a derivative towards the affix.)”<sup>186</sup>

Thus we learn here from Pāṇini himself that the term *pratyaya* (affix) was employed before he wrote his work; and if Patanjali's interpretation be correct, Pāṇini, who also makes use of this term,

<sup>186</sup> Pāṇini, I. 2, 56: प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्वयप्रमादत्वात्. There is no Bhāṣya on this rule.

must have left it undefined, since it has an etymology and was "settled" in his time. And such, indeed, is the case. Pāṇini uses the word *pratyaya* many times (e.g. I. 1, 61. 62. 69 ; 2, 41. 45 ; 3, 63. etc.), he heads with it a whole chapter which extends over three books of his work, yet he gives no definition whatever of its sense. Finding, then, that Patanjali's comment is confirmed by Pāṇini's own words, we may proceed ; and we then obtain the result that the Sūtras employ but do not explain such terms, for instance, as *prathamā* (nominative), *dvitīyā* (accusative), *trītiyā* (instrumental), *chaturthī* (dative), *pañchamī* (ablative), *ṣaṣṭhī* (genitive), and *saptamī* (locative). And the commentators apprise us that these words were technical names used by the eastern grammarians, which are referred to by Pāṇini in some of his rules.<sup>187</sup> We likewise meet in his work with such terms as *samāsa* (compound II. 1, 3), *tatpuruṣa* (II. 1, 22), *avyayabhāva* (II. 1, 5), *bahuvrīhi* (II. 2, 23), *krīti* (III. 1, 93), *taddhita* (IV. 1, 76), etc. etc. : he

<sup>187</sup> II. 3, 46. 2. 3. 13. 30. 7 etc.

enumerates all the special compounds or affixes which fall under these heads, but does not give any definition whatever of the meaning of these names. Again, the commentaries, in adverting to them, tell us that the terms expressing compounds, for instance, belong to "older grammarians."

When, on the other hand, we see that he *does* give a definition of *karmadhāraya* (I. 2, 42), or of *saṃyoga* (I. 1, 7), or of *anunāsika* (I. 1, 8), terms which are conventional and admit of an etymological analysis, we are at once compelled to infer that he was the first who employed these technical names *in the sense stated by him*. And this conclusion would apply with equal force to all other terms of a similar kind which do not merely head an enumeration of rules but are clearly defined by him, e.g. to *savarna* (I. 1, 9), *pragṛhiya* (I. 1, 11), *lopa* (I. 1, 60), *hraswa*, *dirgha*, *pluta* (I. 2, 27), *udātta* (I. 2, 29), *anudātta* (I. 2, 30), *swarita* (I. 2, 31), *apṛita* (I. 2, 41), etc. etc. Nor do I believe that this conclusion becomes invalidated in those instances in which Pāṇini gives a definition, while yet there may be a strong presumption that the term defined was already

used in his time, for it seems to me that, in such a case, his definition either imparted an additional sense to the current term, and, in reality, thus created a new term of his own, or had a special bearing on the technical structure of his own work. When, for instance, he defines the term *dwandwa*,<sup>198</sup> though there is a *prabibhīty* that this term was used by previous grammarians,<sup>199</sup> his definition may have corrected the current notion on the subject implied by it, as I infer from the lengthened discussion of Patanjali. Or, when he uses the term *upasarjana* in one of those five rules

<sup>198</sup> II. 2, 20 : चाबे द्वन्द्वः.

<sup>199</sup> Kāśikā (M.S. 829, E.I.H.) on I. 2, 57 : तथा च पूर्वोच्चार्योः परिभाषको । स्वल्प-  
दाचो ब्रह्मरीतिः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानो ऽव्ययीभावः । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः ।  
उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्व इतिवत्मादिः. MS. 2440, E.I.H., reads मत्वै instead of  
स्वल्पदाचो, but both readings are objectionable, as we may infer from the Mahā-  
bhāṣya on II. 1, 20 : एह कचित्समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः । कश्चिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः ।  
कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः । कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः etc. ; and these identical words re-  
occur in the Mahābhāṣya to II. 1, 49. Neither of the terms *bahuvrīhi*, *argyaśāśā*,  
or *tatparyasāśā* is explained by Pāṇini.—Compare also note 44, and my Dictionary, s.r.  
स्वल्पपदार्थप्रधान.

already mentioned, thus allowing us to conclude that it was a current term in his time,<sup>200</sup> and still appears to define it in two other rules,<sup>201</sup> his definition is in reality no definition at all ; it merely instructs the pupil how he may recognize an *upasarjana*-rule in his work.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>200</sup> I. 2, 57 : कालोपखर्गे च गुञ्जम्.

<sup>201</sup> I. 2, 43 : प्रथमाभिर्द्वं समास उपसर्जनम्.—I. 2, 44 : एवविमस्ति वापूर्वविपति.

<sup>202</sup> In the foregoing remarks I have drawn a distinct line between the *definition* which Pāṇini gives of a term,—as when he says “*abhyasta* are the two syllables constituting a reduplicated base” (VI. 1, 5), or “*prātipadika* is that which has a sense but is neither a verbal root nor an affix” (I. 2, 45) ; and the *enumeration* he makes of the matter comprised under a term, as when he says “*dhatu* is called *bhā*, etc.” (I. 3, 1), or “*pratyaya* (affix) is that which is treated from the beginning of the third book up to the end of the fifth” (III. 1, 1). For I hold that Pāṇini could not, at one time, feel the necessity of defining the linguistic properties of a grammatical category, and at another leave unexplained the notion, for instance, of a verbal root, an affix, a particle, and so on, while using these terms extensively, unless these notions were sufficiently clear at the time he wrote, and his grammatical purposes were attained by stating what application he gave to these terms in his work. An evidence of the plausibility of this view is afforded e.g. by the terms *śmanepada* and *paramśaipada*.

To extend this inference to purely grammatical symbols like those mentioned by Patanjali, e.g., *gha*, *shash*, *luk*, *śu*, *lup*, etc. etc., would be wrong, after the remark of this grammarian; for, as we learn from him, that they are not *sanjñās*, in the sense in which Pāṇini uses this word in his rule I. 2, 53, we cannot decide to what extent he may have invented these names, or whether he even invented any of them, since Patanjali distinctly tells us, as we have seen, that *tī*, *ghu*, *bha*, were terms already known to Pāṇini.

If, then, we apply the test we have obtained to the UṆnādi-Sūtras, we shall have, in the first place, to observe that the technical, and, at the same time, significant names which would fall under the category of Pāṇini's rule (I. 2, 53), and which are not only used in, but are indispensable to, the mechanism of these Sūtras are the following: *abhyāsa*, *avyaya*, *udātta*, *upadhā*, *upasarga*, *dirgha*,

In rules VI. 3, 7 and 8, Pāṇini mentions that these terms are used by "grammarians," which expression can only mean that they were in use before he wrote; and in rules I. 4, 99 and 100 he enumerates the conjugation endings comprised under these denominations, *but gives no definition* of the terms themselves.

*dhātu*, *pada*, *viddhi*, *lopa*, *samprasāraṇa*, *hraswa*.<sup>203</sup> Amongst these, Pāṇini gives no definition whatever of *dhātu*; for his explanation is merely an enumeration (I. 3, 1); and the same remark applies to *upasarga* (I. 4, 59), and perhaps to *viddhi* (I. 1, 1) and *avyaya* (I. 1, 37. 38, etc.). It is probable, therefore, that Pāṇini did not invent these terms, but referred to them as of current use. On the other hand, he distinctly defines *hraswa*, *dirgha*, *udātta*, *upadhā*, *lopa*, *samprasāraṇa*, and *abhyāsa*.<sup>204</sup> The term *pada* is also defined by him, but it seems that he merely extended its current application for his own purposes, since the commentaries tell us that "the former grammarians" gave a definition of the terms for compounds, and this definition contains the word *pada*. That the UṆnādi-Sūtras contain no definition of any technical word requires no confirmation from me.

<sup>203</sup> E.g. I. 12. 15. 27. 32. 48.—II. 16. 59. 65.—III. 114.—IV. 55. 136. 144.—V. 19, etc.

<sup>204</sup> I. 2, 27: *जबानो ऽञ्जलदीर्घसुतः*.—I. 2, 29: *उदीरदात्तः*.—I. 1, 65: *चलो ऽन्त्यायुर्व उपधा*.—I. 1, 60: *चददर्शनं लोपः*.—I. 1, 45: *इत्यबः सप्रसारणम्*.—VI. 1, 4: *पुर्वो ऽन्वाबः* (comp. also note 44).

Now, had Pāṇini not written the five Sūtras (I. 2, 53-57) in which he explains the method of his Grammar, or had he explained all the technical terms used by him, the absence of a definition of such terms in the Unādi-Sūtras would not justify us in arriving at any conclusion as regards the mutual relation of the two works. But since we know that Pāṇini does not define all his terms ; and, on the other hand, that a treatise like the Unādi-Sūtras uses those terms which are defined by him, and *exactly in the same sense in which they occur in his work*, the only possible conclusion is that this treatise was written later than the Grammar of Pāṇini. And this also must have been the opinion of *Ujwaladatta* and *Bhaṭṭojiddikshita*, for both grammarians, in their comment on an Unādi-Sūtra, which is an original one, if any be, since it treats of a whole category of Unādi words, state in the plainest possible language that *this Sūtra is given as an exception to a rule of Pāṇini*.<sup>295</sup> Nay,

<sup>295</sup> Unādi-Sūtra, IV. 225 : गतिकारकयोः पूर्वपदप्रकृतित्वात्.—Ujwaladatta : ..... गतिकारकोपपदात्तत् (Pāṇini, VI. 2, 139) रलुत्तरपदप्रकृतित्वात् सति शेष-

we owe to Dr. Aufrecht himself a very interesting passage from *Vimala's Rāpamālā*, which distinctly ascribes the authorship of these Unādi-Sūtras to *Vararuchi*. But as Vararuchi is a name of Kātyāyana also,<sup>296</sup> this work seems to intimate that Kātyāyana completed the Grammar of Pāṇini, not only in his Vārtikas, but in the important work which concerns us here.<sup>297</sup>

खानुदात्तले प्राप्ते वचनमिदमारब्धते.—Bhaṭṭojiddikshita (Siddh.-k. p. 204 b, l. 6) . . . गतिकारकोपपदात्तदिलुत्तरपदप्रकृतित्वात् सति शेषखानुदात्तले प्राप्ते तदपवादार्थमिदम्.

<sup>296</sup> See also Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 240.

<sup>297</sup> I subjoin a literal copy of this extract from the edition of Dr. Aufrecht, p. ix. : “उच्चार्यो ब्रह्मम् । संज्ञाविषये स्तुः । तात्पर्यमन्वयोपादयः । सम्प्रदानापादानाभ्यामन्वयिनिवार्ये स्तुः । लघानुसरणोदिया (Ms. लघानुसारोदिया) लघुबन्धा उच्चारिणु । ब्रह्मकोत्था प्रसाध्यानि तेषु कार्यतराणि च । उच्चारिणुदीकरबाय वररुचिना पुष-नेव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । तद्वया । ह्रस्वापविमलित्वादिसाधनूय उक्त् ।” He adds to this quotation the following curt rebuke : “This assertion, which makes Vararuchi older than *Pāṇini*, has no claim to probability.” But I must ask—Is there one single word in this passage which justifies, in the slightest degree, the stricture passed by Dr.

Although it follows from all these premises that the *treatise* on the UṆnādi-words, the existing collection of UṆnādi-Sūtras, is later than the Grammar of Pāṇini, there still remains the question : What relation exists between the latter work and a *list* of UṆnādi-affixes or words which Pāṇini twice quotes in his rules ?

*Yāska* relates, in an interesting discussion on the derivation of nouns, that there were in India two classes of scholars, the one comprising the *Nairuktas*, or etymologists (his commentator *Durga* adds : except *Gārgya*), and the grammarian *Sākatāyana* ; the other

Aufrecht on Vimala ? The latter says, "To illustrate (or to make clear) the UṆnādi affixes, *Vararuchi* composed the (UṆnādi) Sūtras as a separate work." He draws a distinction therefore, as I have already done, between the UṆnādi list and the Sūtras on them ; but where does he say that *Vararuchi* is older than Pāṇini ? Dr. Aufrecht evidently mistook his own conclusions, quoted above, which precede this passage from *Vimala's Rāṇapendā*, for the opinion of the latter work. Having first established his conclusions in the manner we have seen, he seems never to have doubted that any writer can differ from his view. Therefore, when meeting with Vimala, who reports that *Vararuchi* is the author of the UṆnādi Sūtras, he upbraids this poor grammarian with having made *Vararuchi* older than Pāṇini.

consisting of some of the *Vaiyākaraṇas*, or grammarians, and the etymologist *Gārgya*. The former maintained that all nouns are derived from "verbal roots;" the latter that only those nouns are so derived in which accent and formation are regular, and the sense of which can be traced to the verbal root, which is held to be their origin. They denied, as *Yāska* tells us, the possibility of assigning an origin to such words as *go*, "cow," *aśva*, "horse," *puruṣa*, "man."<sup>20</sup> Now, it is this latter description of words which is the subject of the UṆnādi list : they are the UṆnādi words. We must ask, therefore, did Pāṇini belong, as regards his linguistic notions, to the *Nairuktas* or to the "some of the *Vaiyākaraṇas* ?"

<sup>20</sup> See Roth's *Nirukta*, I. 12 ; Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 164 ; and Aufrecht's *UṆnādi-Sūtras*, p. vi. vii. *Yāska*, according to the present edition, adds to the three instances given the word *हस्तिन्* also. He can scarcely have meant the word "elephant," which is not a kṛit, but a regular taddhita derivative of *hastā* : nor does this word occur in the UṆnādi-Sūtras. It seems therefore probable that he said, or at least meant, the real UṆnādi word *hastā*, "hand." But as *Durga*, too, at all events in the MS. at my command, writes *हस्तीति*, I do not venture upon more than a conjecture that the latter words are to be corrected in the text of the *Nirukta* : *हस्त इति*.

Since the former designation is chiefly applied to the exegetes of the Vaidik texts, and the latter is emphatically used by the grammarians, it seems probable that Pāṇini, in this question of the derivability of Unnādi words, would stand on the side of these Vaiyākaranas. And this unquestionably is the opinion of Patanjali, as may be judged from the following facts:—In the rules VII. 1, 2, Pāṇini teaches, amongst other things, that when an affix contain the letters *ḍh*, or *kh*, or *chh*, these letters are merely grammatical symbols, the real values of which are severally *ey*, *in*, *iy*. To this rule *Kātyāyana* appends the remark that the Unnādi affixes form an *exception*, when Patanjali explains this view of the author of the Vārtikas by the instances *śankha*, *śandha*; for though these words are formed with the affixes *kha* and *ḍha*, the letters *ḍh* and *kh*, in their affixes, are real, not symbolical. “And,” continues Kātyāyana, in two subsequent Vārtikas, “though Pāṇini speaks himself, in Sūtra III. 1, 29, of an affix *īyāṅ* (not *chhāṅ*, as might be expected according to rule VII. 1, 2), this does not invalidate my exception, for the latter is based

on the circumstance that Pāṇini treats in his rule VII. 1, 2, not of verbal but of nominal bases.” “True,” rejoins Patanjali; “but Kātyāyana might have spared this discussion, for “*nominal bases formed with Unnādi affixes are bases which have no grammatical origin.*”<sup>209</sup>

In rule VII. 3, 50, Pāṇini teaches that the letter *ṭh* in the affix *ṭha* has the value of *ik*; that *ṭha*, therefore, means in reality *ika*;<sup>210</sup>

<sup>209</sup> VII. 1, 2: आचनेयीनीचिवः षडखण्डां प्रत्ययादीनाम्.—A Vārtika: तस्योच्चादिप्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali: तस्योच्चादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः षड्खण्डः (comp. Up. S. I. 101. 104).—Vārtika: धातोर्वैयकुचवात्.—Patanjali: खचवा यदयमुत्तरीयकुत्ति (III. 1, 29) धातोरीयत्वं याचि etc.—Vārtika: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च याचिनेः सिद्धम्.—Patanjali: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः याचिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम् । उच्चादयो ऽनुत्यस्यानि प्रातिपदिकानि.

<sup>210</sup> VII. 3, 50: ऽट्खण्डः.—A Vārtika: संचातयहणं चेदुच्चादिमाधितिकादीनां प्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali: . . . . . उच्चादीनां तावत् । षड्खण्डः षड्खण्डः (comp. Up. S. I. 105; IV. 104) etc.—Vārtika: तस्याविशिष्टयहणम्.—Patanjali (after a lengthened discussion asks and answers): एवमयुच्चादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । उच्चा-

in rule VII. 4, 13, that a long vowel *á*, *í*, *ú*, becomes short before the affix *ka*,<sup>21</sup> in VIII. 2, 78, that the short vowels *i* and *u* become long before a radical consonant *r* and *v*, if these consonants are followed by another consonant;<sup>22</sup> in VIII. 3, 59, that the *s* of

दयो ऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि । एवमपि कर्मठ इत्थं प्राप्नोति (comp. V. 2, 35, where the affix is not a *kṛt*, but a *taddhita*).

<sup>21</sup> VII. 4, 13 : के ऽबः.—Vārttika : के ऽबो इत्थं तद्धितग्रहणं छान्निगुत्त्वर्थम्.—Patanjali : के ऽबो इत्थं तद्धितग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । छान्निगुत्त्वर्थम् । छति मा भूत् । राका धाक् (MS. धाका) इति (cf. Uṇ. S. III. 40) । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । उषादयो ऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि etc.

<sup>22</sup> VIII. 2, 78 : उपधायां च.—A Vārttika : उपधादीर्घेले ऽव्यासबिचित्रिचतुर्षां प्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali : उपधादीर्घेले ऽव्यासबिचित्रिचतुर्षां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । रियुः । रियुः । संविबुः । संविबुः । व्यास । विनिः (MS. व्यासबिनिः) । चतुर्विंता । चतुर्विंशम्.—Vārttika : उषादीनां प्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali : उषादीनां च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । कियोः । नियोरिति . . . . but after some discussion he concludes : बिनिप्रतिषेधश्च न वक्तव्यः (MS. वक्तव्यं) । उषादयो ऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि (cf. Uṇ. S. V. 49) ; and again . . . . . न सुषो विनिविनिपरिब्रजामात् । नीर्भा नीर्भिरिब्रदोः । उषादिप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य इति । परिहृतमेतत् । उषादयो ऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानीति (cf. Uṇ. S. IV. 142).

an affix is changed under certain conditions to *sk*.<sup>23</sup> To all these rules Kātyāyana takes exception by excluding from them the *Uṇādi* words. Thus *kan'ha*, *pan'ha*, *śan'ha*, are formed with the affix *tha* which does not mean *ika*; *rākú* and *dháká* retain their long *á* before the affix *ka*; from *jri* is derived *jvri*, not *jvri*; *kiri* and *giri* form their dual *kiryos* and *giryos*, not *kiryos* and *giryos*; and in the words *kṛisara*, *dhūsara*, the *s* has not become *sha*; while, on the other hand, this change has taken place in *vars'ha* and *tar'sha*,<sup>24</sup> though the conditions named by Pāṇini in rule VIII.

<sup>23</sup> VIII. 3, 59 : आदेशप्रत्ययोः.—Vārttika : आदेशप्रत्ययोः षले सरकः प्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali : आदेशप्रत्ययोः षले सरकः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । छसरः । धूसरः । चत्वमिदमुच्यते सरक इति.—Vārttika : सरगादीनामिति वक्तव्यम्.—Patanjali : रहापि यथा स्यात् । वर्षम् । तर्धमिति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । उषादयो ऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि etc. (cf. Uṇ. S. III. 73. 62).

<sup>24</sup> In the E. I. H. MS. of the *Mañabhāṣya* and in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini the instances to VIII. 3, 59, v. 2, are वर्षे and तर्धे (instead of वर्षे and तर्धे); but it is evident that this reading is erroneous; for, in his first Vārttika, Kātyāyana intends to show that Pāṇini's rule is too wide; and, in the second, that it is too narrow, if applied



3, 59 would not justify it there. But Patanjali, who supplies us with all these instances, in order to establish, first, the sense of the

to certain Upādī words. Compare also the Commentary on the Upādī-Sūtra III. 62.—It is needless to observe once more that in this, as in *all similar instances*, the reprint of Dr. Boehringk has simply continued the mistake of the Paṇḍits, though it always assumes the air of having taken its information from the MSS. Thus, in this very Vārtika, the Calcutta edition has a misprint **सरकप्रतिविधः**, and Dr. Boehringk writes—not “the Calcutta edition,” but—“*Eis vārtika : सरकप्रतिविधः (sic)*,” as if this reading were an original one. But the E. I. H. MS. of the Mahābhāṣya reads quite correctly : “**सरकः प्रतिविधः**,” and Kaiyaṣa has even a special remark to the effect, that though the Upādī-Sūtra III. 73 (comp. also 70) teaches the affix **सरच्**, the Vārtika and Bhāṣya write **सरक्** (of which **सरकः** is the genitive), because this affix is **कित्** viz : **चञि** : **सरसिबतः सारम्लयः** (MS. ७५) **छुमदिबः कित्तिबवा-नुवर्तते** (Up. S. III. 73) **चित्त्वतिदेशश्च कित्वाद्याभाम्नाथवातिभयोः सरकपठितः**. In all these instances, and others too (e.g. to VII. 2, 8, v. 1 of the Calc. ed.), the E. I. H. MS. of the Mahābhāṣya, and the Calcutta edition—as often as it gives this passage—write : **उषादयो ऽनुपमानि प्रतिपदिबानि** (the MS. of the Mahābhāṣya without the § ; the correctness of the reading given, however, does not only result from the commentaries, but from the Paribhāṣā works; MS. 778 of the Paribhāṣendusekhara e.g. writes **उषादयो चनु**) ; when the first word, though literally meaning “the affixes *अङ्*, etc.” has the sense, “the words formed with the affixes *अङ्*, etc.” (comp. I. 1. 72), in con-

Várttikas, always rejects the criticism of Kátyáyana, and defends Pánini with the same argument which he used before, viz., in saying that "*nominal 'buses formed with Unáádi affixes, are bases which have no grammatical origin,*" and therefore do not concern an etymological work like that of Pánini.

But if Kátyáyana were really wrong in his censure of Pánini, can the argument used by Patanjali in defence of Pánini be right? Let us imagine that there existed amongst us two sets of grammarians, the one contending that the words *red*, *bed*, *shed*, are derived from radicals *re*, *be*, *she*, with an affix *d*; and another refuting these etymologists, and asserting that their derivation is

formity with the use which Pāpini makes of the words छत् and तञ्जित (in the *maśvuline* gender), e.g. I. 1. 38; 2. 46; VI. 2. 155. Compare also *Vaidyanāth's* explanation, in note 188. The reading "छणादीबुध्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि", which is given by Dr. Aufrecht, p. vi., I have *accer* met with, though I have frequently met with the phrase quoted above, not only in the grammatical commentaries, but in all the Paribhāṣā-works, which give it as a Paribhāṣā. I, therefore, very much doubt its correctness, *even if it should really be found in any MS.*

absurd; that *rad*, *bed*, *shed* are “bases without a grammatical origin.” Is it probable, on the same supposition, that a member of the last-named category, in writing a grammar and in dealing with these words, would ascribe to them an affix *d*? Yet, if Patañjali were right, Pāṇini would belong to this latter category, and he would have committed such an incongruity. He has not only spoken of an Uṇṇādi affix *u*, but he calls it by its technical name *u*, which means that he bore in mind a distinct form of a radical, the vowel of which would become subject to the Vṛiddhi increase if it is joined to this affix *u*. The Uṇṇādi words must, consequently, have been to Pāṇini words in which he perceived a real affix and a real radical,—words, in short, with a distinct etymology. There is other evidence to the same effect besides the two rules of his which contain the word *uṇṇādi*. In rule VII. 2, 9, he mentions the affixes *tī*, *tu*, *tra*, *ta*, *tha*, *si*, *su*, *sara*, *ka*, *sa*; all these are Uṇṇādi affixes, and consequently represent to him as many radicals as are capable of being combined with them for the

formation of nominal bases.<sup>215</sup> That there is a flaw in the defence of Patañjali, must have been already perceived by *Kaiyyāṭa*, for this commentator tries to reconcile the fact I have pointed out with the assertion of Patañjali. I will quote his words, but merely to show that it was a desperate case to save Pāṇini from the Nairukta school, and to give him the stamp of a pure-bred Vaiyākaraṇa. On the occasion of Patañjali's commenting on the Vārttika to VIII. 3, 59, and repeating the remark already mentioned, *Kaiyyāṭa* says: “Though the Uṇṇādi words have been derived for the *enlightenment of the ignorant*, their formation is not subject to the same grammatical influence as it would be if they had an origin;” and, after having endeavoured to prove the correctness of this view through rule VIII. 3, 46, he winds up with the following words: “Therefore . . . . in the Uṇṇādi formations, *kṛisara*, etc., *sara* etc. do not fall under the technical category

<sup>215</sup> VII. 2, 9: तिगुचतचसिगुसरकसेगु च.

of affixes, so that the rule which concerns the change of an affixal *s* to *śh*, would have to be applied in their case."<sup>216</sup>

<sup>216</sup> Patanjali to VIII. 3, 59 (comp. note 213) : उखादयो ऽनुत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि.—Kaiyyaṭa : उखादय इति । अनुत्पन्नोपनाय नुत्पावमाना अनुत्पादयो नुत्पत्तिविभिनं कार्यं न सम्भवे । अतः छकमिच्छेत्तल्लव (VIII. 3, 46) प्रत्यक्षस्यहयात् । न चा एतदिति चलं नुत्पत्तिहेतुकमुखादीनामवस्थाभुपियम् । सर्पिषा वृष हलादिसिद्धये मिलये । एवं तर्हीति छवरादिषु वले कर्त्तव्ये प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न भवति.—I here subjoin the interesting comment of Śrīdhara, in his *Paribhāṣā-sūtrī* (MS. E.I.H. 593), on this Paribhāṣā, as it is appealed to by other authors of Paribhāṣā-works : उखादयो ऽनुत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि । एवं चातो ऽनेवत्सुप्रत्ययनादस्तीत्याहुः । अन्वया सर्वेषामुखादीनां आगुलले छदन्त्यात्प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञासिद्धौ तच्च कुर्वीत । अन्वे स्वतः छकमीत्यत्र (VIII. 3, 46) कर्मियह्वं छत्वा कंस्यहवादितामाहुः । तेन छनुकुटिनिदिभ्याच्च (sic. comp. Uṇ. S. IV. 142) इः क्तिदितीकारप्रत्ययान्तयोः क्तिरिक्तिरिग्रदयोरिति यखादेशे छते आगुलामावाचञि चेति (VIII. 2, 77) दीर्घत्वं न भवति । क्विथोः । नियोः रिति । एतच्च न सत्यम् । अचः परस्मिन्निति (I. 1, 57) खानिवत्तादीर्घाप्रसङ्गात् । न चास्मि दीर्घविधिं प्रति न खानिवदिति । खरदीर्घयत्नोपेयु लोपावादेश एव न खानिवदिति वचनात् (comp. I. 1, 58) । यथा प्रतिदीर्घेति । एवं तर्हि कीर्त्तयेत्तेतोः कीर्त्तयेत्तः क्तिन् रच्च न इति (Uṇ. S. V. 49) क्तिन्प्रत्यय इले रपरले न रेफस्य वकारे छते किन्निरिति आगुलामावादीर्घो न भवतीति ।

That Kātyāyana, when he found fault with Pāṇini, must have taken my view, is obvious. He must have looked upon Pāṇini as judging of the Unnādi words in the same way as Śākaṭāyana did: otherwise his "*pratiśedhas*" *exceptions*, or even his *additions* to the rules in question, would have been as irrelevant as if he had increased them with matter taken from medicine or astronomy.

The conclusion, however, at which I have thus been compelled to arrive, viz., that Pāṇini shared in the linguistic principles of Śākaṭāyana, is of importance, if we now consider the relation in which he is likely to have stood to the original Unnādi list and to the criticisms of Kātyāyana. ✓

*Nāgajibhatta*, who wrote notes on Kaiyyaṭa's gloss on Patanjali, conjectures from the Kārikā to III. 3, 1, that the Unnādi *Sūtras* were the work of Śākaṭāyana.<sup>217</sup> His conjecture rests on the statement of Yaska, alluded to by Patanjali, that this grammarian con-

<sup>217</sup> See also Dr. Aufrecht's Preface to the Up. S. p. vii, where the Commentary of Nāgajibhatta is quoted, and translated by him.

tended for the possibility of deriving all nominal bases from verbal roots. Now, I have shown before, that the opinion of Nāgojibhaṭṭa cannot be adopted so far as the *Sūtras* are concerned, for they were written *after* Pāṇini's work, and Śakatāyana wrote before Pāṇini.<sup>218</sup> It may, at first sight, however, appear to be consistent with fact, if only the Unnādi *list* were meant, for Śakatāyana's views are such as would admit of nominal derivation by means of Unnādi affixes. Yet, since Nāgoji's conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the Unnādi list is of Pāṇini's authorship. Indeed, how could Kātyāyana take *exception* to the *technical* application or to the *working of a rule of Pāṇini's*, and supply this defect by pointing to the Unnādi list, unless he looked upon Pāṇini as being the author of both? Had he thought that the Unnādi list was written by Śakatāyana, he would have laid himself open to serious reflections, in censuring the *anubandhas* of

<sup>218</sup> See note 97.

Pāṇini for not fitting the system of Śakatāyana. We might make an assumption, it is true, by which we could reconcile Śakatāyana's authorship of the Unnādi list with Kātyāyana's strictures on Pāṇini,—the assumption that Pāṇini's work represented, as it were, besides its own property, that of Śakatāyana's too,—that both grammarians owned one set of technical signs, and that perfect unanimity reigned between their works. The *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* of *Vardhamāna* gives numerous quotations from the Grammar of Śakatāyana, but as several of them merely give the substance of his rules, it would scarcely be safe to judge of his system on the authority of this valuable Gāṇa work.<sup>219</sup> Unless, therefore, it can be shown that there was no

<sup>219</sup> Relative to this work, which is of the greatest importance for the study of Sanskrit grammar, Dr. Boehdinger gives the following information (vol. II., p. xxxix.—xli.) :—“ A third work, which contains the *Gāṇas*, is the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (the great Ocean of the Gāṇa-pearls). In London there exist two MS. copies of this work : the one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the other in that of the East India House. [He adds some remarks on the age of the former MS., and continues] : The work

difference whatever and, much more so, if it can be shown that there *was a difference* between the technical method of both these grammarians, common sense would lean in favour of the consists of eight chapters (अष्टाध्याय) and about 450 double verses. Its author is *Crā-Varāhamāna*, a pupil of *Crā-Gosāda*, and, as it is stated in the introductory verses, it owes its origin to the request of his pupils, three of whom he names in the commentary on his work, viz., Kumārapāla, Haripāla, and Munīkandra. Text and commentary are so corrupt in both Manuscripts, that at the very best only a tolerable text could be made up. Besides, this collection was not intended for the work of Pāṇini, but for some more modern grammar. There occur *Gaṇas* in it which are neither mentioned in the *Sūtras* nor in the *Vārtikas*. Then, again, we find two *Gaṇas* which are separate in our collection [Dr. B. means the *Gaṇas* edited by him] combined into one, when the derivatives formed according to two different rules, differ from one another only in accent. The various readings of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* (G. R. M.) I have indicated merely at the *Gaṇa* ~~वर्तिका~~.—To this statement I have to append the following remarks:—

1. When Dr. Bochtlingk tells the public that there are but two MS. copies of this work in London, his readers will no doubt believe, if they believe him,—indeed, they cannot draw any *other* inference from his words than—that there are in London only two texts of the *Gaṇas* collected by Vardhamāna in his work, the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*. I cannot suppose that there can be any one who would interpret the meaning of his words in the

conclusion that Kātyāyana, in his *Vārtikas*, hit at but one of his predecessors, and that this predecessor was the author as well of the eight grammatical books as of the *Unnādi* list,—Pāṇini.

sense that there are only two catalogued Nos. of this work in the libraries he is speaking of. Yet I am compelled to take this favourable—though very unreasonable—view of his statement, in order not to be compelled to qualify it otherwise. For, the fact is that the bound volume No. 949 of the Library of the E. I. H., which he is speaking of, is, indeed, one volume only, but contains *two distinct copies* of the work in question, written in *different* handwritings, and constituting, therefore, *two separate* MSS. These, added to the *copy* in the R. A. S., form, therefore, at first sight, *three* MSS., not *two*, as he says. But I should trifle with my readers if I considered this correction as sufficient to illustrate the character of Dr. Bochtlingk's statement. The first MS. of No. 949 contains the text of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* only, on 30 leaves. The second MS. of the same No. 949, which is a commentary, by the same author, on his work, contains, first the text, and afterwards the comment, which repeats every word of the text, either literally or impliedly, by stating the derivatives from the word or words as they occur in the text. The same method is observed in the MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. Hence we possess, in London, not *two texts*, nor yet *three*, but in reality *five* texts of this work.

2. The MSS. in question are, no doubt, open to correction, as, indeed, probably every Sanskrit MS. in existence is, but I hold that at all events the ancient copy of the R.A.S.

The proof that such a difference existed between Pāṇini and Śākātāyana, indeed, between him and all the grammarians who preceded his work, is afforded by a statement of Patanjali, which

will, in spite of its inaccuracies, be ranked by every one conversant with MSS., amongst *the best Sanskrit MSS. in existence*. And having considered it incumbent on me to study this book carefully, I have no hesitation in maintaining that even a tolerable Sanskrit scholar would be able to make a perfectly good edition of at least the text of this work, with the aid of these five copies of the text, the two copies of the commentary, and, as a matter of course, with the aid that may be got from Pāṇini and his commentaries.

3. As to the nature of this work : I must allow the reader to draw his own conclusions with regard to the credit that may be attached to the information given by Dr. Bohtlingk, when I state that there is not one single Gāpa in the Uṇanadīmahādadhī, the contents of which may not be referred either to Pāṇini's Sūtras or to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, the Kāśikā, etc., and the commentaries on them, or to the Gāpas connected with these works, though the latter frequently do not contain so much matter as the Gāpas of Varthamāna, who is later, and, as we may expect, made his own additions to previous lists. The substance of its Gāpas, ~~decreased~~ sometimes in the manner stated, is often contained in several rules of, and in the commentaries on, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, which have been brought into Gāpa shape, while, at other times, several of its Gāpas, also increased, as the case may be, differ

is so important that it settles definitely, not only the question of the authorship of the Uṇādi list, but of all the other works which follow the *anubandha* terminology of Pāṇini. In his comment on

from the Gāpas to Pāṇini merely in so far as the heading word of the one occurs in the middle of the other, and *vice versa*. Thus the two combined Gāpas *कुडादिपचादी* of the G. R. M. do not occur in the Gāpas to Pāṇini, but give the substance of Pāṇini's Sūtra, and the commentaries on, IV. 1, 42; its Gāpa *कुडादि* that of the commentaries on II. 1, 62; *अतस्त्रिषादि* that of the comm. on II. 1, 66; *असूषादि* that of the comm. on II. 1, 63; *अथाह्लादि* that of VI. 3, 75; *आसादि* that of Vārtika I. to IV. 1, 97; *कैरादि* that of IV. 2, 39, 40; *ह्लादि* that of the Vārtikas to V. 1, 77; *ह्लादि* that of IV. 3, 72, etc. etc.—On the other hand, the Gāpas of the G. R. M. *उत्तापनादि* is equivalent to the Gāpas to Pāṇini *अनुमवचनादि* (V. 1, 11), its Gāpa *देवव्रतादि* to *आवाकारदीपादि* (V. 1, 94, v. 3); *अनपलादि* to *अनपलादि* (IV. 1, 84); *अरसादि* to *आकाशेदि* (V. 2, 64); *शिशुकादि* to *ह्रस्ववचनादि* (IV. 3, 88); *ह्रस्वादि* to *कुमुदादि* (IV. 2, 80); *मिषादि* to *खिचिदि* (IV. 2, 45), etc. etc.—There are omitted, *on principle*, in the G. R. M., all the Gāpas (1) which have reference to the enumeration of affixes, e.g., *तस्त्रिषादि*, *असादि*, etc.; (2) of radicals which are referred to by Pāṇini in rules on conjugation, such as *स्पादि*, *चदादि*, etc.; *भुतादि*, *पुषादि*, etc.; (3) those which concern Vaidik words; and (4) those appended to Pāṇini's rules on accentuation.—Of other Gāpas to Pāṇini and the Vārtikas, mentioned in the Kāśikā, Siddhānta-kaumudī, and the Gāpa lists, which do not fall under

the Sūtra VII. 1, 18, which makes use of the technical declension affix *anig* (= *au*), he shows that the mute letter *ṅ* has none of the properties which inhere in this *anubandha* in the system

any of these categories, there are omitted in the G. R. M. the Gaps to Pāṇini or the Vārtikas: *अवादि* (III. 3, 94. v. 1), *रस्वादि* (V. 2, 29. v. 5), *उपस्वादि* ? (IV. 3, 58. v. 1), *अमवादि* (IV. 2, 51. v. 1), *अस्वादि* (III. 3, 3), *दूवादि* (IV. 2, 51. v. 2), *वावादि* (II. 3, 17. v. 2), *निष्वादि* (V. 1, 20), *अङ्गुवादि* (VII. 3, 53), *पाञ्चवादि* (III. 2, 15. v. 1), *प्रक्षस्वादि* (II. 3, 18. v. 1), *प्रतिषेवादि* (VI. 3, 122. v. 3), *म्रादि* (I. 4, 59), *अवादि* (IV. 3, 164), *अवदादि* (V. 3, 14. v. 1), *मीमादि* (III. 4, 74), *युवादि* (VIII. 4, 11. v. 1), *चौषेवादि* (IV. 1, 178; V. 3, 117), *रस्वादि* (V. 2, 95), *वरस्वादि* (IV. 2, 82), *विस्वादि* (VI. 4, 153), *मुषवादि* (V. 3, 68. v. 5), *शाकपाचिवादि* (II. 1, 69. v. 1), *अवस्वादि* (IV. 2, 75), *अपस्वादि* (IV. 1, 35), *अववादि* (VIII. 3, 110), *युवास्वादि* (IV. 2, 77), *खोवादि* (VI. 3, 2), *हरीतस्वादि* (IV. 3, 167), and perhaps *अङ्गुवादि* (IV. 1, 45), since only some words of this Gapa are included in the Gapa of the G. R. M. *शोषादि*.—These omissions will be excused, if a report, current at Benares, be true, that the author died before he completed his work; but I have no doubt, whether this report be true or not, that they will be looked upon with the *greatest indignance* by Dr. Boehtlingk, as he himself, in his so-called "Alphabetical Gaṇapāṭha," has omitted *not less than about 90 Gāpas to the Sūtras and Vārtikas*.

4. That a work so consciously described by Dr. Boehtlingk can have no value in his eyes is very obvious. Others, however, may think differently, when they become

of Pāṇini. After some discussion on the various modes in which this *anubandha* could be dealt with, so as not to interfere with the consistency of the method of Pāṇini, he concludes with

acquainted with the real character of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*. Its Gāpas, as I mentioned before, are all based on rules of Pāṇini, which very frequently are literally quoted for their authority; while even, when they are not literally quoted, the reference made to their contents plainly shows their close relation to them. The commentary not only enumerates every derivative formed—thus securing in most instances, beyond a doubt, the reading of the text,—but often gives instances from other works—grammatical, lexicographical, and poetical, several not yet published; as, for instance, those of *Gaṇa*, *Chandra*, *Jayāditya*, *Jivādvabaddhī*, *Durga*, *Bhāṣa*, *Sāketīyasa*, *Halāyudha*, etc. And, above all, it supplies us with the meanings of a considerable portion of such Gapa-words as have been hitherto either not understood at all, or understood imperfectly. Of the 12,000 words and upwards, which I have collected from this work for grammatical and lexicographical purposes, there are at least 3,000 which would fall under the latter category; and they have signally avenged themselves on the detractor of this work, as, in his own Dictionary, he is now compelled to leave, in a great many instances, a very telling blank space, which would have been filled up if he had really read the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, while in other instances he would have obtained additional meanings to those which he assigns to certain words. When I mention, moreover, that this *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* is the *only known work* in existence which gives a

the following words: "Or this rule belongs to a Sūtra of a former grammarian; but *whatever anubandhas occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no anubandha effect in this work.*"

Hence we learn from Patanjali, who is the very last author that can be suspected of having made such an important assertion without a knowledge of the works anterior to the Grammar of Pāṇini, that,

commentary on the Gāpas to, or connected with, Pāṇini—so obscure in many respects,—comprising also, as I before observed, many Sūtras of, and Vārtikas to, Pāṇini; and when, thus, it becomes evident that a conscientious editor of Pāṇini ought to have *eagerly* availed himself of the instruction afforded him by this unique work, it will, perhaps, be intelligible why a certain Nemesis has induced Dr. Boehtlingk to divert the attention of the scientific public from the MSS. of this work, by describing their condition and contents as he has done. As a matter of curiosity, I may, in conclusion, add, that the only Gāpa of the G. R. M., the various readings and meanings of which he has registered in his "Alphabetical Gāpāpāṭha"—the Gāpa अक्षरार्थ—occurs *very near the end* of the whole work, viz., at fol. 28, in the text of MS. 949 of the E. I. H., which ends on fol. 30; and at fol. 119 of the combined text and commentary of the same MS., which ends on fol. 121. In the palm-leaf MS. of the R. A. S., which ends on fol. 178, this Gāpa stands at fol. 168. The title of a Sanskrit book, I need not mention, is always given at the *end* of a manuscript.

though Pāṇini adopted from his predecessors such technical symbols as *ti, ghu, bha*, and though he availed himself of other terms of theirs which have a meaning and an etymology (see page 166),—he did not adopt their technical *anubandhas*; and if he avails himself of such an anubandha, as that in rule VII. 1, 18, we must look upon it as a quotation made by him, but not as influencing the rule in which it occurs.<sup>220</sup>

Now, all the Unnādi affixes have *anubandhas*, which are exactly the same, and have the same grammatical effect, as those used by Pāṇini. They cannot be later than his work, for it refers to them: they cannot have preceded it, for Patanjali says that "whatever *anubandhas* occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in Pāṇini's work." Consequently the Unnādi list *must be of Pāṇini's own authorship.*

<sup>220</sup> VII. 1, 18: सौट् चापः.—Patanjali (towards the end of his discussion): चत्वार पूर्वसूचनिदेशो ऽवस्य । पूर्वसूचे च वै गुणवत्ताः । न तैरित्येकादेषां किंचित् ।—Kātyāyana: चत्वारि पूर्वसूचनिदेशं अपि हितव्यमे किंती यदिते न चेह कश्चिद्वीक्षणवो हिदक्षि सामान्यहकार्यं च पूर्वसूचनिदेशः etc.—For पूर्वसूच, compare also note 46.



Having settled this point, we may now ask, whether the criticisms of Kātyāyana do not lead to a further inference? When Kātyāyana finds fault with Pāṇini for having overlooked the fact that the vowel *ā* remains long in *rāka*, *dhāka*, or for having given an inadequate rule for such derivations as *kṛisara* and *dhāsara*, *varsha* and *tarsha*, such criticism applies to omissions which may occur in the case of an author, even a Pāṇini. But when he reproaches him with having spoiled the consistency of his *anubandhas*—so dear to a Hindu grammarian—this blemish seems to me so important, and would probably appear so much more important to a Hindu Pandit, that it compels my conclusions to take another course. For it was obviously so easy for him to modify his rules VII. 1, 2, and VII. 3, 50, in order to meet the objections raised by Kātyāyana,—to do, in other words, that which he has done in an analogous case;<sup>21</sup> and the matter he is reproached with

<sup>21</sup> Nominal bases derived with the *kṛit* affixes *तृच्* or *तृण्* have certain properties of declension which are taught by Pāṇini. The Unādi say (II. 96) that some of the bases *बभू*, *वेहृ*, *लहृ*, *होतृ*, *पोतृ*, *धातृ*, *जामातृ*, *मातृ*, *पितृ*, *दुहितृ* are derivatives

in the Vārtikas must have been so deeply impressed on his mind that it seems almost impossible not to draw another result from the strictures of Kātyāyana. And this result is no other than that either the words which are alluded to by the author of the Vārtikas in these criticisms did not yet exist when Pāṇini wrote, or that they had in his time another etymology than that stated by Kātyāyana. And if this view be correct, it would also add another fact to those I have advanced in favour of the argument that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana cannot have been contemporaries.

The passage just now quoted from Patanjali's Great Commentary, and the conclusions which had to be drawn from it, enable us at once to see that Pāṇini must also have been the author of the Dhātupāṭha frequently referred to in his rules. This list makes

formed with *तृच्* and others with *तृण्*. But since all of them do not share in the declension properties of the *तृच्* and *तृण्* bases, Pāṇini gives a rule, VI. 4, 11, which obviates an objection that might have been made, like that brought forward by Kātyāyana in his Vārtikas to VII. 1, 2 and VII. 3, 50.

use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of Pānini's Grammar, and their grammatical value is exactly the same in both works. According to Patanjali's statement, therefore, the Dhātupātha of Pānini cannot have been arranged by any one else than Pānini.<sup>22</sup> Whether another Dhātupātha existed previously to Pānini does not concern us here, since it is not known to us ; nor does it belong to my present purpose to examine whether the Dhātupātha, which has reached us has received additions from those who wrote, and commented on, it, and if so, to what extent. There is the same probability for such additions having been made to the original list as in the case of all other Gaṇas ; and we may fairly, therefore, ascribe the present Dhātupāthas to various authors, who also, perhaps, added meanings to the list composed by Pānini, since there is no *direct* evidence to show that Pānini did more than arrange this list with the *anubandhas* attached to the radicals. All these questions, however, are foreign to the

<sup>22</sup> Compare my previous observations at page 54 and the following pages.

present subject. It is quite enough for the settlement of this question that the groundwork of the only Dhātupātha we now possess, is, like the groundwork of the Unnādi list, the work of Pānini.

The problem which concerns the chronological relation between Pānini and the *Prātiśākhya*s, more especially those of the *Rigveda* and the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*, has a still greater claim to our attention than that discussed in the foregoing remarks.<sup>23</sup> The

<sup>23</sup> I can here only speak of those two *Prātiśākhya*s which have become generally accessible—the Rik P. through the valuable and learned edition of Mr. Reguler, and the *Vājasaneyi P.* through that of Professor Weber—because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the two others, which are not yet published, and are not met with in the libraries of London, so as to feel justified in uttering opinions which I could not fully substantiate. But as I have no ground for doubting the *master-of-fact* statements concerning these two latter works, for which we are indebted to the industry of Professor Weber in his preface to his edition of the *Vājasaneyi P.*, I should infer from them that the *Atharvaveda P.* must be more recent than the Rik P., and that, in all probability, the *Taittirīya P.* also is posterior to the same *Prātiśākhya*. So far, therefore, as this latter inference—but this latter inference only—is concerned, and with

immediate connection of these grammatical writings with the collections of Vaidik hymns, gives to them an appearance of importance which some may deny to the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Uṇādi* list. Besides, the speculations to which they have been subjected by several authors show that in spite of the seeming unanimity of their results, there is no work of Hindu antiquity which has caused more uncertainty, as respects the question of date, than these Prātisākhya works.

There are, I conceive, two ways in which the solution of the problem of which I am here speaking, may be attempted, the one *literary*, the other *historical*. But before I offer from the evidence at my disposal such facts as may enable us to arrive at a settled conclusion on this point, it is my duty to state the prevalent opinion as to the relation of these works to Pāṇini, and the reasons with which this opinion has all the reservation which is implied by the source whence my information has been obtained. I shall feel free to speak of *all* the Prātisākhya. Otherwise I shall merely treat of the two former.

hitherto been supported. I take for this purpose the works of those authors who have dealt more comprehensively than others with subjects which concern the Vaidik literature, and whose conclusions express, I believe, on this point, the creed of actual Sanskrit philologists. ✓

Professor Müller writes in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 120), as follows: "The real object of the Prātisākhya, as shown before, was not to teach the grammar of the old sacred language, to lay down the rules of declension and conjugation, or the principles of the formation of words. This is a doctrine which, though it could not have been unknown during the Vedic period, has not been embodied, as far as we know, in any ancient work. The Prātisākhya are never called Vyākaranas, grammars, and it is only incidentally that they allude to strictly grammatical questions. The perfect phonetic system on which Pāṇini's Grammar is built is no doubt taken from the Prātisākhya; but the sources of Pāṇini's strictly grammatical doctrines must be looked for elsewhere."

Thus, according to this author, all the Prātisākhya "no doubt" preceded Pāṇini's Grammar; and we must infer, too, from Professor Müller's words, that he meant by Prātisākhya those either edited or preserved in MSS., since his conclusions cannot *consistently* have been founded on any imaginary Prātisākhya which may or may not have preceded those that we now possess,—which may or may not have dealt with the same subjects in the same manner as the works we are here alluding to. Nor can it have been his object merely to state what is sufficiently known, that there were other grammarians, though not authors of Prātisākhya, before Pāṇini who gave rules on Vaidik words, since Pāṇini himself makes mention of them.

Professor Roth, whom we have to thank for an edition of Yāska's Nirukta, states his view to the same effect in the following words: <sup>24</sup> "Grammar, therefore, took the same natural course of develop-

<sup>24</sup> In the Preface to his edition of the Nirukta, p. xliii.—The original text of this quotation, it is superfluous to mention, is in German, and in *very good* German, too.

ment as we find it has taken elsewhere. It did not proceed from the foundation of the living language, but owed its origin to the observation of that difference which exists between certain forms of language in the actual intercourse of life and those of written works; and, at first, it confined itself to pointing out chiefly these differences. Then, again, it comprised, not the whole mass of literature, but only single books, especially important to certain classes of society (*einzelne in den betrefenden Kreisen besonders wichtige Bücher*). Thus the path was opened to a general grammar treating as well of written as of spoken language; we meet this first in Pāṇini, and from this time all those special grammars gradually disappear from general use."

There is but one thing wanting to this very interesting statement of Professor Roth's, viz., that he should inform us whence he obtained this invaluable historical account of the rise and progress of Sanskrit grammar. No doubt he has some voucher of high authority for the important fact that grammar began and proceeded in India in the manner he describes; and that these special gram-

mar, the Pratisākhya, which he enumerates immediately afterwards, were the pioneers of Pāṇini's work. But as he has forgotten to give us the name of his authority, we must, for the present at least, be permitted to look upon this graphic narration of his as a contribution to Vaidik poetry.

Professor Weber, with a caution that almost startles one in so bold a writer, who, as we have seen above (p. 77), has witnessed the progress of the Arians in their conquest of India 1500 B.C., does not sweep over *all* the Pratisākhya with his chronological brush, but merely records his views of the relation of Pāṇini to one of them, the Pratisākhya of Kātyāyana, or that of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.

"We now come to Pāṇini himself," he says in his preface to his edition of this work, "that is to say (*"resp."*) to the description of the relations which exist between him and the Vājas. Prāt. These relations are, on the one hand, very close, — since a great number of the rules contained in it re-occur, individually, either literally or nearly literally in Pāṇini, and since the Vāj. Pr., like Pāṇini, now and then makes use of an algebraic terminology; but, on the other

hand, there is again a vast gulf between them, since this algebraic terminology does not entirely correspond, like that of the Ath. Pr., with that of Pāṇini, but, on the contrary, partly thoroughly (*sum Theil ganz*) differs from it. The particulars on this point are the following:—There correspond with Pāṇini—tip I, 27, añ VI, 24 (MS. A, however, reads merely â), 1pk III, 12, 1pk I, 114 (*"resp."*—*"lopa"* occur several times, but already, 306, in the Rik Pr. and Taitt. Pr.); the use of t in êt and ot, V, 114, IV, 58, may likewise be added, and, amongst other expressions which are not algebraic, upapadam VI, 14, 29; yadyritam VI, 14 (compare Pāp. VIII, 1, 48, kīṁvrita); anudeca I, 143; dhāta, verbal root, V, 10; anyataras V, 15 (Pāṇ. anyetarasām); linga, gender, IV, 170 (only in *BE.*); saṁjñā IV, 96.—But there belong exclusively to the Vāj. Pr., and there have been nowhere shown to exist the algebraic terms: sin I, 44, IV, 50, for the eight simple vowels; jī I, 50, 267, III, 12, IV, 113, for the tenues inclusive of the sibilants (except *hy*); mud I, 52, III, 8, 12, IV, 119 for ॐ, sh, s; dhi I, 53, IV, 35, 37, 117, for the sonant sounds; and to

these may be added—bhāvin I, 46. III, 21. 55. IV, 33. 45. VII, 9, for the designation of all vowels except ā; rit = rīḥita IV, 53. VI, 9, and samkrama III, 148. IV, 77. 165. 194; for they, too, are peculiar to the Vāj. Pr. alone.

“If thus, then, the independence of this Pr. of Pāṇini be vouched for with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), we shall be able to look upon the numerous literal coincidences between both, either as [the result of their] having drawn [them] from a common source, or of Pāṇini having borrowed [them] from the Vāj. Prāt., just as we have the same choice in the case of the rules which are common to the Kāṭiya-ṣrauta-sūtra I. 8, 19. 20, and Pān. I. 2, 33. 34. In the latter case the former conjecture may be preferable (compare also Vāj. Pr. I. 130); but in our present case I should myself, indeed, rather (*in der That eher*) prefer deciding for Pāṇini's having borrowed [them] immediately [from the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya], on account of the great speciality of some of these rules. For, a certain posteriority (*eine gewisse Posteriorität*) of the latter—independently

of [his] having made them developed the algebraic terminology—seems to me to result with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), from the circumstance also, that the pronunciation of the short *a* was in his time already so much (*gerade so sehr*) *schwächer*, covered, that he does not make this vowel, but *a*, the type of the remaining vowels, whereas the Vāj. Pr. (and likewise the Ath. Pr.) it is true, agrees with him in the *schwächere* of the vowel *a*, but still retain it as the purest vowel, compare the note to I. 72. But it is true that local differences might have been the cause of this, since Pāṇini seems to belong to the North-West, but the Vāj. Pr. to the East of India.

“For the posteriority of the Vāj. Pr. to Pāṇini (*für eine Posteriorität des Vāj. Pr. nach Pāṇini*) it might be alleged, at the very utmost (*höchstens*), that the author of the Vārtikas to Pāṇini bears the same name as the author of the Vāj. Pr. There are, indeed, between both some direct points of contact,—comp. III. 13. 41. 46,—but then again there are also direct differences; comp. (III. 85) IV. 119. In general, sameness of names, like that of

Kātyāyana, can never prove the identity of persons [who bore them]; there is nothing proved by it, except that both belonged to the same family, or ("resp.") were followers of the same school,—the Kātās.

"Amongst the Sūtras which are identical in the Vāj. Pr. and in Pāṇini, we must now point out, first, some general rules which are of the greatest importance for the economy of the whole arrangement of both texts, and which, indeed, are of so special a nature that they seem to claim with a tolerable amount of force (*mit ziemlicher Entschiedenheit*) [the assumption of the one] having borrowed from the other. They are the three following (called *paribhāṣā* by the scholiast to Pāṇini): tasminn iti nirdisṭe pūrvasya, Vāj. Pr. I, 134. Pān. I, 66;—tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ, Vāj. Pr. I, 135. Pān. I, 1, 67 (without ādeḥ, but see 54);—śaśthī sthāneyogā, Vāj. Pr. I, 136. Pān. I, 1, 49.—There are very remarkable also: saṁkhyātānām ānudeṣo yathāsaṁkhyam, Vāj. Pr. I, 143, compared with Pān. I, 3, 10 yathāsaṁkhyam anudeṣaḥ samānām; and vipratishedha uttaram balavad alope, I, 150, compared with vipratishedhe paraṁ

kāryam, Pān. I, 4, 2. But both [passages] do not require [the supposition of] such a special relation (*beide bedingen indess nicht ein so specielles Verhältniss*), for they might be brought home to a common source in the general grammatical tradition (*sondern könnten auf gemeinsame Quelle in der allgemeinen grammatischen Tradition zurückgeführt werden*) (the sāmānyam of the Ath. Pr. I, 3, evam iheti ca vibhāṣā-prāptam sāmānye). Likewise, varṇasyādarṇaṁ lopah, I, 141, Pān. I, 1, 60 (without varṇasya);—uccair udāttaḥ—nīcāir anudāttaḥ—ubhayavān svaritaḥ I, 108-110; Pān. I, 2, 29-31 (where samāhārah stands for ubh.);—tasyādita udātta svarārdhamātram, I, 126, Pān. I, 2, 32 (where ardhahrasvam);—udāttao cānudātta svaritam—nodātta svaritodayam IV, 134. 140, udātta anudātasya svaritaḥ—nodātta svaritodayam, Pān. VIII, 4, 66. 67;—samānasthānā-karṇasya prayatnāḥ savarṇaḥ, I, 43, tulyasya prayatnāḥ savarṇam, Pān. I, 1, 9;—āśīḥ iti cottaraṁ vicāre, II, 53, upari svid āśīd iti ca, Pān. VIII, 2, 102 (97);—nuṣ cāmredite, IV, 8, kām āmredite, Pān. VIII, 3, 12.—There are besides these a very great number (*eine sehr grosse Zahl*) of coincidences [between them]; for instance,

IV, 49 (Pān. VI. 1, 84), VI, 19-23 (Pān. VIII. 1, 58-63), which, however, may be accounted for simply (*einfach*) by the similarity of their subject. In some of these instances the Vāj. Pr. is decidedly inferior (*steht entschieden zurück*) to Pāṇini (comp. the note to II, 19, 20). Its grammatical terminology does not appear to have attained the survey and systematic perfection represented in Pāṇini;<sup>23</sup> but compare also my former general statement on the want of skill or ("*resp.*") probably want of practice of the author (*vgl. indess auch das bereits im Eingange—p. 68—über die Ungeschicklichkeit resp. wohl Ungeübtheit des V/s. im Allgemeinen Bemerkte*). In most instances, however, from being

<sup>23</sup> The words of the text are: "Die grammatische Fixirung scheint eben daselbst noch nicht zu der in Pāṇini repräsentirten Uebersicht und systematischen Vollkommenheit gelangt gewesen zu sein." I confess my utter inability to guarantee the correctness of the translation of this passage. What is the "grammatical fixing?" and of what? I have assumed that these words may have been intended for "terminology;" but for aught I know they may mean anything else. And what "survey" is represented in Pāṇini?

restricted to the one text of the Vājas. Sāṃhitā, he is in a better position than Pāṇini, who has to deal with the whole linguistic stock; and therefore he is enabled to give rules with a certain safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision (bahulam) or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way (comp. the notes to II, 30, 55. III, 27, 95. IV, 58)."<sup>24</sup>

Two distinct reasons have induced me to give a full hearing to Professor Weber on this important question. I do so, in the first

<sup>24</sup> Indische Studien, vol. IV. pp. 83—86. Once more, and considering the possibility of a reproach which may be made to my translation of his words, I must express the conviction that I have not only brought the original before the English reader literally and faithfully, but even favourably. Professor Weber's mode of composition, in all his writings, is not only grammatically incorrect and illogically elliptical, but devoid of the very smallest amount of that care which every reader is entitled to expect in his author. I could have wished that he, not I, had been compelled to undergo the agony of rendering his original into English, with a view of combining the consideration due to my readers with a scrupulous faithfulness, in the version of his words and thoughts. The words between [ ] have been added by me in order to make something like sense of some of his sentences.



place, because the lengthened passage I have quoted from his Preface to the *Vājasaneyi-Pratísākhya*—in *my opinion*, his *most important literary work*—is a thorough specimen of the manner and of the critical method—of the scholarship also, as I shall show hereafter—in which he deals with, and which he brings to bear on, all his learned investigations; in the second place, because to give him a hearing at all—and his great industry and his merit of having touched, with no inconsiderable damage to himself, upon all the burning questions of ancient Sanskrit literature, entitles him to one —was to give him a *full* hearing, in the fullness of all his words. For, though it be possible to perceive the qualities of a clear spring by taking a draught from it, however small, a whirlpool can only be appreciated by seeing it entire and in the condition in which it happens to exist.

If I had attempted, for instance, to maintain that Professor Weber looks upon the algebraic terminology of Kātyāyana's *Pratísākhya* and Pāṇini's Grammar, "on the one hand as very close to, and on the other hand as thoroughly differing from, one

another" (p. 186, lines 15-21), he would have justly upbraided me with not representing him faithfully, for he really says: the one differs "partly thoroughly" from the other. Again, should I have ventured upon the statement that he considers Pāṇini's work as later than this *Pratísākhya*, because he says that it has borrowed a good deal from it; he would have pointed at p. 187, line 18, where he speaks of a "certain posteriority" of Pāṇini, which kind of posteriority is just as intelligible to my mind as the answer which some one, whom I asked about his travels, gave me, viz., that he had been, but not exactly, on the Continent. Or, if I had said that his chief argument for this "certain-posteriority" is the difference in the pronunciation of the short *ā*, between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, since this difference led to his conclusion with "a tolerable amount of certainty" (p. 187, line 20), he would reply: "You are mistaken. I stated that this difference may have been caused by local reasons (line 27); it has, therefore, not the slightest conclusiveness." Or, if I gave his opinion on the relative proficiency of both authors to this effect, that he considers the *Vājasaneyi-*

Pratīśākhya as being "*decidedly inferior*" (p. 189, line 4) in this regard to Pāṇini's work, he would have pointed to line 15, in showing me how much I erred in attributing to him the idea of such "a decided inferiority;" for it is the Pratīśākhya, on the contrary, which, "in most instances, gives the rules with a certain amount of safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision, or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way."

We must, therefore, leave the whirlpool, such as it is; and in doing so we cannot but appreciate the immense advantage which an author enjoys, when he is impartial enough to arrive at his conclusions unbiassed by a knowledge of the subject of which he is speaking. Professor Weber has made up his mind that the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya *must* be anterior to Pāṇini, probably because it "appears extremely ticklish" to him to decide otherwise; hence he is not troubled with any of those cares which are likely to disturb the minds of scholars who would first endeavour to study both works before they drew their inferences from them. He meets with an overwhelming amount of identical passages in the two

works: he finds that their terminology is likewise identical to a certain degree,—hence he concludes: either Pāṇini has borrowed these passages and this terminology from Kātyāyana, or both authors have borrowed them from a common source. For, as to a third alternative,—that Kātyāyana may have borrowed such passages from Pāṇini, it is dispatched by him "with a tolerable amount of certainty," as ranging amongst things impossible, because Pāṇini is later than the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya; and this posteriority, again, he chiefly bases on the argument that the pronunciation of the short *ā* was, in the time of Pāṇini, "already so much covered," that he had to take the vowel *u* for his type of a vowel sound, whereas Kātyāyana could still make use of the vowel *a* as the typical vowel in his Vaidik rules. Now, though I have already mentioned that this great argument is strangled by him as soon as it is born, I must nevertheless take the liberty of asking for the authority which supplied him with the circumstantial account of this phonetic history of the vowel *ā*? Pāṇini and Kātyāyana both state and imply, as he himself

admits, that the vowel *ā* is pronounced *saṃvṛita*, or with the contraction of the throat; they do not say one single word more on the pronunciation of this sound; nor is there any grammarian known to me who does so much as allude to the fantastical story narrated by Professor Weber relative to this vowel *ā*. An ordinary critic, then, would content himself with the authentic information supplied him by both grammarians; and if he perceived that Pāṇini, in his rule I. 2, 27, gives the vowel *ā*, as a *specimen* vowel, and not as a type, while Kātyāyana chooses the vowel *ā* for such a *specimen*, he would conclude that, even should there be a real scientific motive for this difference, it cannot be founded on a different pronunciation of the vowel *ā*, since it is repudiated by both grammarians. But a critic like Professor Weber, who looks upon facts as worsted if they do not agree with his theories, concludes that this vowel *ā* was "*already so much saṃvṛita*" in the time of Pāṇini, that he must needs throw it overboard, and receive *ā* into the ark of his grammatical terminology.

And here I may, in passing, advert once more to a practice sometimes met with in literary arguments. It consists in quietly introducing into the premises some such innocent words as "more," or "almost," or "already," or "so much," of similar adverbs of small size, which have not the slightest claim to any such hospitality; and then, suddenly, these little interlopers grow into mastership, and sway the discussion into which they had stealthily crept. Thus, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, as I have just said, speak of the vowel *ā* simply as *saṃvṛita*; and upon these words Professor Weber reports that "*ā* in the time of Pāṇini was *already so much saṃvṛita*"—that important secrets may be extracted from this grand discovery.

The foregoing illustration of Professor Weber's critical remarks does not embrace the arguments in which he splits into two, Kātyāyana, the author of our Prātisākhya, and Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārtikas to Pāṇini; for I shall first quote the observations of Professor Müller on this treatment of Kātyāyana. In speaking of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya he expresses himself

thus :—“ It was composed by Kātyāyana, and shows a considerable advance in grammatical technicalities [viz., in comparison with the Prātisākhya of the Black Yajurveda]. There is nothing in its style that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātisākhya, should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pānini. It is true that Pānini's rules are intended for a language which was no longer the pure Sanskrit of the Vedas. The Vedic idiom is treated by him as an exception, whereas Kātyāyana's Prātisākhya seems to belong to a period when there existed but one recognised literature, that of the Rishis. This, however, is not quite the case. Kātyāyana himself alludes to the fact that there were at least two languages. ‘There are two words,’ he says (I. 17), ‘*om* and *atha*, both used in the beginning of a chapter ; but *om* is used in the Vedas, *atha* in the Bhāshyas.’ As Kātyāyana himself writes in the Bhāshya, or the common language, there is no reason why he should not have composed

<sup>27</sup> Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 133.

rules on the grammar of the profane Sanskrit, as well as on the pronunciation of the Vedic idiom.”

In other words, Professor Müller sees that in no *grammatical* work known to him—and I may safely add to anyone else—mention is made of two Kātyāyanas ; he sees, no doubt, too—though he does not state the fact adverted to by Professor Weber himself—that several Vārttikas to Pānini correspond in substance with the Sūtras of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya ; he deducts, moreover, from very correct and plausible premises, that there is nothing in either work to discontinue the possibility of the author of the Vārttikas having also written a work on the pronunciation of Vaidik words ; and since he doubtless coincides with me in the opinion that even Sanskrit philology can neither gain in strength nor in esteem by freeing itself from the fetters of common sense,—he arrives at the result that the hypercritical splitting of the one Kātyāyana into two, as proposed by Professor Weber, is utterly *fantastical*. I shall support his view with stronger proof than may be gathered from the quotations I have made ; but in leaving for a while the

whirlpool of the Indische Studien, I must now take up Professor Müller's own theory.

After the words just given, he continues as follows: "Some of Kātyāyana's Sūtras are now found repeated *ipseissimis verbis* in Pāṇini's Grammar. This might seem strange; but we know that not all the Sūtras now incorporated in his grammar came from Pāṇini himself, and it is most likely that Kātyāyana, in writing his supplementary notes to Pāṇini, simply repeated some of his Prātisākhya-sūtras, and that, at a later time, some of these so-called Yārttikas became part of the text of Pāṇini."

Thus, in order to establish the theory that Pāṇini's work is later than the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana, whom Müller, as we know, conceives to be a contemporary of Pāṇini, he presents us with this very plausible sequence and chain of works:—1. The Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana. 2. The Grammar of Pāṇini. 3. The Yārttikas of Kātyāyana. And since some rules of the second work are identical with some of the first, he assumes that such rules marched from the first into the third, and they then gradually in-

vaded the second work. Now even supposing that such a migration of rules could be supported by a particle of evidence, what becomes of those stubborn Prātisākhya-Sūtras and Yārttikas of Kātyāyana which are identical in their contents—as I shall hereafter show—and which have not ventured to walk into the Sūtras of Pāṇini? They become the stumbling-block of the whole theory; for since Pāṇini, and especially Pāṇini the contemporary of Kātyāyana, could not have written rules of which the defects must have been apparent to him, if he had seen rules so much better in a work written before his own, the substance of these Sūtras of Kātyāyana could not have simultaneously preceded and followed the Grammar of Pāṇini. But I need not go further in showing the weakness of this theory, for I have already explained (p. 29, etc.) that out of the 3996 Sūtras which form the present bulk of Pāṇini's Grammar, only three, or perhaps four, may be ascribed to Kātyāyana, on *critical* and *tenable* grounds. A mere supposition, unsupported by any *proof*, that the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya is older than Pāṇini's work, can certainly not justify the sweeping doubt which

is levelled by Professor Müller against the whole work of Pāṇini, and which is not even substantiated—as we might have expected it to have been—by a distinct enumeration of all or any of those Sūtras which he would propose to restore to their rightful owner, Kātyāyana.

In now proceeding to state the reasons which induce me to look upon all Prātisākhya-Sūtras, not only as posterior to Pāṇini's Grammar, but to Pāṇini himself, and separated from him by at least several generations, I must, in the first place, point out the general fallacy which has led to the assumption that these works are anterior to Pāṇini. It consists in applying the standard of the notion of *grammar* to both categories of works, and having done this, in translating the result obtained, which is less favourable to the Prātisākhyas than to Pāṇini's work, into categories of time—priority and posteriority. An analogous fallacy would be too apparent to require any remark, if it premised conclusions concerning the chronological relation of works of a totally different

nature and character. It may assume however, as it has done, a certain degree of plausibility if it be applied to works of a similar category.

I must observe, therefore, in adverting to Professor Müller's own words, as before quoted, that the term *vyākaraṇa*, grammar, though constantly and *emphatically* given to Pāṇini's work, has not been applied by any author within my knowledge to a *Prātisākhya* work.<sup>23</sup> This circumstance, however, implies an important fact which must not be overlooked. Tradition, from immemorial times, as every one knows, connects with the Veda a class of works which stand in the most intimate relation to it—the *Vedāṅga* works. One of them is the *Vyākaraṇa*. The *Prātisākhyas* do not belong to them. Thus, tradition even in India, and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish

<sup>23</sup> I may here observe that the full title of Patañjali's Great Commentary is not simply *Mahābhāṣya*, but *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*. The end, for instance, of a chapter in the sixth book of the Great Commentary runs thus: इति श्रीमद्भट्टवल्कि-  
विरचिते व्याकरणशास्त्रे षष्ठीयाध्याये द्वितीयादौ प्रथमादिकम्.

critic will permit me to lay some stress,—does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of the Vaidik literature, those works which *apparently* stand in the closest relation to it,—which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidik texts of the Saṁhitás;—but it has canonized Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns. Is it probable, let me ask, even at this early stage, that tradition would have taken this course if it had looked upon these Pratisákhyas as prior to the work of Pāṇini?

But this question will receive a more direct answer if we compare the aim and the contents of both these classes of works. *Vyākaraṇa* means “*un-doing*,” *i.e.*, analysis, and Pāṇini's Grammar is intended to be a linguistic analysis: it *un-does* words and *un-does* sentences which consist of words; it examines the component parts of a word, and therefore teaches us the properties of base and affix, and all the linguistic phenomena connected with both; it examines the relation, in sentences, of one word to another, and

likewise unfolds all the linguistic phenomena which are inseparable from the meeting of words.

The *Pratisákhyas* have no such aim, and their contents consequently differ materially from those of the *Vyākaraṇa*. Their object is merely the ready-made word, or base, in the condition in which it is fit to enter into a sentence, or into composition with another base, and more especially the ready-made word or base as part of a Vaidik hymn. These works are no wise concerned in analyzing or explaining the nature of a word or base; they take them, such as they occur in the Pada text, and teach the changes which they undergo when they become part of the spoken sentence, *i.e.*, of the spoken hymn. And the consequence implied by these latter words entails, moreover, on the Pratisákhyas the duty of paying especial attention to all the phenomena which accompany the *spoken* words; hence they deal largely with the facts of pronunciation, accent, and the particular mode of sounding a syllable or word in connection with ritual acts.

This brief comparison will already have hinted at the point

of contact which exists between Pāṇini and the authors of these Prātisākhya works. Leaving aside the wider range of the domain of the former, and the narrower field of the Vaidik pursuits of the latter, we may at once infer that both will meet on the ground of phonetic rules, of accentuation, and of the properties of sound; but we shall likewise infer that any other comparison between both would be as irrelevant as if we compared Pāṇini with Sūsruta, or the Prātisākhyas with the Jyotisha.

The aim of both categories of works being entirely different, there is neither a logical nor an historical necessity, nor does there exist a fact or a circumstance which would enable us to conclude, from the absence in these Prātisākhyas of certain grammatical matter, that their authors were not as much conversant with it as Pāṇini, who treats of it, because it is his object, and therefore his duty, to treat of it.

These facts being beyond the reach of doubt, we may again raise an *a-priori* question whether it is more probable that the

*plan* of Pāṇini's work preceded in time the *plan* of a Prātisākhya work, or the reverse?

Throughout a great portion of his admirable Introduction to Pāṇini, Patanjali endeavours to impress on the reader the great importance of grammatical study for promoting the objects of religion and holiness. He shows that a knowledge of language is necessary to a proper understanding of the sacred texts; that no priest is safe in the practice of rites without a thorough comprehension of the grammatical laws which define the nature of sounds and words,—in short, that nothing less than eternal bliss depends very much on the proper and correct use made of words, and, as a consequence, on the study of Pāṇini.

Here, then, we have a distinct definition of the relation of Pāṇini to the Vaidik texts,—a distinct statement of the causes which have produced the *Vyākaraṇa*. And what do they show else, than that Pāṇini must have stood in the midst of a *living* religion, of a creed which understood itself, or at least had still the vigour to try to understand itself?



In Pānini there is organism and life. In the Prātisākhya there is mechanism and death. They do not care for the sense of a word. A word *antaḥ*, for instance, is to them merely a combination of five sounds, nothing else; for whether it represent the nominative of *anta*, "end," or the adverb *antar*, "between," is perfectly indifferent to them. The rule of Kātyāyana's Prātisākhya on this word (II. 26), is, therefore, as dreary as a grammatical rule could ever be imagined to be, and the critical remarks which Professor Weber has attached to this rule merely prove that, on this occasion, also he beats the air.

It does not follow, as I have before observed, that, because linguistic death reigns in these Sūtras, Kātyāyana or their other authors must have been as ignorant of grammar as it would seem if these works made any claim to be grammars at all. It merely follows that, in the period in which they were written, there existed a class of priests who had to be drilled into a proper recital of the sacred texts; and it may follow, too, that this set of men had none of the spirit, learning, and intelligence, which

Patanjali would wish to find in a man who practices religious rites.

In other words, it seems to me that between Pānini's living grammar and these dead Prātisākhyas, there lies a space of time sufficient to create a want, of which a very insignificant trace is perhaps perceptible in some of Pānini's Vaidik rules, but which must have been irresistible at the period of the Prātisākhya works.

In substantiating with material proofs the priority of Pānini's work, I may dispense with giving evidence that Pānini meant, in his eight grammatical books, to concern himself with Vaidik language as well as the language of common life. For I should have simply to quote hundreds of his rules which are entirely devoted to Vaidik texts, and I should have to carry the reader through the whole Introduction of Patanjali, which proves, as I have already mentioned, that one of the chief objects of grammar is the correct apprehension of the hymns. I will merely therefore compare, first some matter treated by Pānini with some matter treated

by the Rik-Pratīśākhya,—such matter, of course, as admits of a point of contact between both, and therefore of a comparison at all. ✓

The fifth chapter of the latter work treats of the cases in which the consonant *s* becomes *śh*; the same subject is comprised in the latter part of the third chapter of Pāṇini's eighth book; but this book does not contain the smallest number of the cases mentioned in the Rik-Pratīśākhya. The same work enumerates in the same chapter the words and classes of words in which *n* becomes *ṇ*, and very few only of these instances are taught by Pāṇini in the last chapter of his work. A similar remark applies with still greater force to a comparison of Pāṇini's rules on the prolongation of vowels with those given by the Rik-Pratīśākhya in its seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters. In short, there is not a single chapter in this work which, whenever it allows of a comparison between its contents and the contents of analogous chapters of Pāṇini's Grammar, must not at once be declared to be infinitely more complete than the rules on them delivered by Pāṇini.

In addressing myself for a like purpose to the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya, I might seem to do that which is superfluous. For, as I have shown before that Pāṇini was not acquainted with a Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, it would require no further proof that he must have preceded a work which is entirely devoted to this collection of hymns. But as such a comparison, being extended also to the Vārtikas, would involve at the same time the question whether the author of the Vārtikas and the author of the Pratīśākhya is the same person or not; and as it would, too, bear on the very appreciation of the character of this Vaidik work, I will enter into it with greater detail than was required for the conclusions which follow from a comparison between the Rik-Pratīśākhya and Pāṇini.

It is a remarkable feature in the explanatory gloss which Professor Weber has attached to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya, that he evinces much pleasure in schooling Kātyāyana for introducing irrelevant matter into his work; now upbraiding him for his remarks on the common dialect, which

ought not to have concerned him in a Sūtra of this kind ; then finding fault with him for treating of words which do not occur in the Vājasneyi-Saṃhitā, and which, likewise, ought not to have troubled him. Professor Weber has given us too, in the beginning of his preface, a valuable collection of instances, which in his opinion prove either that Kātyāyana must have had before him a different version of the White Yajurveda than the one known to us, or that he has botched on to his Prātisākhya a number of rules which, for his purpose, were out of place ; or, to sum up in the words of the *Indische Studien*, already referred to, that Kātyāyana shows neither skill nor practice in his treatment of the matter edited and commented upon by Professor Weber. But what would the latter think if Kātyāyana applied this very reproach to him ? if he told Professor Weber that he did not even understand the character of the Prātisākhya which he was editing and subjecting to all this learned criticism ?

Let me, then, take the place of Kātyāyana, and maintain for him, that he is not only the very same Kātyāyana who wrote the

Vārttikas to Pāṇini, but that his Vājasneyi-Prātisākhya has the double aim of being a Vaidik treatise as well as of containing *criticisms on Pāṇini*. And let me, therefore, tell Professor Weber that since there is abundant proof of this view in Kātyāyana's Vaidik work, all his handsome epithets are put out of court. And this, I hold, will also settle the question why we meet with so many Sūtras in Kātyāyana which are identical with those of Pāṇini ; for we shall presently see that this identity is merely an apparent one, and, in reality, no identity at all.

I will take this point up first, and show that Kātyāyana merely repeated the words of Pāṇini in order to attach his critical notes to them, just as I sometimes literally repeated the words of Professor Weber himself, merely for the purpose of improving on him.

Pāṇini says (I. 1, 60) *adāriṇaṃ lopah*. "This is not distinct enough," I hear Kātyāyana say ; hence he writes (I. 141) *ṛṇasyūlarīṇaṃ lopah*.—Pāṇini gives the definition : (I. 2, 29. 30) *uchchhair udāttaḥ and nīchhair anudāttaḥ*. "So far so good," I suppose Kātyāyana to say ; "but you give the necessary com-

plement of these two rules in the words (I. 2, 31) 'samāhārahā svaritāḥ'; I object to this definition, for the svarita would better have been defined thus, "ubhayaṛān svaritāḥ" (K. I. 108-110).—P. I. 2, 32: *tasṃdāḍita udāttaṃ ardhakrasvaṃ*; but K. I. 126: *tasṃdāḍita udāttaṃ swarārdhamātram*.—P. VIII. 4, 67, 68: *nodāttaṃ svaritodayam* (with the quotation of a dissent on the part of Gārgya, Kāśvapa, and Gālava); *udāttaḍ anudāttaṃ svaritāḥ*. The former rule is approved of by Kātyāyana, who repeats it literally, but the latter he words thus: *udāttaḥ chānudāttaṃ svaritāṃ* (IV. 140, 134).—P. I. 1, 8: *mukhanāsikāvacchano 'nunāsikāḥ*; but K. I. 75: *mukhanāsikākarano 'nunāsikāḥ*.—P. I. 1, 9: *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarnam*. "Would it not be clearer," we hear Kātyāyana say, "to give this definition thus: (K. I. 43) *samānasthānakaranāsya-prayatnaḥ savarnāḥ*."—P. VI. 1, 84: *ekāḥ pūrvaparayoh*; but K. IV. 49: *athaitam uttarach cha*.—P. I. 1, 66: *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*. "This rule I adopt," Kātyāyana probably thought, (I. 134) "but for your next rule (I. 1, 67), *tasmād ity uttarasya*, I prefer the clearer wording" (I. 135) *tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ*,

"and your *ślokaḥ sthāneyogā* (I. 1, 49), evidently a rule which you ought to have put with those two preceding Paribhāṣā rules which are its complement, instead of separating it from them by seventeen other rules, I place it, therefore, immediately after these" (I. 136).

I will not add more instances of the same kind; they have all been carefully collected by Professor Weber; but he is far from perceiving that the identity between the language of both authors is merely an apparent one, and that the additional words of Kātyāyana, either in the same Sūtra or in one immediately following, but intimately connected with it, are so many criticisms on Pāṇini, which are even made more prominent by the repetition of a certain amount of Pāṇini's words. For to assume, even without any of the further proofs which I shall adduce, that Kātyāyana first delivered his clearer and better Sūtras, and that Pāṇini hobbled after him with his imperfect ones, is not very probable.

The following synopsis of rules is an extract from those I have collected for the purpose of determining whether it could be

a matter of accident that the Pratisákhyas Sūtras of Kātyāyana are, to a considerable extent, nothing but Vārtikas to Pāṇini.

Pāṇini writes (VIII. 2, 87), "*om abhyūdāne*," which rule proves that in his time *om* was not confined to Vaidik use only; but Kātyāyana writes (I. 18 and 19), "*omkāraṁ vedeshu*" and "*āthakāram bhāshyeshu*." No doubt if Kātyāyana had not written with a direct glance at Pāṇini, this latter rule would be out of place, but in this combination its origin becomes intelligible. P. says (VIII. 1, 46), "*ehi manye prahāse lṛi*." Though this rule does not treat of the accent of *manye*, it nevertheless would follow from other rules of Pāṇini, that *manye* is ādyudātta in its combination with *ehi*. This inference is emphatically corrected by K. 2, 15 : *manye padapūrvam sarvatra*. Professor Weber, it is true, says that this word *sarvatra*—which embodies the *emphasis* of the censure of Kātyāyana—is meaningless : once more, no-doubt, Kātyāyana has bungled through "want of practice and skill." How much Pāṇini's rules VIII. 1, 19 and 72, *āmantrītya cha*, and *āmantrītam pūrvam aridyamānavat*, are the torment of com-

mentators, may be seen from many instances in Sāyana's Commentary on the R̥gveda. K. improves them considerably by II. 17 and 18 : *padapūrvam āmantrītam anānārthe 'pādādan* and *tenānantarā shashṭy ekapadavat*.—K. writes II. 22 : *bhūtir ādyudātta* : this rule again rouses the critical indignation of Professor Weber. "Why," he exclaims, "is this word singled out (by Kātyāyana)? Assuredly, it is not the single *kṛin* formation in the V. S." My answer is, because Kātyāyana had studied Pāṇini, and Professor Weber, it is clear, has not; for Pāṇini says, III. 3, 96, that *bhūti* is *antodātta* in the Veda; and Kātyāyana therefore singled this word out with the decided intention of stating that in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā Pāṇini's rule would be erroneous. This instance, I hold, moreover, is one of those which add some weight to the proof I have already given, that Pāṇini did not know, and therefore preceded, the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā.—K. says, II. 48, *devatādvandvāni chānāmantrīni*; and his words are a distinct criticism on P. VI. 2, 141, *devatādvandvā cha*.—In rule VIII. 3, 36, Pāṇini teaches that Visarjaniya may remain such (or, as

the Sūtra expresses itself, on account of previous Sūtras, may become Visarjanīya), before sibilants, or may become assimilated to the following sibilant. But he committed the venial offence of not stating that this latter alternative rests on the authority of Śākāṭyana, and the former on that of Śākalya. Could Kātyāyana, therefore, forego the opportunity of writing (III. 8): "*pratyaya-sacaranam mudi Śākāṭyanaḥ*," and (III. 9), "*avikāraṁ Śākālyah śashaseshu*" ?—In VI. 1, 134, Pāṇini gives a comprehensive rule on the elision of the final *s* in regard to the Vaidik use of the nominative of *taḍ*. "No," says Kātyāyana (III. 14), "in the V. S. this elision occurs before vowels only in two instances: *sa ośadhīmayaḥ*."—K. (III. 22) says *āvīr nir īḍa īḍāyā vasatīr varivah*, and thus criticises the imperfection of P.'s rule VIII. 3, 54, *īḍāyā vā*.—In III. 27, *adhvano rajaso riśah sprīṣas pātau*, he shows the clumsiness of P.'s rule VIII. 3, 52, *pātau cha bahulam*; in III. 30, *parāv arasāne*, the imperfection of P.'s VIII. 3, 51, *pañchamyāḥ parāv adhyarthe*; in III. 55, *bhāvi-bhyah sah śhoṁ samānapade*, that of P.'s VIII. 3, 59, *ādesapratyayayoh*.—In the Sūtras III. 56 and 57, Kātyāyana teaches that the

intervention of *anuswāra*, *k* and *r* do not prevent *s* from becoming *śh*, if this change would have to take place otherwise. "These rules," says Professor Weber, "have no business here, for Sañhita and Pada-text agree in this respect, and these rules are quite general grammatical rules;" and in support of this argument he quotes Uvāṭa, who also points out the superfluity. The latter consoles us for it, it is true, by the remark that a man should not complain if he found honey though he intended only to fetch fuel, or a fish though his object were to fetch water, or fruits though he went out merely to pluck flowers. But as Professor Weber is not so easily consoled, and not so leniently disposed towards Kātyāyana as Uvāṭa is, I may tell him that these rules are levelled against Pāṇini's rules VIII. 3, 57 and 58, which omit to include *r*. At II. 55, *dvandvaṁ cendrasomapūrvam pūshāgnivāyusha*, Professor Weber discharges a witicism. "None of the compounds" (referred to in the Sūtra), he says, "occur in the V. S. or the Śat. Br. . . . How is that to be explained? Did our Homer nod when he composed this rule? or did he have before him passages

of the V. S. which it no longer contains [Professor Weber probably meant to say, 'which was not the V. S. we now possess']? or is the text of our Sūtra corrupt, and have we to read another word for *sōma*?" I will try to relieve his anxiety by expressing the belief that this Sūtra and the next, II. 56, are criticisms on Pāṇini's general rule VI. 2, 141, and on his special rule VI. 2, 142.—The rule of Pāṇini VIII. 3, 107, *suñah*, is criticised in three Sūtras of Kātyāyana III. 59, 60, 61, *okātāt su*; *och chāprikātāt*, and *abheś cha*.

The Vārttika 3 to III. 3, 108 says *varnāt kārāḥ*; K. I. 37, *kāreṇa cha*; both are identical in their contents, and complete Pāṇini's rule III. 3, 108. The same remark applies to the Vārttika 4 to P. III. 3, 108, *rād īphah*, and to K. I. 40, *ra ephena cha*, in reference to the same rule of Pāṇini.—K. III. 38, *aharpatau repam*, points out an omission in P. VIII. 2, 70: the same criticism is conveyed by the Vārttika 2 to this Sūtra of Pāṇini, *aharādnām patyādīshu*.—K. III. 12, *luṅ mudī jītpare* fills up a blank in P. VIII. 3, 36, *vā śari*; and likewise a Vārttika on this Sūtra to the same effect, *vā śarprakarane kharpare lopah*.—P.'s rule VI. 3, 109,

*prishodarādñi yathopadisham*, is criticised by K. III. 41 and 42, *ukāram dur de* and *nāse cha*, as well as by a Vārttika to the former rule, which has the same contents: *duro dāsanāśadabhadhyeshkūtvam vaktaryam uttarapadādes cha śhūtvam*.—A Vārttika to the same rule of P., *shasha uvam datridāśasūttarapadādeḥ śhūtvam cha*, is identical in contents with K. III. 46, *śhaḍ dāśatonṭayoh saṁkhyā-vayorthayoh cha*: both are criticisms on P. VI. 3, 109.—The first Vārttika to III. 2, 49 (improperly marked, like the two others, in the Calcutta edition, as if these Vārttikas did not occur in the Mahābhāshya), *dārāv āhano ṇṇantyaśya cha taḥ sanjñāyam*, is similar in contents with K. III. 47, *ta āghād anādāmbarāt*: both complete P. III. 2, 49, *āsish hanah*.—The important omission in P.'s Sūtra VIII. 4, 1, *rashābhyān no naḥ samānapade*, is, with almost a literal reference to these words, criticised by K.'s III. 83, *ṛisharebhyo nakáro nakāraṁ samānapade*, and by his Vārttika to the former rule, *rashābhyāṁ natva ṛikārugrahaṇam*.

I need not increase the foregoing quotations by a comparison of the contents of whole chapters of the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya with the

analogous contents of whole chapters in Pāṇini. For, though the result would be exactly the same as it has been in the case of our comparison between the *Rik-Prātisākhya* and Pāṇini's work, even the isolated Sūtras which I have contrasted in these quotations sufficiently show that Pāṇini could never have laid his Grammar open to such numerous criticisms as he has done, if the work of Kātyāyana had been composed before his own. My synopsis, moreover, shows that many rules of Kātyāyana become utterly inexplicable in his Prātisākhya work *unless they be judged in their intimate connection with the Grammar of Pāṇini*. And, as it is simply ridiculous to assume that "Homer constantly nodded" in writing an elaborate work, which evidences considerable skill and practice in the art of arranging the matter of which he treats, there is no other conclusion left than that the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana had the twofold aim which I have indicated above.

There might, however, remain a doubt as to whether Kātyāyana first wrote his Prātisākhyas or his Vārttikas to Pāṇini. Two reasons induce me to think that his Prātisākhya preceded his

Vārttikas. In the first place, because the contrary assumption would lead to the very improbable inference that a scholar like Kātyāyana, who has given such abundant proof of his thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, left a considerable number of Pāṇini's rules without those emendations which, as we must now admit, are embodied in his Prātisākhya work. If we made a supposition of this kind, we should imply by it that he belongs to that class of authors who present their writings in a hurried and immature state, and, upon an after thought, make their apology in an appendix or an additional book. If we assume, on the other hand, that he first wrote his Prātisākhya Sūtras, which neither imposed upon him the task, nor gave him an opportunity, of making a thorough review of Pāṇini, we can understand that they might have seduced him now and then into allowing himself to be carried away by the critical tendency which he afterwards fully developed in his Vārttikas; and we can then, too, understand why these Vārttikas treat merely of those Sūtras of Pāṇini which were not included in his former work.



My second reason for this view is derived from a comparison between such of his Sūtras and such of his Vārttikas as are closely related to one another. For if we examine the contents and the wording of either we cannot fail to perceive that some of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas show an improvement on some of his Sūtras, and we may infer that they were given on account of this very improvement. Thus the Vārttika to VIII. 3, 36, quoted before, contains the word *vá*, which is not in the Sūtra III. 12; the Vārttika *dhro*, &c., to VI. 3, 109 embraces more formations than the Sūtras III. 41 and 42; the Vārttikas 1-3 to III. 2, 49 do not contain, it is true, the word *ádambara* alluded to in III. 47—perhaps because it was already contained in this Sūtra—but increase considerably the contents of this rule; the Vārttika 2 to VIII. 2, 70 treats of a whole Gana, while the Sūtra III. 38 merely names its heading word; and so on. Nor could we forego such a comparison on the ground that there is a difference of purpose in the Sūtras which are attached to the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, and in the Vārttikas, which are connected with Pānini,—that,

consequently, an improvement of the Vārttikas on the Pratisākhya need not tell on the chronological relation between both. For we have seen that Kātyāyana's Pratisākhya does *not* strictly confine itself to the language of his Samhitā or even to that of the Vedas in general. Already the instances given before would suffice to bear out this fact, in the appreciation of which I so entirely differ from Professor Weber's views; and a striking instance of this kind is afforded by Kātyāyana's Sūtra III. 42, quoted before. It treats of a case entirely irrelevant for the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā; this case is taken up again and enlarged upon in a Vārttika to VI. 3, 109, and there is no reason why the additions made in this Vārttika might not have been entitled with equal right to a place amongst Kātyāyana's Sūtras, as Sūtra III. 42 itself. Their not standing there shows to my mind that this Vārttika is later than this rule of the Pratisākhya work.

It will readily be seen that I have arrived at the result of the priority of Pānini's work to the Pratisākhya of Kātyāyana, in entire independence of all the assistance which I might have

derived from my previous arguments. I have hitherto abstained from availing myself of their aid, because an inference must gain in strength if it be able to show that two entirely distinct lines of argument necessarily lead to the same goal. Such is the case with the question before us. For if we now appeal, once more, to the important information which Patanjali supplied, viz., that the “*anubandhas* of former grammarians have no grammatical effect in the work of Pāṇini :” in other words, that if a grammarian uses *anubandhas* employed by Pāṇini in the same manner as he did, his work must have been written after Pāṇini’s work,—we need only point to the *pratāyāhara tīg*, in Kātyāyana’s Sūtra I. 27, in order to be relieved from any doubt that Pāṇini’s grammar is prior to the Sūtra of Kātyāyana. That Kātyāyana added in his Sūtras other technical terms to those of Pāṇini, cannot be a matter of surprise; indeed, it is even less remarkable than it would be under ordinary circumstances if we consider that he made—either as inventor or as borrowing from older grammarians—such additions to the terminology of Pāṇini in his very Vārtikas, where

one would think there was the least necessity for them,—where, for instance, he might have easily done without such new terms as *sit*, *pit*, *jīt*, *jhit*, *ghu*, in the sense in which he uses them.<sup>29</sup>

Thus far my *literary* argument on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the Prātisākhya works. The *historical* proof, that not only the work of Pāṇini, but *Pāṇini himself*, preceded, by at least two generations, the author of the oldest *Prātisākhya*, requires in the first place, the remark that by the latter designation I mean the Prātisākhya of the R̥gveda hymns.

Since Professor Weber, in his introduction to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya has given proofs that this work as well

<sup>29</sup> Vārtika 1 to Pāṇini I. 1, 68 : विततिद्विषावां युषावर्धेत्; Vārtika 2 : द्विषवो-  
यवचनस्य च स्वावर्धेत्; Vārtika 3 : द्विषोऽयवचनस्यैव रावावर्धेत्; Vārtika 4 :  
विततस्य च तद्विषयावां च मत्स्यावर्धेत्.—In his Kārikā to VII. 1, 21 (compare note  
114) Kātyāyana uses the term *घु* in the sense of उत्तरपद, as results from the com-  
mentary of Patanjali.—Kārikā : लोपवी etc.—Patanjali : लोपवाविति वक्तव्यम् । वि-  
निदमवाविति । अनुत्तरपद इति etc.—The same term *घु* occurs in Patanjali’s Kārikā  
to VI. 4, 149 (see note 121) : ... लोपो ऽन्विषद्विष्यच्च etc., when Kaiyaṣa observes :  
बुधदेवोत्तरपदं पूर्वाचार्यमविकीर्यते.

as the Atharvaveda-Pratīśākhya—and I infer too, that of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā—are more recent than the Rik-Pratīśākhya, and since these reasons are conclusive to my mind, I need not, by the addition of other proof to that which he has afforded us on this point, weaken the great pleasure I feel, in being able, for once in a way, to coincide with him in his views.

It is necessary, however, that I should first touch in a few words on the question of the authorship of this Rik-Pratīśākhya. It is adverted to in the first verse of this work, in a passage which contains all the information we possess on this point. The passage in question runs thus: “After having adored Brahma, Śaunaka expressed the characteristic feature of the R̥g-veda verses.”

Now, as it is not unusual in Sanskrit writings for the author to introduce himself in the commencement of his work by giving his name, and speaking of himself in the third person, this verse alone would not justify us in looking upon the words quoted as *necessarily* containing a mere report of Śaunaka's having delivered certain rules which another later author brought into the shape of the Rik-

Pratīśākhya as we now find it. But it must be admitted, also, that it does not absolutely compel us to ascribe this work to Śaunaka himself. It leaves us free to interpret its sense according to the conclusions which must be derived from the contents of the work itself.

These contents have already required us to establish the priority of Pāṇini's Grammar to this Pratīśākhya work. If, then, we find that Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an ancient authority,<sup>20</sup> while there is no evidence to show that the Śaunaka named in both works is not the same personage, there is from the point of view of my former '*literary*' argument, a certainty that Śaunaka was *not* the author of the Pratīśākhya here named.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> IV. 3, 103: पुराणप्रोक्तं ब्राह्मणकथ्ये; 106: दीनकादिभ्यश्च. Compare also page 149.

<sup>21</sup> This is the view, too, of *L'œta*, the commentator on this Pratīśākhya. He says that Śaunaka's name is mentioned for the sake of remembering him: शाणक्यं स्मरणाय. See Mr. Regnier's edition of the Rik-P. in the Journal Asiatique, vol. VII. (1856), p. 183.

This inference, however, it must be admitted, is only entitled to be mentioned thus at the beginning of the *historical* argument, in so far as it may *afterwards* strengthen and corroborate it, but not, if it had to be used in order to premise the conclusions which will have to be drawn.

Another preliminary remark, also, must be devoted to the sweeping assertion of Professor Weber, already quoted, which is to this effect, that "sameness of names can never prove the identity of the persons" who bear these names. It is true he qualifies this *dictum* by adding after "names," "like Kátyáyana;" but, even with this restriction, I cannot convince myself that literary criticism gains in strength by carrying Pyrrhonism beyond the confines of common sense. If great celebrity attaches to a name in certain portions of Sanskrit literature; and if the same name re-occurs in other and *kindred* portions of this same literature, I believe we are not only free, but compelled, to infer that the personage bearing this name in both such places is the same personage, unless there be particular and *good* reasons which

would induce us to arrive at a contrary conclusion. I thus hold that a critic has no right to obtrude his doubts upon us until he has given good and substantial reasons for them.

After this expression of dissent from the critical principles of Professor Weber, I may now recall the fact I have mentioned on a previous occasion (p. 80), that there is a grammatical work, in a hundred thousand Slokas, called *Sangraha*, whose author is *Vyádi* or *Vyáti*. I know of no other grammatical work bearing this name or *Sangraha*, nor of any other celebrated grammarian named *Vyádi*. Both names, however, are not unfrequently met with in the grammatical literature. *Vyádi* is quoted several times in the *Rik-Pratishákhya*,<sup>22</sup> and there is no valid reason for doubting that he is there the same person as the author of the *Sangraha*. This same work and its author are sometimes alluded to in the illustrations which the commentators give of the Sûtras to Páṇini or the

<sup>22</sup> Rik-P. III, 14. 17; VI, 12; XIII, 12. 15. See Mr. Regnier's *Index des noms propres* to his edition of the Rik-Pratishákhya, s.v. Vyáti.



If we now turn to Pāṇini himself, we have it on the authority of Patanjali that his mother bore the name of *Dākṣhī*.<sup>228</sup> And

ing the genuineness of this *Sūtra* on account of there being no *Blāshya* to it (compare note 139), for Patanjali refers to it in his comment on the fifth *Paribhāṣā* (in the Calc. ed.) to I. 1, 72 and has also, amongst others, the instance *दाषायबः*; viz. (ed. Ballantyne, p. 795); *Paribhāṣā*: *प्रत्ययपूर्व चापस्तम्भाः* । *प्रत्ययपूर्व च अपस्तम्भाः* प्रयो-  
जन् । यच्चोः परमवति । नाम्नीयबः । वात्स्यायनः । परमनाम्नीयबः परमवा-  
त्स्यायनः । दाषायबः । परमदाषायबः etc.—That *Dākṣhīyapa* is the *guru*, not the  
son of *Dākṣhī* is sufficiently clear from the *Kāśikā* itself, since it refers to IV. 1, 94.  
For this reason it also gives as an instance of a *guru* to I. 2, 66, besides *नाम्नीयबः*  
and *वात्स्यायन* (omitted in the Calc. ed.), the word *दाषायबः*.—Patanjali contents  
himself with the instance *नाम्नीयबः*; but it commences its counter-instance to II.  
4, 58 in this way: *चक्षिभोरिति किम्* । *दाक्षेपत्वं युवा दाषायबः*. We must,  
consequently, consider it an inaccuracy when the same *Kāśikā* gives its counter-  
instance to II. 4, 60 in these words: *प्राचामिति किम्* । *दाक्षिः पिता* । *दाषायबः*  
युवः. The Calcutta edition continues it, and Dr. Boehtlingk, of course, reprints it  
without a single remark. In short, whenever we open his discreditable reprint, we  
understand perfectly well why he writes in his preface, p. xxxviii.: “The Calcutta  
edition is very correct, so much so that only on the very rarest occasions have I had an  
opportunity of preferring the readings of the Manuscripts.”

<sup>228</sup> *Kāśikā* to I. 1, 20: *सर्वे सर्वपददिया दाक्षिपुष्य पाणिनेः* etc.

*Dākṣhī*, again, is, on the faith of all commentators on a rule of Pāṇini, the female family head of the progeny of Dakṣha, standing in the same relationship to Dakṣha as the male family chief *Dākṣhī*; she is, in other words, the oldest sister (*priddhā*) of the latter per-  
sonage.<sup>229</sup> Vyādi, therefore, was a *near relative of Pāṇini*, and Pāṇini must have preceded him by *at least two generations*.

<sup>229</sup> Pāṇini, VI. 4, 148: *यस्मैति च*.—Patanjali: *एवर्षान्नस्मैति किमुदाहरत्वं हे दाक्षा दाक्षेयः* । *हे दाक्षि इति यदि सोपो न स्मात्* etc.—*Kāśiyapa*: *एवर्षान्नस्मैति* । *हे दाक्षी-  
ति* । *दाक्षिप्रवृत्तदितो मनुष्यजातेरिति* (MS. *हे दाक्षेपिदिक्षिप्र०*) (IV. 1, 66) *स्त्रीचि  
कृते तस्य संजुषी इत्ये कृते* etc.—IV. 1, 65: *इतो मनुष्यजातेः*.—*Kāśikā*.... *दाक्षी*....  
—IV. 1, 94: *नोपाबूबस्त्रियाम्*.—*Kāśikā*.... *चस्त्रियामिति किम्* । *दाक्षी*....—I. 2,  
66: *स्त्री पुंवश्च* (where *स्त्री* implies in reference to the preceding *Sūtra* *युवा स्त्री*, i.e. the  
eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant, considered as the female head of the  
family).—*Kāśikā*: *युवो युनेति* (I. 2, 66) *च सर्वम्* । *स्त्री युवा युवा सह ययने विष्यते* ।  
*तद्वचस्येदिव विधेयो भवति* । *पुंव एवास्माः* (thus MS. 829; MS. 2440 *एवास्माः*)  
*कायै भवति* । *स्यैवः पुमर्षवद्भवति* । *नारी च नाम्नीयवच्च नाम्नी* । *वात्सी च वा-  
त्स्यायवच्च वात्सी* । *दाक्षी च दाषायवच्च दाक्षी* (thus MS. 2440; MS. 829 *दाक्षी*).

Now since the Rik-Prátisákhyā quotes Vyádi, as we have seen, on several occasions, and since the Prátisákhyā of Kátyáyana is more recent than this work, I must leave it to the reader to determine how many generations must, in all probability, have separated Pánini from the author of the Rik-Prátisákhyā on the one hand, and from the author of the Vájasaneyi-Prátisákhyā and the Várttikas on the other.

After this statement, which, I fear, is entirely fatal to a great many chronological assumptions which have hitherto been regarded as fully established, *and to the critical and linguistic results which have been built on these assumptions*, it is not necessary—but it will nevertheless be interesting—to see that modern and ancient grammatical authorities contain additional testimony to the conclusion I have here arrived at.

When explaining the uncritical condition of the Paribhāṣā collections, I pointed out that if they were looked upon as an indivisible whole, there could be no doubt that they must be later than Pāṇini,—since one of them uses the word *Pāṇīnya*. I

pointed out, too, that the compilers of these collections, Vaidyanátha, for instance, must have taken this view of their chronological relation to Páṇini. Now at the end of the *Laghuparibhāṣā-vṛtti* we read that "some ascribe the composition of all the Paribhāṣās to the Muni Vyāṭi."<sup>40</sup> They must consequently have considered him as posterior to Páṇini.

I will at once, however, ascend to the author of the Great Commentary. In illustrating the first Vārttika to Pāṇini's rule VI. 2, 36, Patanjali writes down the following compound : *Āpisāla-Pāṇiniya-Vyādīya-Gautamīyāḥ*.<sup>21</sup> It tells its own tale : it names first the disciples of *Āpisāli*—of whom we know, through Pāṇini himself, that he preceded him,—then those of *Pāṇini*,

200 *Laghuparibhāṣavṛtti*: इदं भर्तृहरिवचनम् । केचित्तु व्याख्यात (the first Paribhāṣa) इत्यादिपरिभाषा व्याख्यैर्भविष्यता इत्याहुः:-

२४ Páinī, VI. 2, 38: आषाढीपसर्वनातिवासी.—Káryāna: आषाढीपसर्वने  
 ऽनेकस्यापि पूर्वपदत्वात्संदेहः.—Patañjali: आषाढीपसर्वने ऽनेकस्यापि पदस्य पूर्वपद-  
 त्वात्संदेहो भवति । आपिश्रवणविधीयवाहीचनीतीमाः..

afterwards those of *Vyādi*, and ultimately those of *Gautama*. There can be no doubt that we have here a sequence of grammarians who wrote one after the other; but, if any doubt still existed, it would be dispelled by the grammatical properties of the compound itself; for a Vārttika to II. 2, 34, teaches that—unless there be reasons to prevent it—the name of the more important part must come first in a Dvandwa compound; and for a similar reason other Vārttikas teach that, for instance, in forming such a compound of the names of seasons, the name of the earliest season in the year must precede that of a subsequent one; or in compounding the names of castes, they must follow one another in their natural order; or in making a Dvandwa of the names of two brothers, the name of the older has precedence of the name of the younger.<sup>23</sup> But as none of the grammatical reasons taught

<sup>23</sup> Pāṇini, II. 2, 34: *अन्त्यान्तरम्*.—Vārttika 3 (of the Calc. ed.) *अन्वहितं च*.—*Patanjali*: *अन्वहितं पूर्वं विपत्तीति वक्तव्यम् । मातृपितरौ ब्रह्मणे च*.—Vārttika 2 (of the Calc. ed.) *अनुवचनानामनुपूर्वेण समानाचारात्*.—*Patanjali*: *अनुवचना-*

by Pāṇini in previous rules would compel the component parts of the compound alleged to assume another order than that which they have, we can only interpret their sequence in the manner I have stated.<sup>24</sup> ✓

The descent from the height of the *Pratīśākhya*s to the level plain of the *Phitsūtras* would almost seem to require an explanation. Before I give it, however, I will refer to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, and state its opinion on the rela-

*सामानुपूर्वेण समानाचाराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः । त्रिचिरवसनी*.—Vārttika 5 (of the Calc. ed.) *वर्षानामनुपूर्वेण*.—*Patanjali*: *वर्षाणां चानुपूर्वेण पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । ग्राह्यवचनविद्वद्भिरुदाः*.—Vārttika 6 (of the Calc. ed.) *आनुवचनव्यवहारः*.—*Patanjali*: *आनुवचनव्यवहारः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । दुचिचिरानुलो-*

<sup>24</sup> Such a reason would be, for instance, if one part of the compound belonged to the words technically called *चि* (I. 4, 7—9); for in such a case the base *चि* would have precedence of a base ending in *च* (compare II. 2, 32). On this account the names of the three grammarians, Śākalya, Gārgya and Vyādi, form in the *Rik-Pratīśākhya*, XIII. 12, the *dvandwa*: *वाकिशाक्यगार्गी*.



tion of these Sūtras to Pāṇini. It is contained in the following words : <sup>24</sup>

“As to Śāntana's Phitsūtras, we know with less certainty to what period they belong. A knowledge of them is not presupposed by Pāṇini, and the grammatical terms used by Śāntana are different from those employed by Pāṇini,—a fact from which Professor Boehtlingk has ingeniously concluded that Śāntana must have belonged to the eastern school of grammarians. As, however, these Sūtras treat only of the accent, and the accent is used in the Vedic language only, the subject of Śāntana's work would lead us to suppose that he was anterior to Pāṇini, though it would be unsafe to draw any further conclusion from this.”

Once more I am unable to assent to the arguments of my learned predecessor on this subject. If the knowledge of a work, as he admits, is not presupposed by Pāṇini, it would seem to follow that such a work is not anterior but posterior to him, since it is scarcely

probable that he could have ignored the information it contains. Nor has Professor Müller given any evidence to show that the contents of the Phitsūtras are restricted to the Vaidik language only. On the contrary, the great bulk of the words treated of in these Sūtras belongs with equal right, and, in some respect, with much greater right, to the classical language, in preference to that of the Vaidik hymns or Brāhmaṇas. And as no word can be pronounced without an accent, it is not intelligible why such a treatise should not be of as great importance for the student who recites the Mahābhārata as for the priest who reads the R̥gveda poetry. Pāṇini himself has, indeed, embraced in his rules on accentuation a great number of words no trace of which occurs in the Saṁhitās. But even if the statement made by Professor Müller were unobjectionable, why should it follow that an author who— and because he—writes on a Vaidik subject, must, or is even likely to, be anterior to an author who treats of the classical literature? And Pāṇini moreover treated of both.

As little as I can adopt, on these premises, the conclusions Prof.

<sup>24</sup> Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 152.

Müller draws, so little can I join in the compliments he pays to the ingenuity of Dr. Boehtlingk.<sup>245</sup> For since Pāṇini himself, as I have

<sup>245</sup> As in the case of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini, and of the Uṇṣādī-Sūtras, the edition of the Phitsūtras also was entrusted by Dr. Boehtlingk to his compositor, who reprinted the text of these Sūtras from the Calcutta edition of the Siddhānta-kaumudī.—The difficulties offered by these Sūtras are not inconsiderable, and might have yielded good materials for many remarks. Dr. Boehtlingk's Commentary on them consists of 32 lines, which contain the substance of about 12, nearly all of which are insignificant. Even his very small Index to the Sūtras is imperfect; for it omits the Sūtra चञ्चति पादाक्षि which he mistook for a part of the commentary on IV. 15, and the Sūtra उपसर्गोच्चा-भिवर्त्त which also he has reprinted as if it were a portion of the commentary on IV. 12, though he himself is doubtful as to its proper position there. He professes, too, to have given an Index of the contents, "for those who mean to pursue the subject." But as one of the latter, I had to make a thorough Index of all the technical symbols in the Sūtras, and also of a good number of real words which occur in the commentary and text, but which, in accordance with his notion of an Index, or through his usual inaccuracy, are omitted in his Index; e.g. चञ्चत्त II. 13; चदिति IV. 15; चमि IV. 13; चम्वा I. 2; चाल्म I. 4; चाचर्वत्त IV. 11; दृष्ट्वा III. 19; चतु II. 22; छक्-त्त II. 22; छपिक्वा I. 21; छपिम् II. 8, and very many more. Of compounds he has never enabled the reader to find the latter part; and such general terms as चदात्त, सति, अनुदात्त, चत्त etc., which are as indispensable for a student as the

shown before, makes use of the terms *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, *tritīyā*, *chaturthī*, etc., and of *auṅ*, *āṅ* (in the sense of an instrumental in the singular),<sup>246</sup> all of which are terms of the eastern grammarians, and, as everyone knows that Pāṇini did not belong to them, I can see no ingenuity in assigning Śāntana to this school on the sole ground of his having used terms which differ from those of Pāṇini; especially when these terms have no grammatical influence whatever, like the anubandhas of Pāṇini, and are not distinctly defined in the commentary as terms of the eastern grammarians.<sup>247</sup>

individual words themselves, are of course, also omitted. And all these remarks are suggested by the *edition* of a text which comprises no more than 88 Sūtras. It is, of course, needless for me to add that the trouble of consulting or using a very valuable commentary on these Sūtras, the *Phitsūtra-rīti*, does not enter into the plan of an editor whose activity in editing grammatical Sanskrit texts only consists in putting the printed Calcutta works into different type.

<sup>246</sup> See notes 197, 220, and Pāṇini, VII. 3, 105.

<sup>247</sup> Dr. Boehtlingk enumerates the terms which induced him to draw the inference alluded to by Müller, that Śāntana belonged to the eastern grammarians; and he adds, also the Sūtras where they occur, viz. चत्त II. 4, 19, 26; ऋत्त II. 3; दमत्तत्त

✱The real reasons for this assumption, which I share in, must, in my opinion, be sought for elsewhere; and as they are connected with the question of the chronological relation of the Phitsútras to Pāṇini, I will first explain why I speak of them after the Prátisákhya works.

It is because they stand on the same linguistic ground as the latter writings, and because it was safer to survey this ground in the wider field of the Prátisákhya literature than in the narrow precincts of the Sútras of Śántana. This having been done, we need now merely recall the results obtained.

II. 18; चिट् II. 6; सिक् II. 16; इय् II. 25. Amongst these, सिक् does not occur in the text of the Sútras of Bhaṭṭoji, but is a *various reading* mentioned by him in his commentary, which reports on *this various reading* that it is a term of the eastern grammarians. The text of his Sútras has इय् instead of सिक्. As to the other quotations given by Dr. Boehtlingk, *not one* tells us that these terms are terms of the eastern grammarians. There was, consequently, not a particle of evidence to draw from *them* that inference which he so positively draws. It is a mere guess, the probable correctness of which is corroborated, but by such evidence as never occurred to him.

We have seen that the Prátisákhya represent the mechanic treatment of the language, unlike Pāṇini's method, which is organic and shows the growth and life of the language he spoke. The same is the case in these Phitsútras. Whereas Pāṇini endeavours to explain the accent of words by connecting it with the properties of the word,—whereas he seeks for organic *laws* in the accents of uncompounded or compounded words and, only reluctantly, as it were, abandons this path whenever he is unable to assign a general reason for his rules,—the Phitsútras, like the Prátisákhya, deal merely with the ready-made word,<sup>24</sup> and attach to it those mechanical rules which bewilder and confuse, but must have been well adapted for an intellectual condition fitted for admiring the Prátisákhya works. They belong, in my opinion, like the Prátisákhya, not to the flourishing times of Hindu antiquity, but to its decadence.

<sup>24</sup> Phitsútra, I. 1: किंो ऽन्त उदात्तः.—Phitsútravṛtti: . . . . . अर्धवद्व्यागुरमन्वः (comp. Pāp. I. 2, 45) चिट् । छत्तित्तवमावाचैति (comp. Pāp. I. 2, 46).—Compare also the end of note 253.

In the second place, we have seen that on the ground which is common to both, the Prātisākyas possess a far greater amount of linguistic material than Pānini does; and we had to conclude that Pānini could on no account have ignored the knowledge they conveyed, had they existed before his time. Precisely the same remark applies to the little treatise of Śāntana; for, brief as it is, it is richer in many respects than the *analogous* chapter which Pānini devoted to the same subject; and it would be inconceivable that Pānini should bring forward his rules, so much more incomplete in *substance* than the Phitsútras, had they been the precursor of his work.

But, thirdly, we were compelled to admit that, at least, one of the Prātisākyas, that of Kātyāyana, was written with the direct intention of completing and criticising Pānini; and I may here observe, that Professor Weber has, with very good reasons, assigned to this grammarian a place within the Eastern school. These features, too, characterise the tract of Śāntana.

Some of his rules are delivered with the evident purpose of criticising Pānini, and we meet on one occasion with the remark of the commentator that the *eastern grammarians* point out the difference between a rule of Pānini and one of Śāntana, when the context in which this passage occurs leaves no doubt that they meant a criticism on Pānini. And from this remark alone I should conclude that Śāntana was one of their school, while, from all these reasons combined, I draw the inference that he must have written after Pānini.

I will give some proof to substantiate this view, and to show, moreover, that there are grammatical authorities in India who expressly imply the view here taken of the posteriority of these Sūtras to Pānini.

According to Pānini's rule, VI. 1, 213, a word *ibhya* would have the *udatta* on the first syllable; Bhaṭṭojidīkshita, in his comment on the *Phitsútras*, quotes this rule in order to show that Śāntana gave his Sūtra I. 5, with a view of stating that Pānini's

rule would not apply to this word.<sup>22</sup> He quotes the same rule of Pāṇini for a similar purpose when he comments on I. 18,<sup>23</sup> for, according to this rule, *arya* is *net udātta* on the first, but on the last syllable; and also in his comment on IV. 8, for, according to this Sūtra, the words *tiṣya*, *śikhyā* (*māryā*), *dhānyā* and *kanyā*, are not udātta on the first, but swarita on the last syllable.<sup>24</sup> On the rule I. 7, Bhaṭṭoji reports that, in the opinion of certain grammarians, Śāntāna gave it in order to "kill" Pāṇini's rule VI. 2, 2.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Pāṇini, VI. 1, 213: यतो ऽणवः.—Phitsūtra, I, 5: अपूर्वस्य स्त्रीविषयस्य.—Bhaṭṭojid.: ..... विषयवद्ब्रूँ किम् । एवा ..... यतो ऽणव एवापुदात्त एवाशब्दः.

<sup>23</sup> Phitsūtra, I. 18: चर्वस्य सात्वात्वा वेत् ।—Bhaṭṭojid.: वात्वात्वात्वात्पूर्वमिति (III. 18) । यतो ऽणव एति वापुदात्ते प्राप्ति वचनात् (where the word प्राप्ति sufficiently indicates Bhaṭṭoji's view of the chronological relation between Śāntāna and Pāṇini. The same rule is given by Kātyāyana in his Vārttika to Pāṇini, III. 1, 1083).

<sup>24</sup> Phitsūtra, IV. 8: तिक्कयिस्कासर्वेषां लब्धवारो लब्धलुब्धकारामकः.—Bhaṭṭojid.: स्वरितः स्मात् । तिक्कानां भवन् चैव तिक्कम् । यतो ऽणव एति प्राप्ति.—The Phitsūtra-vṛtti reads this Sūtra: तिक्कयिस्कासर्वेषां लब्धवारो लब्धलुब्धकारामकः.

<sup>25</sup> Phitsūtra, I. 7: हिउवत्सरतिश्रुत्यानागम्.—Bhaṭṭojid.: ..... संवत्सरः । चवत्-अपूर्वपदप्रकृतिसरो (comp. Pāp. VI. 2, 2) ऽव वाच्यत एवाऽऽः.

Śāntāna's rule I. 23, Bhaṭṭoji says, contravenes Pāṇini's rule VI. 1, 197.<sup>26</sup> And it is the same grammarian who, when explaining, that *saha*, as a part of Śāntāna's rule IV. 13, is udātta on the last syllable, reports: "The eastern grammarians inform us that *saha* in Pāṇini's rule VI. 3, 78, is udātta on the first syllable;" and he adds the advice: "*think on that!*"<sup>27</sup> But I find no evidence in the arguments of Dr. Boehtlingk, as regards the relation of Śāntāna.

<sup>26</sup> Phitsūtra, I. 23: स्मेरकविश्वोर्वचसि.—Bhaṭṭojid.: चवत् उदात्तः स्मात् । स्मेर आह चवत्वा ..... । एह विस्वापुदात्त एव (comp. Pāp. VI. 1, 197).

<sup>27</sup> Phitsūtra, IV. 14 (not 13): एवादीनामकः.—Bhaṭṭojid.: एवादीनामिति च-ठाकारम् । एव । एवम् । युगम् । सह । ते युगपुरिभिः सह । वडस्य भुतीचि सहस्य व इति (Pāp. VI. 3, 78) प्रकारे सहस्यश्च आपुदात्त एति प्राप्तिः । वचिक्कम्.—The statement of the Prānchas mentioned by Bhaṭṭojidīkhalita, is that of Patañjali in his comment on VI. 3, 78, v. 1, viz.: आपुदात्तविषयतनं करिचति; and Kātyāyana in referring to Phitsūtra IV. 12, observes: विषयात् आपुदात्ता एति सहस्यश्च आपुदात्तः. But this reference of Kātyāyana by no means admits of the conclusion that he looked upon Pāṇini's rule as more recent than this Phitsūtra; for this rule is not concerned with the accent of सह; it is Patañjali who alludes to it; and Kātyāyana comments, in the words alleged, on Patañjali, not on Pāṇini.

to the eastern grammarians, of his having followed the advice of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita. ✓

Of equal importance with these observations of Bhaṭṭoji, is a passage in the notes of Nāgajibhaṭṭa on Kaiyyāṭa, when the latter accompanies the gloss of Patanjali to Kātyāyana's Vārtika 6, to Pānini VI. 1, 158, with his own remarks. For Nāgajibhaṭṭa, after having observed that a rule of Pānini would contain a fault when compared with the standard of the Phitsūtras, pointedly winds up with the following words: "But, on the other hand, *these Phitsūtras, when considered in reference to Pānini, are as if they were made to-day.*"<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Vārtika 6 (of the Calc. ed.) to VI. 1, 158: प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वाद्मसिद्धिः.—Patanjali: प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वादप्रसिद्धिः स्थातुः । प्रकृतिलक्षणसावकाशः । यथागुदात्तप्रत्ययः । एवमिति । प्रत्ययस्वरसावकाशः । यथागुदात्ता प्रकृतिः सम स्वर । एवमेवं प्राप्नोति । कर्तव्यम् । तैत्तिरीयम् । विप्रतिषेधात्म्यमन्वसरो भविष्यति । शिवं विप्रतिषेधे परमिष्यति (I. 4. 2) । च परः प्रत्ययस्वरः । शिव दोषः । एववापी परमन्वः । विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तत्रवतीति.—Vārtika 7 (of the Calc. ed.): विप्रतिषेधात्म्यमन्वसरो इति चेत्सावकाशादियु चित्कारजनः

It is clear, therefore, that the best Hindu grammarians, too,

—Patanjali: विप्रतिषेधात्म्यमन्वसरो इति चेत्सावकाशादव्ययितः कर्तव्यः । युक्त्वाव्ययिति । योपाव्यति । कृतीयते । शिव दोषः । प्रकृतिलसरो ऽव सावको भविष्यति । प्रकृतिलसरो प्रत्ययस्वरसावकाशः । कर्तव्यम् । तैत्तिरीयम्—Kaiyyāṭa, on the preceding passages: . . . . . विप्रतिषेधादिति । पूर्वविप्रतिषेधादित्यर्थः । कर्त्तव्यमव्यय इति । सावकाशचित्कारकं प्रत्याख्यातं तत्कर्तव्यमेव . . . . .—Nāgajibhaṭṭa: सम स्वरमन्वस्य सत्यमन्वसिन्वस्युच्चापीति (Phitsūtra, IV. 10) प्रकृतिरगुदात्ता । तिसृतिः यकुनीनां च यकुपूर्वमिति (Phitsūtra, II. 21) मज्जोदात्ताः . . . . . । फिट्सरो ऽपि वाच्येति तैत्तिरीये ऽपि दोषः । यथा फिट्सुवाचि पाणिन्यपेक्षया साधुनिकमनुवाचीति परस्मै चोच्चर.—The Phitsūtra II. 21, referred to by Nāgajibhaṭṭa, is read differently in Bhaṭṭoji's text from that of the Vṛtti. I subjoin both readings with their commentary, in order to illustrate at the same time the nature of the latter commentary as compared with that of Bhaṭṭoji. The latter reads यकुनीनां च यकुपूर्वम्, and comments: पूर्व यकुदात्तं स्थातुः । फिट्सुः । तिसृतिः.—The Phitsūtravṛtti reads यकुनीनां च यकुपूर्वात्तम्, and comments यकुपूर्वो येषां यकुनिवाचिनां कथावन्ते येषां यकुनी नुसदात्तो भवति । कथवाकुः । कथवाकुः । कथीतः । यकुनीनामिति फिट्सुः । यराहः । यकुपूर्वात्तामिति फिट्सुः । फिट्सुः । तिसृतिः । कथारोहः.—I may quote here a passage from Śāyana's Commentary on Rigveda I. 1, 1, in order to obviate a misunderstanding of it.

looked upon these Sûtras not only as not anterior to Pânini, but as quite recent, when compared with his work.

On *Yáska*, Professor Müller expresses himself thus: <sup>256</sup>

“There are some discussions in the beginning of the *Nirukta* which are of the highest interest with regard to etymology. While in Greece the notions of one of her greatest thinkers, as

With regard to the accent of the word **अग्नि** he writes: **आर्यस्य अग्निं शिष्यश्चक्षते**. These words need not mean that **Gārgya**, the predecessor of Pāṇini, deducts from **Phīṣṣūtra** I. 1, the accent of **अग्नि**, but **śāky** may—and, I conclude, *do*—mean: “since, according to the opinion of **Gārgya**, **agni** is an indivisible base (*i.e.* a base which must not be analysed; compare note 248), its accent is the *addita* on the last syllable, agreeably to **Phīṣṣūtra** I. 1.—The last reference, therefore, would belong to **Sāyana**, not to **Gārgya**; and the only inference we might be allowed to draw from the words of **Sāyana** would be, that **Gārgya** looked upon **agni** as an **Uṇṣadī**-formation (compare p. 171), and, perhaps—but not necessarily,—that already in his time there existed a rule on accentuation similar in *purport* to that of the **Phīṣṣūtra** alleged. It is not admissible, therefore, to adduce this passage in proof that, in **Sāyana**’s opinion, the **Phīṣṣūtras** were known to **Gārgya**.

<sup>236</sup> **Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 163.**

expressed in the Cratylus, represent the very infancy of etymological science, the Brahmins of India had treated some of the vital problems of etymology with the utmost sobriety. In the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana we find, besides the philosophical division of speech into nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles, another division of a purely grammatical nature and expressed in the most strictly technical language. '*Verbs* with their conjugational terminations; *Nouns*, derived from verbs by means of Kritical suffixes; *Nouns*, derived from nouns by means of taddhita-suffixes, and four kinds of compounds,—these constitute language' [Vājas. Prāt. I. 27.]

“In the Nirukta this division is no longer considered sufficient. A new problem has been started, one of the most important problems in the philosophy of language, whether all nouns are derived from verbs? No one would deny that certain nouns, or the majority of nouns, were derived from verbs. The early grammarians of India were fully agreed that *kartṛi*, a doer, was derived from *kri*, to do; *pāchaka*, a cook, from *pach*, to cook. But

did the same apply to all words? Śākaṭāyana, an ancient grammarian and philosopher, answered the question boldly in the affirmative, and he became the founder of a large school, called the *Nairuktas* (or Etymologists), who made the verbal origin of all words the leading principle of all their researches.<sup>237</sup>

It is sufficiently clear from the preceding words that Professor Müller considers Yāska as more recent than Kātyāyana, and since he himself admits (see above p. 193) "that there is nothing in the style of the *Prātisākhya* composed by Kātyāyana that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the *Prātisākhya*, should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini," he must also consider the author of the *Nirukta* as subsequent to Pāṇini.

To refute his view on the relative position of Kātyāyana and Yāska, we need now merely point to the facts with which we are

already familiar. Müller's reason for Yāska's posteriority to Kātyāyana is founded, as we see, on the assumption that the problem of the derivability or non-derivability of *all* nouns from verbs had not yet been proposed in the time of Kātyāyana. But whence does he know this? The *Prātisākhya* of Kātyāyana is no sufficient testimony for establishing this theory. When Kātyāyana there says that nouns are either nouns derived from verbs, or nouns derived from nouns,—either *krit* or *taddhita* derivatives,—he has already said too much in a work of this kind, which has nothing to do with the origin of words, and which alludes to this and other matter, foreign to a *Prātisākhya* itself, only *because*, and *in so far as*, it concerns its *other purpose*, viz. that of criticizing Pāṇini. Whether or not therefore it dealt with a problem such as that of which Müller is speaking, is merely a matter of chance.

But this problem itself, as we have seen, is epitomized in the term *unnādi*. A grammarian who uses this term shows at the same time that he is cognizant of that division between the old grammarians which Yāska describes. For whichever side he

<sup>237</sup> In the continuation of this passage Professor Müller gives the statement similar to that which is contained above, on page 171.



espouse, he has expressed by the term *unnādi*, that there are krit-derivatives which are of an exceptional kind and which are looked upon by some as being, strictly speaking, no derivatives at all. Now, I have quoted several instances which prove that Kātyāyana dealt with the question of *Unnādi* words. Hence he *was* aware of that problem discussed in the Nirukta; it was *not* "a new problem" to him; and all the inferences that may or may not be built on its absence in the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya become invalidated at once.

But the knowledge possessed by Pāṇini, of this problem itself would, of course, not prove anything as to his priority or posteriority to Yāska, who speaks of it. It leaves this question just where we find it, and we must seek for other evidence to settle it.

Such, I hold, is afforded by the fact that Pāṇini knows the name of Yāska, for he teaches the formation of this word and heads a Gāṇa with it.<sup>22</sup> And as we know at present of but one

<sup>22</sup> Pāṇini, II. 4. 63: शाकान्दिभ्यो गोवे

real Yāska in the whole ancient literature, a doubt as to the identity of the author of the Nirukta and the family chief adduced by Pāṇini, would have first to be supported with plausible arguments before it could be assented to.

A second and equally strong reason is, in my belief, afforded by the test I have established above, on the ground of the grammatical *sarjñās* which occur in Pāṇini's work.

Amongst these terms there is one especially which allows us to judge of the relative position of Yāska and Pāṇini, viz., the term *upasarga*, prefix or preposition. Pāṇini employs it in many Sūtras; he does not define it; it must consequently have been in use before he wrote. Yāska, however, enters fully into the notion expressed by it, as we may conclude from the following words of his Nirukta:—<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Nirukta, I. 3 (according to the edition of Professor Roth): व विषेका उपसर्गो  
अप्रीतिराकृतिः शाकटादयो नामाकातयोस्तु कर्मापसर्वोक्तका भवन्मुदाहरणः  
पदानां भवन्तीति शान्त्यस्य एव पदानः प्राकृतिरेव नामाकातयोर्नप्रीतिराकृतिः ।

“Śaṅkarāyaṁ” says that ‘the prepositions when detached (from noun or verb) do not distinctly express a sense’; but Gārgya

कां रत्नयोर्वै प्र परितेतत्तत् प्रातिबोध्यसमीक्षाभिरुक्तं प्रतिलेख्यत् प्रातिबोध्यमिति शु-  
 रैरभिपुष्टितार्ते निन्दुरितेतदौ प्रातिबोध्यं नयेति विविक्वाभावा उदितेतयोः प्रा-  
 तिबोध्यं सप्रतिबोधात् न अप्रतिबोध्यं निति प्रातिबोध्यमिति सादृशापरमावयपेति सर्वज्ञं  
 मुपेक्षुष्यन् परेति सर्वतोभाषसमीक्षुषिमावसीयते शेषमुक्तावधानांभाषाङ्कः समे-  
 रितः प्रातिबोध्यः—Of the commentary of Durga on this passage I subjoin here only those pas-  
 sages which are required for a justification of my translation, and of the instances added to  
 the text of Yaska (MS. E.I.H., 206): वाचां । गुह्यद्वौ उपधारकावैः । नामास्मात्तयोरेव  
 यो ईर्यः कर्म तर्ह्येव विधेयं क्विदुपसंयुज्य कोतयन्ति । स एव नामास्मात्तयोरेवार्षन्विधेय  
 उपसर्गमर्थयोने सति ज्ञप्यते & . . . उक्ता अवधीति । वक्ताः (sic) पदार्थो अवधीति वाक्यैः ।  
 उक्ताव । वक्ताव (sic) । उक्ताववाः । वक्त्रप्रकारा रत्नार्थः । एवामुपसर्गपदानामर्थोः  
 पदार्था अभुति । विद्युत्तानामपि नामास्मात्ताभ्यामिति वाक्यैः । आपादौ मन्वत् इति  
 वाक्यत्रयेण । एतैको क्रीपां प्रादीनां नामास्मात्तावियोने ऽप्येकार्ष रत्नमिमावः । . . . ।  
 तत्र एव पदार्थः प्राङ्गिभि तम् । तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति । य एवुपसर्गमन्वत्प्रकारो ऽयं इति  
 प्राङ्गरेव तन्मि उपसर्गपदार्थविधेयः पुनरपि सत्ताः यः पुनरुक्तविलुप्तवते । नामास्मात्ता-  
 वोरर्थाविकारस्य & . . . । का रत्नार्थानर्थे । तत्रावा । आप पर्वतादिति । चार्त्तमिति मन्वत्

maintains that 'they illustrate the action which is the sense expressed by a noun or verb (in modifying it); and that their sense is various (even when they are detached from a noun or verb)'. Now they express (even in their isolated condition) that sense

॥.... प्र परेतितत्त्व प्रातिबोध्यम् । प्रपररतिविलोतापुपसर्गवित्तिकाङ्क्षोऽर्थस्य प्रातिबोध्य-  
माहुः । अन्ततः । परानतः ॥ अनीलाभिमुखाग्रहाह । अभिगतः ॥ प्रतीतितत्त्ववभिः प्राति-  
बोध्यमाह । प्रतिगत इति ॥ अति सु रक्षितावभिमुचितात्वं वर्तेति । अतिधनः । सुभासाह  
इति । निर्दुरितित्तयोः प्रातिबोध्यम् । निधेयः । दुर्ग्राह्य इति । अवेति विविगवा-  
चीवी । विमुक्तात्त्वपुक्ताति । उदित्त्वयमेव एव द्वयोः प्रातिबोध्यमाह । उमुक्तातीति ।  
सखिलीभावमर्षमाह । संमुक्तातीति ॥ अपेतितत्त्व प्रातिबोध्यमाहुः । विमुक्तात्त्वप-  
मुक्तातीति ॥ अतिवित सादृक्षापरभावमाह । अमुक्तात्त्वयमेति सादृक्षम् । अमुगच्छती-  
त्वरभावम् । अनीति संसर्गमाह । सर्वयो ऽपि स्वात् । मयुनो ऽपि स्वात् ॥ उपेतुप-  
वनम् । उपवनमाश्रिक्त्वम् । उपचायते । परेति सर्वतोभावमाह । परिधाययतीति ।  
अधीत्युपरिभावमाह । ऐश्वर्यं वा । अक्षितिर्हति । अक्षिपतिरिति । आह । नामाख्यात-  
योस्तु अनीपसंयोनबोतना भवन्तीत्युक्तम् । अथ नायः अनीपसंयोनबोतना भवन्तीति ।  
एवं न मृद्वाने । उपसर्गः क्रियायोग इति (P<sub>4b</sub>. I. 1. 5.) प्रसिद्धो सुपसर्गवां क्रिया-  
पट्टेन योनी न नाह उपसर्गो हि क्रियाङ्कलिभिर्व नामानात्कन्दन्तीति

which inheres in them ; it is this sense which modifies the sense of a noun or verb. The preposition *á* expresses the sense of limit (e.g. *up to the mountain*) ; *pra* and *pará* express the reverse of *á* (e.g. *gone forth or away*) ; *abhi*, the sense of towards (e.g. *gone towards*—in a friendly sense) ; *prati*, the reverse of *abhi* (e.g. *gone against*) ; *ati* and *su*, excellence (e.g. *having much wealth, an excellent Bráhmaṇa*) ; *nir* and *dur*, the reverse of these two (e.g. *having no wealth, a bad Bráhmaṇa*) ; *ni* and *ava*, downwardness (e.g. *he takes down*) ; *ud*, the reverse of these two (e.g. *he takes up*) ; *sam*, junction (e.g. *he takes together*) ; *vi* and *apa*, the reverse of *sam* (e.g. *he takes away*) ; *anu*, similarity or being after (e.g. *having a similar appearance, he goes after*) ; *api*, co-existence (e.g. *let it be a drop of butter, a drop of honey*) ;<sup>200</sup> *upa*, excess (e.g. *he is born again*) ; *pari*, surrounding (e.g. *he puts round*) ; *adhi*, being above and

<sup>200</sup> It seems to me doubtful whether संसर्ग implies the sense which is illustrated by the instance of Durga ; without his words, which clearly refer to Patanjali's comment on Pāṇini, I. 4, 96, I should have rendered संसर्ग by *union*, and thought of an instance like चपिनसृति.

superiority (e.g. *he stands over, a supreme lord*). In this manner they express various senses, and these have to be considered."

This passage records, as we see, besides the definition of Yāska, the opinions of Śākaṭāyana and of Gārgya ; it is silent on Pāṇini. Yet how much more complete and scientific is his treatment of the prepositions ! Durga, the commentator of Yāska, feels this defect in Yāska, for at the end of his gloss he says : " *upasargas* can only be joined to a verb, not to a noun ; it is therefore only through the mediation of the former that they can ascend also to the latter" (viz. in so far as nouns are derived from verbal roots).

Pāṇini teaches that the first and general category to which prepositions belong, is that of *nipātas* or particles : he then continues, that they are *upasargas* when they are joined to "verbal action" (i.e. to a verb) ; *gatis*, if the verbal roots to which they are attached become developed into a noun ; and that they are *karna-pravachanīyas* if they are detached and govern a noun.<sup>201</sup> Of such

<sup>201</sup> Pāṇini, I. 4, 58 : प्राद्वः ; 59 : उपसर्गाः क्तिवाद्योनिः 60 : गतिश्च ; 63 : कर्माप्रवचनीयाः.

a distinction there is no trace in the Nirukta, which stops, as we see, at the speculations of Śakatyāyana and Gárgya, both predecessors of Páṇini. Nor can the meanings which Yáska assigns to the prepositions, so far as completeness is concerned, be compared to those we meet with in the rules of Páṇini. *Adhi*, for instance, has with him not only the sense mentioned by Yáska, but that of "towards, by (severally), with regard to;" *ati*, that of "excellence and transgression;" *apa*, that of "exception;" *anu*, that of "in consequence of, connected with, less than, towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of;" *prati*, the sense of "towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of, instead of, in return of;" *pari*, the sense of *prati*, except in the two last meanings, and that of an "expletive;" *adhi*, that of "superiority and of an expletive."<sup>22</sup>

It seems impossible, therefore, to assume that Yáska could have known the classes of *upasarga* as defined by Páṇini, and

<sup>22</sup> Compare I. 4, 84—97.

their meanings as enumerated by him when he wrote the words before quoted. But not knowing the grammar of Páṇini, is, in the case of Yáska, tantamount to having preceded it.

Though Yáska be older than Páṇini, and Páṇini older than Kátyāyana, there still remains the mystery as to the era of Páṇini. No work of the ancient literature, within my knowledge, gives us the means of penetrating it. But as the remotest date of Hindu antiquity, which may be called a real date, is that of *Buddha's* death, it must be of interest to know whether Páṇini is likely to have lived before or after this event.

Not only is the name of *Śākyamuni*, or Śákya, never adverted to in the Sūtras of Páṇini,<sup>23</sup> but there is another fact connected with this name which is still more remarkable.

<sup>23</sup> The formation *शक्य* occurs in three Gāṇas; as a derivative from *शक्य* with *शक्य* in the Gāṇa to IV. 1, 105; with *शक्य* to IV. 3, 92, but there it becomes doubtful, through the difference in the readings of the MSS.; and as a derivation from *शक्य* with *शक्य* in the Gāṇa to IV. 1, 151.

The great schism which divided ancient India into two hostile creeds, centres in the notion which each entertained of the nature of eternal bliss. The Brahmanic Hindus hope that their soul will ultimately become united with the universal spirit; which, in the language of the Upanishads, is the neuter Brahman; and, in that of the sects, the supreme deity, who takes the place of this philosophical and impersonal god. And however indefinite this god Brahman may be, it is nevertheless, to the mind of the Brahmanic Hindu, an *entity*. The final salvation of a Buddhist is entire *non-entity*. This difference between the goal of both created that deep and irreconcilable antagonism which allowed of none of the compromise which was possible between all the shades and degrees of the Brahmanic faith, from the most enlightened to the most degenerate. The various expressions for eternal bliss in the Brahmanic creed, like *apavarga*, *moksha*, *mukti*, *nibhreyasa*, all mean either "liberation from this earthly career" or the "absolute good;" they therefore imply a condition of hope. The absolute end of a Buddhist is without hope; it is *nirvāṇa* or extinction.

This word means literally "*blown out*;" but there is this difference, if I am not mistaken, between its use in the Brahmanic and in the Buddhist literature,—that, in the former, it is employed, like other past participles, in any of the three genders, whereas in the latter it occurs only in the neuter gender, and there, too, only in the sense of an abstract noun, in that of *extinction*, i.e., absolute annihilation of the soul. I have no instance at my command in which *nirvāṇa*, when used in the classical literature, implies any other sense than the sense "*blown out*," or a sense immediately connected with it. Thus Patanjali, when illustrating the use of this past participle, gives the instances: "the fire is *blown out* by the wind, the lamp is *blown out* by the wind;" and Kaiyaṇa who, on the same occasion, observes that a phrase, "the wind has ceased to blow," would not be expressed by "*nirvāṇo vātaḥ*, but by *nirvāto vātaḥ*," corroborates the instances of Patanjali with one of his own: "blowing out (has been effected) by the wind." But Pāṇini, who teaches the formation of this participle in rule VIII. 2, 50, which has indirectly called forth all these instances, says:

“(the past participle of *vā* with prefix *nir* is) *nirvāna* (if the word means) ‘*free from wind*,’ (or, ‘not blowing, as wind’).”<sup>24</sup>

This is the natural interpretation of Pāṇini's rule. *Kātyāyana*, it is true, gives a Vārttika which corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhāhāne* “(if it have) not the sense of wind (or of blowing);” yet it is very remarkable that Patanjali, in commenting on this Vārttika, does not interpret its words in his usual manner, but merely adds to them the instances I have just named; it is remarkable, too, that he introduces them with the observation: “(this Vārttika is given in order to show) that (*nirvāna*) is *also* or is emphatically used in the following instances.” Still he has no instance what-

<sup>24</sup> VIII. 2, 50: निर्वाणो ऽवाति.—Kātyāyana: अवातामिधाति.—Patanjali: अवातामिधाति इति वाक्यम् (these words have been mistaken for the Vārttika itself, in the Calcutta edition) । इहापि सवा खात् । निर्वाणो ऽधिर्वातेन । निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेति ।—Kātyāyana: अवातामिधाति इति । तेन निर्वातो वात इत्येव वल्लिषिषो न नु भावे निरावातिनि निर्वाणं वातेति आत्ममिति वातिक्कारस्य दर्शनम् । अने नु वातक्येन आत्मने सर्वत्र निषेधमिच्छति । निर्वातो वातः । निर्वातं वातेति । निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेत्येव नु वातः कस्मिन्मिति प्रतिषेधमात्रः.

ever for the sense stated by Pāṇini, and his word “*also*” or “*emphatically*” does not appear to be justified by the criticism of Kātyāyana, which simply corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhāhāne* without any additional remark.

In short, my opinion on this Vārttika is analogous to that which I have expressed in previous instances. The sense of *nirvāna*, “free from wind (or not blowing),” had become obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, who merely knew that sense of it which found its ulterior and special application in the *nirvāna* of the Buddhist faith. But since there is no logical link between this latter word and the *nirvāna*, “wind-still,” of Pāṇini; and since it is not probable that he would have passed over in silence that sense of the word which finally became its only sense, I hold that this sense did not yet exist in his time; in other words, that his silence affords a strong probability of his having preceded the origin of the Buddhist creed.

The task I had proposed to myself would now seem to have

reached its natural close for the present; yet if, after this brief and imperfect attempt to do justice to one of the most difficult questions of Sanskrit literature, I were now to take leave of Pāṇini, even temporarily, without devoting a special word to Patanjali, I should fail in gratitude to this great teacher, who has supplied us with nearly all the materials for this discussion and its results.

"At what time," says Professor Müller,<sup>28</sup> "the Mahābhāṣya was first composed, it is impossible to say. Patanjali, the author of the Great Commentary, is sometimes identified with Pingala; and on this view, as Pingala is called the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pāṇini, it might be supposed that the original composition of the Mahābhāṣya belonged to the third century. But the identity of Pingala and Patanjali is far from probable, and it would be rash to use it as a foundation for other calculations."

This is the only date, the fixing of which is called "*impossible*," in Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature; and as it has hitherto been

my fate to differ from this work in all its chronological views, I seem merely to follow a predestined necessity in looking upon the date of Patanjali as the only one which I should venture to determine with anything like certainty.

I do so, because Patanjali, as if foreseeing the conjectural date which some future Pandit would attach to his life, or the doubt that might lift him out of all historical reach, once took the opportunity of stating a period before which we must not imagine him to have lived, while on another occasion he mentions the time when he actually did live.

"If a thing," says Pāṇini, "serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale" (it has not the affix *ka*). This rule Patanjali illustrates with the words "Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha," meaning the idols that represent these divinities and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them,—while they are not for sale. And, "why?" he asks. "The *Mauryas* wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities. Good; (Pāṇini's rule) may apply to such (idols, as *they* sold); but as to idols which are hawked

<sup>28</sup> Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 244.

about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their names will have the affix *ka*.”<sup>288</sup>

Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which they sell,

<sup>288</sup> V. 3, 99 : मीविकार्ये चापस्ते .—Patanjali : अपस्व इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न विवक्षति । शिवः रुन्दो विद्यास्य इति । किं कारकम् । मीवोर्हिरकार्येभिर्योः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत् । तासु न खात । चास्तेनाः सप्रतिपूजार्थाः । तासु भविष्यति .—Kaiyaṣa : चास्तेना ता इति । याः परिवृष्टा गुहागुहमदन्ति तास्वित्तर्कः । चासु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवकान्त्रिकीयतीति इति .—Nāgajibhāṣita : मीयो विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तकीर्योः कल्पिताः (MS. 351 : मीयोः विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तकी०० n.c. ; MS. 1209 : मीयोः विक्रेतुं प्रतिमां शिल्पवांतकी०० n.c.) । विक्रेतुमिति शेषो ज्ञासां पक्षासासच प्रलययन् वयमयम् इति भावः । तच्च प्रलययन्वयमिष्टमेति वदन्पूजोदाहरणं दर्शयति । भवेदित्यादि । चास्तेना इति न । सप्रतिपूजार्थाः । संप्रतिपूजार्थाः । संप्रतिपूजार्थाः । चाः पूजा मीविकामदन्ते तदेषा इत्यर्थोदाहरणम् । याः परिवृष्टा इति । चासु परिवृष्टा विद्यासु विद्यासु इति । सत्येन सादृशमनुष्ठानेन प्रलययतीति भावः । एवं विविच्यति द्रष्टव्यम् .

because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do,—I know not. But, at all events, he tells us distinctly by these words that he did not live before the first king of the Maurya dynasty who was Chandragupta, and who lived 315 B.C. And I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his words, that he tells us, on the contrary, that he lived *after the last king* of this dynasty, or in other words later than 180 before Christ. But he has even been good enough to relieve us from a possibility of this doubt when commenting on another rule of Pāṇini, or rather on a criticism attached to it by Kātyāyana.

In Sūtra III. 2, 111, Pāṇini teaches that the imperfect must be used, when the speaker relates a past fact belonging to a time which precedes the present day. Kātyāyana improves on this rule by observing that it is used, *today*, when the fact related is *out of sight, notorious, but could be seen by the person who uses the verb*. And Patanjali again appends to this Vārtika the following instances and remark : “ *The Yavana besieged (imperfect) Agodhaja ; the*



*Yavanas besieged* (imperfect) *the Mādhyamikas*. Why does Kātyāyana say, 'out of sight?' (because in such an instance as) 'the sun rose' (the verb must be in the aorist). Why 'notorious?' (because in such an instance as) 'Devadatta made a mat' (the verb must be in the preterit). Why does he say: 'but when the fact could be seen by the person who uses the verb?' (because in such an instance as) 'According to a legend Vāsudeva killed Kansa' (the verb must likewise be in the preterit).<sup>267</sup>

<sup>267</sup> III. 2. 111: अनसत्तने खट्.—Kātyāyana: परोचे च लोकाविज्ञाति प्रवोक्तुर्दर्थनविषये । परोचे च लोकाविज्ञाति प्रवोक्तुर्दर्थनविषये खट् सत्त्वः । अरयस्यनः सक्तिम् । अरयस्यनो माध्यमिकम् । परोच इति किमर्थम् । उदादिबः । लोकाविज्ञात इति किमर्थम् । सकार कटं देवदत्तः । प्रवोक्तुर्दर्थनविषय इति किमर्थम् । सचाप संसं किञ्च वासुदेवः.—Kātyāyana: परोचे चेति । अनमुत्तत्तापरोचो ऽपि प्रत्ययव्यताभाषाश्रयेण दर्शनविषय इति विरोधाभासः ।—Nāgajibhāṭṭa on these instances of Patanjali: भाषे सचानेति किम् । स वचो हि चेदानीकप्रवोक्तुर्दर्थनयोऽप्येत्यर्थः । अरयदिलुदाहरणे तु गुणवाक्यः प्रव(तीत इति बोध्यम्.—That these instances, concern the moment at which Patanjali wrote them, is therefore certain, beyond all doubt. But we obtain at the same time an insight

Hence he plainly informs us, and this is acknowledged also by Nāgajibhāṭṭa, that he lived at the time—though he was not on the spot—when "*the Yavana besieged Ayodhyā*" and at the time when "*the Yavana besieged the Mādhyamikas*." For the very contrast which he marks between these and the other instances proves that he intended practically to impress his contemporaries with a proper use of the imperfect tense.

Now the *Mādhyamikas* are the well-known Buddhistio sect which was founded by *Nāgārjuna*.<sup>268</sup> But here, it would seem,

into the critical condition of the later commentaries on Pāṇini, when we find, for instance, that the Kāśikā copies these instances, but without saying that they belong to Patanjali. The same is the case in the present edition of Pāṇini. On account of the importance of this passage of the Mahābhāṣya, I will remind the reader that it is contained in the MS. E.I.H. No. 330, the only one I could consult. The two MSS. of the Kāśikā in the library of the E.I.H. have instead of माध्यमिकान्, a word माध्यमिकान्; but since the latter is not only meaningless, but grammatically wrong, there can be no doubt that the reading of the MS. 330 is the only correct one.

<sup>268</sup> See BERNIERI, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, vol. I., p. 359: Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II. p. 1163 and the quotations there.

that at this early stage we are already at a chronological standstill. For the Northern Buddhists say that Nágárijuna lived 400, and the Southern Buddhists that he lived 500, years after Buddha's death. And again, while we believed that the researches of that admirable work of Professor Lassen had finally settled this latter date, and "for a last time,"—while we believed, in other words that it was 543 before Christ, Professor Müller seizes and shakes it once more and makes Buddha die 477 before Christ. Were I to agree with the opinion which he has elsewhere expressed,<sup>200</sup> that "in the history of Indian literature, dates are mostly so precarious, that a confirmation, even within a century or two, is not to be despised," I should be out of all my difficulties. For since the difference stated as regards the life of Nágárijuna would not amount to more than 166 years, it would fall within the allotted space. But I am not so easily satisfied. Dates in Sanskrit literature, as anywhere else, are either no dates at all—and then

<sup>200</sup> Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 243.

they are not so much as precarious—or they are dates, and then we must look closely at them.

The doubts which Prof. Müller has expressed in reference to the assumed date of Buddha's death, viz., 543 B.C., are by no means mere vague and personal doubts. On the contrary, they are embodied in an elaborate discussion, which not only proves a conscientious research, but is extremely valuable on account of the opportunity it gives of surveying the real difficulties of the question, and of forming one's own opinion, with greater safety and ease: and, whether dissenting from him or not, one is happy to deal with his arguments.

My objection to them may be summed up in the commencing and the closing words of his own investigation.

"It has been usual," he says in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 264), "to prefer the chronology of Ceylon, which places Buddha's death in 543 B.C. But the principal argument in favour of this date is extremely weak. It is said that the fact of the Ceylonese era being used as an era for practical purposes speaks in favour of its correctness. This may be true with regard to the

times after the reign of Aśoka. In historical times, any era, however fabulous its beginning, will be practically useful; but no conclusion can be drawn from this, its later use, as to the correctness of its beginning. As a conventional era, that of Ceylon may be retained, but until new evidence can be brought forward to substantiate the authenticity of the early history of Buddhism, as told by the Ceylonese priests, it would be rash to use the dates of the Southern Buddhists as a corrective standard for those of the Northern Buddhists or of the Brahmaṇas."

And, towards the close of his inquiry, he expresses himself thus (p. 298):—"At the time of Aśoka's inauguration, 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of the death of Buddha. Hence if we translate the language of Buddhist chronology into that of Greek chronology, Buddha was really supposed to have died 477 B.C. and not 543 B.C. Again, at the time of Chandragupta's accession, 162 years were believed to have elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha's death. Hence Buddha was supposed to have died  $315 + 162 = 477$  B.C."

In quoting these two passages, I show at once that Professor Müller attaches no faith to the tradition which concerns the date of Buddha's death, but that he attaches faith to that which places Aśoka 218, and Chandragupta 162, years after that event. But if tradition is to be believed in one portion of the history connected with the rise and progress of the Buddhist faith, why not in another, and in all? The arguments which are good for the one case will equally apply to the other; and if tradition be wrong in fixing Buddha's death at 543 B.C., we must also reject it when giving the dates 162 and 218, and the sum total will then have no quantities out of which it can be produced. And this objection would seem to derive additional force from the very words of Professor Müller just quoted; for he says himself that the argument in favour of the date 543 B.C., so far as it is founded on the practical use made of this date, "may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Aśoka." But 218 after Buddha's death, is the date of Aśoka himself, and 162 that of Chandragupta, who preceded that king. Both, consequently, would, in Professor Müller's

opinion, deserve the same amount of belief as the date of Buddha's death itself.

The grounds on which Professor Müller differs from Professor Lassen have been fully discussed by him, as already observed; but as the essentials of this discussion lie in a nutshell, they admit of being here stated in reference to the question which actually concerns us.

Both scholars assume—and so long as Greek chronology deserves any credit at all, they do so, I hold, without the possibility of a contradiction—that Chandragupta, who is Sandrocottus, reigned 315 B.C. Buddhistic tradition, however, says that he lived 162 years after Buddha's death, which means that if this event took place 543 B.C., he reigned 381 B.C. But since 315 must be right, and 381 must be wrong, either Buddha's death occurred 477 B.C., or Chandragupta lived 66 years later than Hindu traditions allows him to live, viz., 228 years after 543 B.C. Lassen decides in favour of the latter alternative, no doubt, by saying to himself that since there is an error of 66 years, it was more likely

committed by tradition in remembering the duration of the reign of kings who preceded Chandragupta, than in recording an event that was engrossing the national mind, and much more important to the national feeling and interest than an exact chronicle of by-gone, and some of them insignificant, kings. Müller prefers the precise tradition of 162 years, and therefore arrives at 477 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death.

Let us return, after this statement, to the events which Patanjali tells us occurred in his time, and confront them with the opinions of the two scholars named.

If Nāgārjuna lived 400 years after Buddha's death, his date, according to Professor Lassen's conclusions, would be 143,—or, if he lived 500 years after this event, 43 years B.C. Again, his date, according to Professor Müller's conclusions, would be 77 B.C., or 23 after Christ. But I must mention, too, that Professor Lassen, on the ground occupied by him, supposes a further mistake of 66 years in the tradition which places Nāgārjuna 500 years after Buddha's death, and that he thus also advocates the date of the

founder of the Mádhyamikas as 23 years after Christ.<sup>270</sup> Now, since the sect which was founded by Nágárijuna existed not only simultaneously with, but after, him, that event which was contemporaneous with Patanjali and the Mádhyamikas, "*the siege of Ayodhyá by the Yavana*" must have occurred within or below the circle of these dates. The latter alternative, however, is again checked by the date of Abhimanyu, who reigned about 60 years after Christ; for we know from the chronicle of Kashmir that he introduced into his country the Commentary of Patanjali, which must consequently have been in existence during his reign.

In other words, the extreme points within which this historical event must have fallen, are the years 143 before, and 60 after Christ; and as in the time of Abhimanyu the Great Commentary had already suffered much, according to the report of Rájataranginí, it is necessary to limit even the latter date by, at least, several years.

<sup>270</sup> Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II. p. 412, 413.

Yet the word "*Yavana*" carries with it another corrective of this uncertainty. According to the researches of Professor Lassen it is impossible to doubt that *within this period*, viz., between 143 before and 60 after Christ, this word Yavana can only apply to the Greco-Indian kings, nine of whom reigned from 160 to 85 B.C.<sup>271</sup> And if we examine the exploits of these kings, we find that there is but one of whom it can be assumed that he, in his conquests of Indian territory, came as far as Ayodhyá. It is *Mausandros*, of whom so early a writer as Strabo reports that he extended his conquests as far as the Jumna river, and of whom one coin has actually been found at Mathurá. He reigned, according to Lassen's researches, more than twenty years, from about 144 B.C.<sup>272</sup>

If then this inference be correct, Patanjali must have *written his commentary* on the Várttika to Páṇini III. 2, 111, between 140 and 120 B.C.; and this is the only date in the *ancient* literature of India which, in my belief, rests on more than ~~mere~~ *mere* hypothesis.

<sup>271</sup> Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II., p. 392.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid. vol. II. p. 393.

But it has also the merit of giving that "new evidence" which Professor Müller requires for a corroboration of the chronology of Ceylon. For none of the fluctuating dates I have mentioned will allow us to look upon Menandros and the Mádhyamikas as contemporaries, except the date 143, which was the extreme limit of the date of Nágárjuna's life. And since, on the basis of tradition, this date again becomes impossible,—unless we claim amongst those alleged, 543 for the time of Buddha's death, and 400 years for the succession of Nágárjuna,—Patanjali's Great Commentary becomes invaluable also in this respect, and more especially to those who are concerned in Buddhist chronology.

Of the lineage of Patanjali all the knowledge I possess is that the name of his mother was *Goniká*.<sup>22</sup> It occurs in the last words of Patanjali on a Káriká to Pánini. Of more importance, however, is the information he gives us of his having resided tem-

<sup>22</sup> Patanjali, after quoting the Kárikás to I. 4, 51 gives *his own opinion*, and concludes with these words (MS. E.I.H. No. 171), **उभयथा नोपिकायुषः**.—Nágajibhatta: **नोपिकायुषो भाषकार एवायः** (thus MS. E.I.H. 349; the MS. 1208 **नोपिकायुषः**).

porarily in *Kashmir*,<sup>23</sup> for this circumstance throws some light on the interest which certain kings of this country took in the preservation of the Great Commentary.

His birthplace must have been situated in the East of India, for he calls himself *Gonardíya*;<sup>24</sup> and this word is given by the Kásika in order to exemplify names of places in the East. Patan-

<sup>23</sup> III. 2, 114: विभावा साकाङ्गे.—Patanjali: विमुद्गारखम। अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमीरेषु वत्सानः। तत्र ससूत्याखानः। अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमीराननच्छाम। तत्र ससूतपिबाम। अवेत। पुत्रे परसाकाङ्गेतीति साकाङ्गं खात। परं तु क्वं साकाङ्गम्। परमपि साकाङ्गम्। अस्मद्विभावाङ्गेततः साकाङ्गम्.—Káryāna: विभावां साकाङ्गे सर्वत्र.—Patanjali: विभावा साकाङ्गे सर्वेति वक्तव्यम्। क्व सर्वत्र। यदि चावदि य। यदि तावत्। अभिवागसि देवदत्त खन्वरमीराननच्छामः। अवेदि। अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमी-चत्तपीदंनं ओष्कानहे। चत्तपीदनममुष्कहि। अवेदि। अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमी-राननच्छामः। करमीराननच्छाम। तपीदनं ओष्कानहे। तपीदनममुष्कहि।

<sup>24</sup> Patanjali to I. 1, 21, v. 2 (of the Calcutta edition; p. 412 ed. Ballantyne): नोन-दीयस्साह etc.—Káryāna: भाषकारस्साह etc.—Nágajibhatta: नोनदीयसदे खावहे। भाषकार इति.—It is on this authority that the word *Gonardíya* has found a place amongst the epithets of Patanjali in Hemachandra's Glossary.

jali's birthplace had therefore the name of *Gonarda*.<sup>26</sup> But that he is one of the eastern grammarians is borne out also by other evidence. Kaiyyāṭa calls him on several occasions *Āchārya-dēśiya*.<sup>27</sup> If we interpreted this word according to Pāṇini's rules

<sup>26</sup> The *Kārikā* to I. 1, 75: एह प्राचां देशे, gives the instances : एहीपचनीचः । गोपदेशीचः । गोवकडीचः । गोवरीचः (thus MS. E.I.H. 2440; the MS. 829, which is generally more incorrect than the former, has the plurals instead of the singulars : गोवाः). Professor Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 484) assumes a connection between *Gonardiya* and *Gonarda*, the name of a king of Kashmir; but I believe that my explanation is supported by the whole evidence combined.

<sup>27</sup> For instance, *Patanjali* to VI. 1, 158, v. 1 (of the Calcutta edition) writes : ..... यदि पुनरयमधिकारो विज्ञायित इति; and Kaiyyāṭa introduces his comment on these words with : आचार्यदेशीय आह यदि पुनरिति and so on, in a similar manner, on other occasions. An instance, however, which will better bear out my conclusion, is afforded by the combined *Vārttika-Kārikā* of Kātyāyana (see note 114), and the commentaries to V. 2, 39. After the words of the *Sūtra*, *Patanjali* says : किमर्थे परित्याग इत्युच्यते । न प्रमाद्य इति वर्तते । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्परित्यागग्रहणं करोति तन्नापवत्त्वापार्थः । यत्परित्यागमन्वयपरित्यागमिति; then follows the first *Vārttika* (or first portion of the *Kārikā* of Kātyāyana) : उवातावर्षेयैश्चानिर्देशः पुनरुच्यते, which again is followed by the further comment of *Patanjali*. In reference to

V. 3, 67 and 68, it would mean “an unaccomplished teacher;” but as there is not the slightest reason for assuming that Kaiyyāṭa intended any irony or blame when he applied this epithet to *Patanjali*, it is necessary to render the word by the teacher “who belongs to the country of the Āchārya.” Now, since Kaiyyāṭa also distinctly contrasts *āchārya*, as the author of the *Vārttikas*, with *āchāryadēśiya*, the latter epithet can only imply that *Patanjali* was a countryman of Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana, however, as Professor Weber has shown by very good arguments, is one of the eastern school; Kaiyyāṭa, therefore, must have looked upon *Patanjali* also as belonging to it.

Another proof is afforded by a passage in the comment of Bhaṭṭo-

this passage, Kaiyyāṭa expresses himself in this way : किमर्थमिति । प्रमाद्यपरित्याग-ग्रहणयोरेकार्थत्वं मत्वा प्रश्नः । न प्रमाद्य इति वर्तत इति । आह्ला नचः प्रयोबास्तत एवेत्यर्थः । यत्परित्यागार्थस्याग्निपातनामां ननुग्रहणार्थे नमन्तो वर्तते । आचार्यदेशीय आह । एवं तर्हि । आचार्य आह उवातावर्षेयै इति । He then contrasts *āchārya*, who is the author of the *Vārttika* *Uvātavarṣeya*, with *āchāryadēśiya*, who is *Patanjali*

jidkshita on the Phitsútras which I have quoted above.<sup>276</sup> For when this grammarian tells us that the *eastern* grammarians attribute the accent in question of *saka* to Páṇini's rule VI. 3, 78, we find that it is *Patanjali* himself who gives us this information and without any intimation of his having obtained it from other authorities.

I conclude these few remarks on our great teacher with an account which *Bhartṛihari* gives of the early history of the Mahábháshya. It is of considerable interest, inasmuch as we learn from it that there was a party of grammarians who preferred to it the Sangraha (of Vyádi), and still more so, as it informs us, that Patanjali's Commentary was founded on this great grammatical work of the relative of Páṇini. The passage in question occurs at the end of the second chapter of *Bhartṛihari's Vákya-padīya*, and, in reference to the word *Bháshtya*, which immediately precedes it, makes the following statement : <sup>277</sup>

<sup>276</sup> See page 218.

<sup>277</sup> The text of this passage belongs to the MS. No. 954 in the Library of the Home

“ After Patanjali had obtained the aid of [*or* had come to] grammarians who had mastered the new sciences more or less [*literally* : in their full extent and in their abridged form], and after he had

Government for India, which in a few days will have ceased to be the Library of the East India House. It bears on its outer leaf the corrupt title वाक्यपदीयाकारः, but at the end of its three chapters the words : इति श्रीमनुस्मृतिकृते वाक्यपदीये . . . . . प्रथममकाण्डः (sic.); . . . . . द्वितीयं काण्डम् ; . . . . . तृतीयः काण्डः.—I call it Vákya-padīya, because, the MS. in question being very incorrect, I cannot give its reading any preference to the reading वाक्यपदीय by which this work is several times quoted in the portion of the Mahábháshya edited by Dr. Ballantyne. For, the identity of both results from a comparison I have made between the passages quoted in this highly valuable edition and the MS. before me. It is right, however, to mention that the second chapter of the work concludes in this MS. in the following manner : मनुस्मृतिकृते वाक्यपदीये द्वितीयं काण्डम् । समाप्ता वाक्यपदीयका, where the reading वाक्यपदीयका, when corrected to ऽपिका, admits of a sense, but suggests also the conjecture that it may be a corruption of वाक्यपदीयिका. I now transcribe the passage in question literally, in order to show the condition of the MS., and also to enable the reader to supply better conjectures than I may have made; but some conjectures I have been compelled to make in order to impart a meaning to a few very desperate lines. These conjectures are added in [ ]. After the words एकमेव निदेशो भाष्य एव प्रदर्शितः, which are



acquired the *Saṅgraha* [of Vyādi], he, the Guri, well versed in the sacred sciences, connected all the original nyāyas in the Mahābhāṣya. But when it was discovered that this Commentary could not be fathomed on account of its depth, and that the minds of those who were not quite accomplished floated, as it were, on

connected with the subject treated of in the second chapter, *Bhārtṛhari* continues: प्रायेव संप्रतुपीनञ्चविवापरियहान् [प्रायेव संप्रतपञ्च नञ्चविवापरियहान्] । संग्राय वै चाकरखान् संग्रहे सुपान्वते [संग्राय वैचाकरखासंग्रहे सुपान्वते] । छते व पातञ्जलि वा नुस्वा तीर्षदर्थिना [छते एव सतञ्जलिना०] । सखेवां न्यायवीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने [निबन्धने] । चक्षन्नाथे मानवौदुत्तान इव सौष्ठवान् [चक्षन्नाथे माथी-चौदुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्] । तस्मिन्छतनुवीनां विवावास्तनन्वयः [.... विवावस्तिनः] । वैविचीमयहर्षधेः [०६:] नुष्कतकोनुसारिभिः । चापे निष्ठाविते यथे [यन्ते] संग्र-हप्रतिकपुष्टेः [०६:] । यः पातञ्जलियथिथो षष्ठो चाकरखावमः [यः पतञ्जलित्रिथि-थो षष्ठ्यष्टी००] । काशिन दक्षिणालिपु संवभावे [यन्व०] खवक्षितः । पर्येतादानमं खब्धा भायवीजानुसारिभिः । स भीतो वज्राखलं चंद्राचार्योद्दिभिः [वज्रा००] पुनः । न्यायप्रमाणमार्गोपायवत्स्र चं [सं] व दर्शयन् । प्रसीतो नुस्वासाकमय००] । The subsequent words, which conclude the second chapter, concern the subject-matter of the work, not the history of the Mahābhāṣya.

the surface, in consequence of their levity, those grammarians who liked dry reasoning, Vajji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, who were partisans of the Sangraha, cut in pieces the book of the Rishi [Patanjali]. That grammatical document [*or* manuscript of the Mahábhashya], which was obtained from the pupils of Patanjali, then remained for some time preserved in one copy only amongst the inhabitants of the Dekhan. Chandra, again, and other grammarians, who went after the original of the Bhásya, obtained this document from Parvata, and converted it into many books [*that is to say*, took many copies of it], and my Guru, who thoroughly knew the ways of logical discussion and his own Darśana, taught me the compendium of this grammatical work." 20

<sup>280</sup> This passage will now aid us also in a correct understanding of the interesting verse from the *Rājastaragīnī*, which has been quoted, but blighted, by Dr. ~~Smith~~ <sup>Smith</sup> in the version he gives of it (vol. II. p. xv and xvi). This verse reads in the Calcutta edition of the latter work (l. 176) : चक्रपार्यादिनिर्मित्यादेशं तस्यात्तादकमयम् । प्रवर्तितं महा-  
भाष्यं सं च व्याकराण्युतम् । Mr. Troyer, in his edition, substitutes for the latter words

A perusal of the foregoing pages will probably have raised the question in the reader's mind, why I have attached an investigation

वक्तृवाचस्पत्यं कृतम्. Both readings are alike good, for they convey the same sense; and the correction वक्तृवाचस्पत्यं for वक्तृवाचस्पत्यं, as proposed by Dr. Boehtlingk, is no doubt also good. But the double mistake he has committed in this single verse consists first in giving to वक्तृवाचस्पत्यं the sense of 'coming,' whereas the passage from the *Vākyapeṭhye* proves that it must there have the sense of "a written document or manuscript," and secondly, in arbitrarily assigning to the causal of वक्तृवाचस्पत्यं the sense of "introducing" in its European figurative sense, which the causal of वक्तृवाचस्पत्यं never has. The verse in question would therefore not mean, as Dr. Boehtlingk translates it: "After the teacher Chandra and others had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order to come there (or to him), they introduced the Mahābhāṣya and composed a grammar of their own"—but: "After Chandra and the other grammarians had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order, they established a text of the Mahābhāṣya, such as it could be established by means of his MS. of this work (literally: they established a Mahābhāṣya which possessed his—the King's—grammatical document, or, after they had received from him the order and his M.S., they established the text of the Mahābhāṣya) and composed their own grammars." For we know now that Chandra and the other grammarians of King Abhimanyu obtained such an āgama or manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya from Parvata, and according to the corresponding verse of the *Rājatarangīnī*, it becomes probable that this MS. came into possession of Abhimanyu.

of the place which Pāṇini holds in Sanskrit literature to the text of the present ritual work?

I will answer this question without reserve. It is because I hold that an inquiry like this was greatly needed in the *present critical position of Sanskrit philology*; and that no ancient text, whatever its nature, should remain any longer,—much less should come for a first time,—before the public without pre-supposing in its readers a full knowledge of the literary problems I have here been dealing with. For whether my views meet with approval or not, I have, I believe, at least shown that the mode in which these problems have hitherto been discussed, is neither adequate to the difficulties with which they are beset, nor to their bearings on the scientific treatment of the Sanskrit language itself.

No one, indeed, can be more alive than I am myself to the conviction of how much may be added, in the way of detail, to the facts I have adduced; for, however imperfect my present attempt and my own knowledge may be, I still could have largely increased the foregoing inquiry with materials taken from the

Brāhmana-, Upanishad-, and the philosophical literature. I have not done more than allude to the contents of Pāṇini's Grammar and I have scarcely hinted at the linguistic results which may be derived from a comparison between Kātyāyana and Patanjali, on the one side, and the recent grammatical literature (which is represented by the Kāsikā, the Sūdhānta-kaumudī with its Prādhamaṇoramā, and the commentators on the Dhātupāṭha and the artificial poetry), on the other. For my present object was merely to convey a sense of the inherent difficulties of the questions I have been speaking of, and while tracing the outlines of my own results, to offer so much evidence, as was strictly necessary for supporting them with substantial proof.

Before, however, I add some words on the *practical object* I had in view in entering upon this investigation, both justice and fairness require me to avow that the immediate *impulse* which led to the present attempt was due to Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature. So great is my reluctance to the public discussion of literary questions, if such a discussion requires a con-

siderable amount of controversy, and so great is the raising an edifice of my own, if, in order to do so, I am compelled to damage structures already in existence, that this feeling would in all probability have prevented me now, as it has done hitherto, from giving public expression to my views, had it not been for the importance I attach to Müller's work. This work reached me, as already mentioned, when the first pages of this Preface were completed; and it was the new material it brought to light, and the systematic and finished form by which its author imparted to his theories a high degree of plausibility, which induced me to oppose to it the facts I have here made known and the results I have drawn from them.

And, as everyone has his own way of paying compliments, this avowal is the compliment which I pay to Professor Müller's work. For as I myself care but little for blame, and much less for praise, so long as I consider that I have fulfilled my duty, I could not but assume that he, too, would much prefer, to un instructive panegyrics which anyone could inflict on him, such

we have derived from an insight into the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, the Hitopadeśa, the Sakuntalā, through the labours of those great scholars, Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Böpp, and others, who are before the mind's eye of every Sanskritist. But the time of pleasure had to give way to a time of more serious research. The plays and fables are delightful in themselves, but they do not satisfy the great interests of Sanskrit philology. Our attention is now engrossed, and rightly so, by the study of grammar, of philosophy, and above all, of that literature of ancient India, which—very vaguely and, in some respects, wrongly, but at all events conveniently—goes by the name of the Vaidik literature. With the commencement of that study we always associate in our minds such great names as those of a Colebrooke, a Wilson, a Burnouf, a Lassen, the courageous and ingenious pioneers who opened the path on which we are now travelling with greater safety and ease.

But whence was it that they were able to unfold to us the first secrets of ancient Hindu religion, of ancient Hindu philosophy and

dissent as I have here expressed, as it can only lead either to confirmation of the opinions he has advanced, or, by correcting them, to an attainment of that scientific truth for which both of us are earnestly labouring.<sup>21</sup>

And now I shall speak my mind as to the necessity I felt for writing these pages in view of the present critical position of Sanskrit philology.

The study of Sanskrit commenced, not with the beginning but with the end of Sanskrit literature. It could not have done otherwise, since it had to discover, as it were, the rudiments of the language itself, and even the most necessary meanings of the most necessary words. We have all been thankful—and our gratitude will never suffer through forgetfulness—for the great advantage

<sup>21</sup> Almost simultaneously with the last proof sheets I received the second edition of Professor Müller's "History of Sanskrit Literature." As both editions entirely correspond in their typographical arrangements, and I believe, in their contents also, the quotations here made from the first edition, will be found on the same pages of the second.

scientific research ? It was through the aid of the commentaries, in the first rank of which stands that of Patanjali ; in the second the works of those master minds, the most prominent of whom are Śaṅkara and Mādhava-Sāyaṇa. Without the vast information these commentators have disclosed to us,—without their method of explaining the obscurest texts,—in one word, without their scholarship, we should still stand at the outer doors of Hindu antiquity.

But to understand the value of these great commentators and exegetes, we must bear in mind the two essentials which have given them the vast influence which they have acquired. The first is the *traditional*, and the second the *grammatical*, element that pervades their works.

The whole religious life of ancient India is based on tradition. *Śruti*, or Veda, was revealed to the Rishis of the Vaidik hymns. Next to it comes *Smṛiti*, or tradition, which is based on the revealed texts, and which is authoritative only in so far as it is in accordance with them. Hence a commentator like Mādhava-Sāyaṇa, for instance, considered it as incumbent on him to prove that he had not merely

mastered the Vaidik texts, but the Mīmāṃsā also, one portion of which is devoted to this question of the relation between Śruti and Smṛiti-works. It is known that he is one of the principal writers on the Mīmāṃsā philosophy. Without tradition, the whole religious development of India would be a shadow without reality, a phantom too vague to be grasped by the mind. Tradition tells us through the voice of the commentators, who re-echo the voice of their ancestors, how the nation, from immemorial times, understood the sacred texts, what inferences they drew from them, what influence they allowed them to exercise on their religious, philosophical, ethical,—in a word, on their national, development. And this is the real, the practical, and therefore the truly scientific interest they have for us ; for all other interest is founded on theories devoid of substance and proof, is *imaginary* and *phantastical*.

But it would be utterly erroneous to assume that a scholar like Sāyaṇa, or even a copy of him, like Mahidhara, contented himself with being the mouth-piece of his predecessors or ances-

tors. They not only record the sense of the Vaidik texts and the sense of the words of which these texts consist, but they endeavour to show that the interpretations which they give are *consistent with the grammatical requirements of the language itself*. And this proof, which they give whenever there is the slightest necessity for it—and in the beginning of their exegesis, even when there is no apparent necessity for it, merely in order to impress on the reader the basis on which they stand,—this proof is the great grammatical element in these commentatorial works.

In short, these great Hindu commentators do not merely explain the meanings of words, but they justify them, or endeavour to justify them, on the ground of *the grammar of PĀNINI, the Vārtikas of KĀTYĀYANA, and the Mahābhāṣya of PATAÑJALI*.

Let us recall, then, the position we have vindicated for Pāṇini and Kātyāyana in the ancient literature, and consider how far this ground is solid ground, and how far, and when, we may feel justified in attaching a doubt to the decisions of so great a scholar as Sāyana.

We have seen that within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, so far as it is known to us, only the Saṁhitās of the Rīg-Sāma- and Black- Yajurveda, and among individual authors, only the exegete Yāska preceded Pāṇini,—that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to his eight grammatical books. We have seen, moreover, that *Kātyāyana* knew the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* and the *Śātapatha-brāhmaṇa*, and that, in consequence, we may assign to him, without fear of contradiction, a knowledge of the principal other Brāhmaṇas known to us, and probably of the *Atharvaveda* also.

Such being the case, we must then conclude that Sāyana was right in assenting to Patañjali, who, throughout his Introduction to Pāṇini, shows that Pāṇini's Grammar was written in strict reference to the Vaidik Saṁhitās, which, as I may now contend, were the three principal Saṁhitās. He is right, too, in appealing, wherever there is need, to the *Vārtikas* of Kātyāyana; for the latter endorses the rules of Pāṇini when he does not criticise them, and completes them wherever he thinks that Pāṇini had omitted to

notice a fact. And since we have found that the Rik-Pratīśākhya fulfils the same object as these Vārtikas, viz. that of completing the rules of Pāṇini, and that Kātyāyana's Pratīśākhya, which is later than that attributed to Śaunaka, preceded his own Vārtikas, we must grant, too, that he was right in availing himself of the assistance of those works, all of which are prior to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

That analogous conclusions apply to the *Ishtis* of Pantanjali and to the *Phitsūtras* of Śāntana is obvious. √

But it is from *the chronological position* in which these works stand to one another that we may feel justified in occasionally criticising the decisions of Śāyana. Without a knowledge of it, or at least without a serious and conscientious attempt at obtaining it, all criticisms on Śāyana lay themselves open to the reproach of mere arbitrariness and superficiality.

For, if the results here maintained be adopted, good and substantial reasons—which, however, would first have to be proved—might allow us to doubt the correctness of a decision of Śāyana :

if, for instance, he rejected an interpretation of a word that would follow from a rule of Pāṇini, on the sole ground that Kātyāyana did not agree with Pāṇini ; or, if he interpreted a word merely on the basis of a Vārtika of Kātyāyana, we might fairly question his decision, if we saw reason to apply to the case a rule of Pāṇini, perhaps not criticised by Kātyāyana. Again, if we had substantial reasons for doing so, we might oppose our views to those of Śāyana when he justified a meaning by the aid of the *Phitsūtras* alone, though these *Sūtras* may be at variance with Pāṇini, for we should say that these *Sūtras*, “when compared to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day.”

In short, the greater the distance becomes between a Veda and the grammarian who appended to it his notes, the more we shall have a plausible ground for looking forward, in preference to him, to that grammarian who stood nearer to the fountain head. Even Pāṇini would cease to be our ultimate refuge, if we found Yāska opposed to him ; and Gārgya, Śākalya, Śākatāyana, or the other predecessors of Pāṇini, would deserve more serious consideration

than himself, if we were able to see that they maintained a sense of a Vaidik word which is differently rendered by him.

This is the critical process to which I hold that the commentaries of Sáyana may be subjected, should it be deemed necessary to differ from them.

These remarks apply, of course, only to the Saṁhitás which preceded Pāṇini; for, as to the literature which was posterior to him, Kátyáyana becomes necessarily our first exegetic authority, and after him comes Patanjali. I need not go further, for I have sufficiently explained the method I advocate, and the exception I take to that dogmatical schooling of these ancient authorities, which, so far from taking the trouble of conscientiously ascertaining their *relative chronological position in the literature* merely exhibits, at every step, its own want of scholarship.

I must now, though reluctantly, take a glance at the manner in which the Vaidik texts, more especially their groundwork, the Saṁhitás, nay, how the whole Sanskrit literature itself, is dealt with by those who profess to be our teachers and our authorities. And

still more reluctantly must I advert to one work especially, which, above all others, has set itself up as our teacher and authority—the great Sanskrit Dictionary published by the Russian Imperial Academy.

The principles on which this work deals with the Vaidik texts is expressed by Professor Roth in his preface to it, in the following words:<sup>222</sup> “Therefore we do not believe, as H. H. Wilson does,<sup>223</sup> that Sájana better understood the expressions of the Veda than any European exegete, and that we have nothing to do but repeat what he says; on the contrary, we believe that a conscientious European exegete may understand the Veda much more correctly and better than Sájana. We do not consider it the [our] immediate purpose to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in

<sup>222</sup> “Sanskrit-Wörterbuch herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Otto Bohtlingk und Rudolph Roth.” Preface, p. v.

<sup>223</sup> Note of Professor Roth: “Rig-Veda-Samhitá. A collection of ancient Hindu hymns, &c. Translated from the original Sanskrit. By H. H. Wilson. London, 1850. I. p. 25.”



India some centuries ago,<sup>24</sup> but we search for the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases. We consequently hold that the writings of Sājana and of the other commentators must not be an authority to the exegete, but merely one of the means of which he has to avail himself in the accomplishment of his task, which certainly is difficult, and not to be effected at a first attempt, nor by a single individual. On this account we have much regretted that the meritorious edition of the commentary on the *Rigveda*, by Müller, is not yet more advanced.<sup>25</sup>

"We have, therefore, endeavoured to take the road which is

prescribed by philology : to elicit the sense of the texts by putting together all the passages which are kindred either in regard to their words or their sense ; a road which is slow and tedious, and which, indeed, has not been trodden before, either by the commentators or the translators. Our double lot has, therefore, been that of exegetes as well as lexicographers. The purely etymological proceeding, as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, without having before them the ten or twenty other passages in which the same word recurs, cannot possibly lead to a correct result."<sup>26</sup>

It would be but common fairness to allow these words of

<sup>24</sup> Note of Professor Roth : "Wilson, a. a. O. II. p. xxiii." But the page quoted by Professor Roth does not contain one single word in reference to the passage which it apparently intends to bear out.

<sup>25</sup> The first part of the Dictionary of Professor Roth and Dr. Boehtlingk was issued in 1852 ; the first volume, which is prefaced by the words quoted, in 1855 ; the first and second part of the second volume in 1856 ; the third part of the same volume in 1857. Professor Müller's first volume of the *Rigveda* appeared in 1849, the second in 1854, the third in 1856.

<sup>26</sup> In reference to this view of Professor Roth, of the relation of the *Hjāda* commentators to the Vaidik hymns, Professor Weber says in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. X. p. 575 : "Allem was darüber gesagt ist schliessen wir uns auf das Unbedingteste und Entschiedenste an ;" i. e. "To all that has been said on it [on this relation, in the Preface of the Wörterbuch] we (etc., does Professor Weber speak in his own name or in that of the whole Dictionary-company ?) assent in the most unconditional and in the most peremptory manner."

Professor Roth to be followed by the entire preface which the lamented Professor Wilson has prefixed to the second volume of his invaluable translation of the *Rigveda*: the more so, as his views have been unscrupulously distorted in the statement here quoted; for though his views are supposed to be refuted by this passage, they could not shine brighter, in genuine modesty, in true scholarship, and in thorough common sense, than when placed by the side of this passage, which I will not qualify but analyze. But as I could not easily quote some twenty pages from Professor Wilson's excellent work, and as I should scarcely do justice to the manes of that distinguished man if I did not allow him to give his full answer, I must leave it to the reader to obtain for himself that contrast to which I here advert.

If, then, we analyze the ideas and principles presented in the passage just quoted, they come before us to the following effect:—

(1) Śāyana gives us only that sense of the *Veda* which was current in India some centuries ago.

(2) Professor Roth is far more able than Śāyana and other commentators to give us the correct sense of the *Veda*.

(3) For, he can put together some ten or twenty passages referring to the same word, whereas Śāyana and other commentators could not do this, but had to guess its sense.

(4) He is above confining himself to the purely etymological process, which is that of these commentators.

(5) His object is not to understand the sense of the *Veda* which was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the authors of the hymns themselves gave to their songs and phrases.

(6) Professor Roth is a conscientious European exegete.

Before I give my Vārtikas to these six Śūtras, which define the exegetical position of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, I must observe that I am compelled, by the very nature of this Preface, to leave them in a similar position to that occupied by the Preface of Professor Roth itself. His Dictionary is the test of the assertions he makes. The test of my remarks would be a critical review of his

Dictionary. *I hereby promise him that my earliest leisure will be devoted to this review, especially as my materials for it are not only collected and ready, but so abundant as to give me a difficulty of choice.* But my present answer must, of necessity, deal with his generalities only in general terms.

(1) Sáyana or the other commentators give us, he intimates, only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago.

A bolder statement I defy any scholar to have met with in any book. Sáyana incessantly refers to Yáska. All his explanations show that he stands on the ground of the *oldest legends and traditions*—of such traditions, moreover, as have no connection whatever with the creed of those sects which represent the degenerated Hindu faith in his time; yet Professor Roth ventures to tell the public at large, authoritatively and *without a particle of evidence*, that these legends and his version of the Rígvēda are but some centuries old. I believe, and every learned Hindu will hold with me, that Sáyana would have been hooted out of the country where he

lived, had he dared to commit the imposition implied in this charge, on King Bukka, his lord, or on his countrymen. I hope, however, that Professor Roth will free himself from the reproach expressed by these words, by showing on what authority he gives such a piece of information, which is either all important for Europe as well as for India, or places him in the most ridiculous position that is conceivable.

(2) When an author tells us that he is able to do that which another author cannot do, we are entitled to infer that he is, at all events, thoroughly acquainted with all that this author has done. I am well aware,—I may add through the pleasure of personal remembrances,—that Professor Roth passed some time at Paris, and some little time in London also, when collecting his valuable materials for his edition of Yáska's Nirukta. Only in London and at Oxford, and, in some small measure, at Paris also, are the materials requisite for studying the Vaidik commentaries of Sáyana obtainable in Europe. Does Professor Roth intimate by the statement above quoted, that his stay in these cities enabled him to

study and copy, for his lexicographical purposes—then not thought of—all the works of Śāyana; or that he, at Tübingen, is in possession of all those materials, the knowledge of which alone could entitle him to claim credit for a statement like that which he has ventured to make? But I need not pause for his reply. He regrets, as we have read, that “the meritorious edition by Müller, of Śāyana’s Commentary was not further advanced” when he closed the first volume of his Dictionary. Thus, when he began his “exegetical” work, he was only acquainted with the Commentary of Śāyana as far as the first Ashtaka; and when he wrote these lines, he may *perhaps* have known its continuation up to a portion of the third Ashtaka—in other words, no more than a third of Śāyana’s whole Commentary on the Rīgvēda; and yet he ventures to speak of the whole Commentary of Śāyana, and to say that he can do what Śāyana was unable to perform? But we almost forget that the words of Professor Roth are by no means restricted to the Rīgvēda Commentary alone; it embraces the commentaries to *all the Saṁhitās*. And here I am once more compelled to ask—

Does he assert that he knew, when he wrote these words, Śāyana’s Commentary on the Sānaveda and the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, or even Śāyana’s Commentary on the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa? For surely he would not think of calling that Śāyana’s Commentary to this Brāhmaṇa, which has been presented to us extracted and mangled in Professor Weber’s edition of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. And yet he has the courage to pass this sweeping condemnation on all these gigantic labours of the Hindu mind, while ignorant of all but the merest fraction of them?

(3) Professor Roth no doubt enjoys a great advantage when he can put together some ten or twenty passages for examining the sense of a word which occurs in them; but I beg to submit that there are many instances in which a Vaidik word does not occur twenty or ten, nor yet five or four times, in the Saṁhitās. How does he, then, muster his ten or twenty passages, when, nevertheless, he rejects the interpretation of Śāyana? For it would seem that in such a case the “guessing” of Śāyana, as he calls it, stands on as good ground as his own. But the assurance with

which he implies that Śāyana was not capable of mustering ten or twenty passages which are at the command of Professor Roth, presupposes, indeed, in his readers a degree of imbecile credulity which is, no doubt, a happy condition of mind for those who rejoice in it, and perhaps that best fitted for reading assertions like these, but which may not be quite so universal as he seems to assume. Mādhava-Śāyana, one of the profoundest scholars of India, the exegete of all the three Vedas, as he tells us himself,—of the most important Brāhmanas and a *Kalp* work, — Mādhava, the renowned Mīmāṃsist—he, the great grammarian, who wrote the learned commentary on the Sanskrit radicals, who shows at every step that he has Pāṇini and Kātyāyana at his fingers' ends,—Mādhava, who, on account of his gigantic learning and his deep sense of religion, lives in the legends of India as an incarnation of Śiva,—in short, the great Mādhava, we are told, had not the proficiency of combining in his mind or otherwise those ten or twenty passages of *his own Veda*, which Professor Roth has

the powerful advantage of bringing together by means of his little memoranda !

(4) "The purely etymological proceeding," he says, "as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, cannot possibly lead to a correct result."

By these words he compels us to infer, in the first instance, that the meanings which Śāyana gives to Vaidik words are purely etymological; for when he illustrates his statement in a subsequent passage, by alleging such instances as "power, sacrifice, food, wisdom, to go, to move," it is clear that his sweeping assertion cannot be considered as merely embracing these six words, which, in his opinion, sometimes admit of a modification of sense. Just as he cancels the whole spirit of Śāyana's commentary, he tells us with the utmost assurance that the whole commentary of Śāyana is purely etymological. There is, I admit, an advantage in boldness; for if you tell a man while gazing on the noon-day sun that he is actually in the darkness of mid-night, he may probably prefer

to doubt the evidence of his senses rather than venture to reject the extraordinary news you bring him. I open at random the three quartos of Max Müller; I look at every page once, twice, many times. No doubt Professor Roth must be quite correct, for my eyes are blind. But, since I suffer under this sudden disability, I may at least be permitted to quote that very page from Wilson's preface to the second volume of his translation which Professor Roth quotes above, as if it bore out his statement concerning the "some centuries."

"As many instances of this elliptical construction," we read there, "have been given in the notes of both this and the former volume, a few additional instances will here be sufficient:—thus (p. 301, v. 9) we have the 'grandson of the waters has ascended above the crooked —'; 'the broad and golden — spread around.' What would the European scholar do here without the Scholiast? He might, perhaps, suspect that the term crooked, curved, or bent, or, as here explained, crooked-going, tortuous, might apply to the clouds; but he would hesitate as to

what he should attach the other epithets to, and the original author alone could say with confidence that he meant '*rivers*,' which thenceforward became the traditional and admitted explanation, and is, accordingly, so supplied by the Scholiast."

Thus, has Sáyana stopped at the etymological sense of "crooked-going," or of "gold-coloured?" ✓

But, in the second instance, though Professor Roth, of course, possesses all the knowledge which these ignorant Hindu commentators were wanting in, he implies by his words, that the meanings he creates in overstepping the purely etymological process, nevertheless rest on it. Since my reply on this point would have to enter into detail, and since I have promised to give *much* detail in the review which will be the commentary on my present remarks, I will merely here state that I know of no work which has come before the public with such unmeasured pretensions of scholarship and critical ingenuity as this Wörterbuch, and which has, at the same time, laid itself open to such serious reproaches of the *profoundest grammatical ignorance*. And, as

an etymological proceeding without a thorough knowledge of grammar is etymological thimblering, I may at least here prepare the reader who takes an interest in such plays, for a performance on the most magnificent scale. Or to speak in plain prose, I shall prove to Professor Roth by means of those same authorities which I have so often impressed on the reader's mind, that his Dictionary has created many meanings without the slightest regard to the grammatical properties of the word, and, in consequence, that his Vaidik exegesis in all these numerous and important instances has just that worth which a Veda revealed by Professor Roth has in comparison with the Veda of India.

(5) The object of Professor Roth is "not to understand the Veda such as it was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases."

This is unquestionably most important intelligence. Śāyana gives us the sense of the Veda, such as it was handed down to him—not indeed a few centuries ago, but from generation to genera-

tion immemorial—yet within this Kalyuga, I suppose. Nāgoji-bhāṭṭa, again, we have seen,<sup>27</sup> tells us that in the various destructions of the world, the Rishis received new revelations from the divinity, which did not affect the eternal sense of the Veda, but merely the order of its words. But now we learn, for the first time, that Professor Roth has received a revelation at Tübingen, which as yet has neither reached the banks of the Thames nor those of the Ganges. He is going to tell us the sense which the original Rishis gave to their songs and phrases, at a period of Hindu antiquity, which is as much within scientific reach as the commencement of the world itself. Who will not hail this revelation which dispenses with grammar and all that sort of thing, and who will not believe in it?

And yet I have one word more to add in regard to Professor Roth's "direct communication with the Hindu divinities." He does not attach any importance, as he tells us, and abundantly proves, to that Veda which is the foundation of the religious

<sup>27</sup> See note 171.

development of India ; for that Veda is the Veda of Sáyana, and that Veda, too, which alone concerns us uninspired mortals. But even Professor Roth himself professes, in another part of his Preface, the greatest respect for the native commentaries on theological and ritual books. There he emphatically exclaims (p. iv.) : " Indeed, for one of the two portions of the Vaidik literature, for the works on theology and the rites, we cannot wish for any better guides than these commentators, accurate in every respect, who follow their texts word for word, who are untiring in repeating everywhere that which they have already said whenever there could arise even the appearance of a misunderstanding, and who sometimes seem rather to have written for us foreigners than for their priestly pupils grown up under these ideas and impressions." How far his work has embodied the conviction expressed in these words which could not have been expressed with greater truth, I shall have to examine in my review. But I fear that these eloquent words must have escaped his memory in the midst of all the revelations he received. On the Rigveda we have already ex-

changed our views ; but not yet on the other Vedas. These are avowedly extracted, or " milked," as the Hindus say, from the Rik. That the Sámaveda is entirely taken from it, we have proof,<sup>26</sup> and that the metrical part of the Yajus likewise rests on a version of it, no one will dispute. But both these Vedas are professedly not poetical anthologies. They are purely and simply ritual Vedas, and therefore belong—not only from a Hindu, but from an European point of view also—to the ritual literature. At the Jyotishtoma, for instance, the priest chants, not the Rig-, but the Sâma-veda hymns, though the verses are apparently the same in both. At the Aswamedha he mutters, not the Rig-, but the Yajur-veda hymns. This means that, whatever may have been the " original sense" of such Rigveda verses, in their Sâma- or Yajur-veda arrangement which, in numerous instances, has brought Rigveda verses of different hymns or books, into a new hymn,—the Sâmaveda hymns and the Yajurveda hymns have only a value so far as their immediate

<sup>26</sup> See note 75.



object, the sacrifice, is concerned. Hence even the most transcendental and the most inspired critic has nothing to do in these two Vēdas with "the sense which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases," he has simply to deal with that sense which religion or superstition imparted to these verses, in order to adapt them to the imaginary effects of the sacrifice. As little as it would be our immediate object, when assisting at the horse-sacrifice, to ask what is the etymology of horse? or as little as it would be seasonable to trace the linguistic origin of a cannon-ball when it whistles past our ears, just so little have we to impart "the original sense"—I mean that sense revealed to Professor Roth—to the verses of the Sáma- and Yajur- veda, even when we are "both exegetes and lexicographers." And yet I shall give abundant proof that, even on these two Vēdas, Professor Roth has had revelations of a most astounding character.

(6) "We believe that a conscientious European exegete might understand much more correctly and thoroughly the sense of the Veda than Sáyana." I should encroach on the judgment of the

reader, if I ventured upon any remarks on this latter statement after what I have already said.

In now adverting to the treatment which the scientific and classical literature has received in the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, I need only say that this department is in the hands of Dr. Boehtlingk. In saying this, I have said everything. After such an expression of opinion, it will, of course, be my duty to show, at the earliest opportunity, that Dr. Boehtlingk is incapable of understanding even easy rules of Pāṇini, much less those of Kātyáyana, and still less is he capable of making use of them in the understanding of classical texts. The errors in his department of the Dictionary are so numerous and of so *peculiar* a kind—yet, on the whole, so thoroughly in accordance with the specimens I have adduced from his Commentary on Pāṇini, that it will fill every serious Sanskritist with dismay, when he calculates the mischievous influence which they must exercise on the study of Sanskrit philology.

On the present occasion, I must confine myself to these preliminary remarks, or at best content myself with adverting to one

other passage in the Preface to the Wörterbuch. It runs thus (p. vii.): "In order to facilitate the finding (of the words) for those who will make use of our Dictionary, we have to make the following observation. We have banished completely from the verbal roots the vowels *ri*, *ri*, and *li*, as well as the diphthongs at their end; for *ri* at the end of nominal bases we have substituted *ar*."

Thus the Wörterbuch does not give, like the Hindu grammarians, a radical *kri*, but it gives *kar*; not *krip*, but *karp*; not *jri*, but *jar*; not *pitr*, but *pitar*; not *datri*, but *datar*, etc. Now, this Dictionary professes to be a Dictionary of the Sanskrit language, not of some imaginary idiom which may be current at Tübingen or St. Petersburg. One would therefore have supposed that the public was entitled to expect some reason for these changes,—to know by what scientific considerations the authors of this work were guided, when they took upon themselves the responsibility of thus *abolishing the radicals and nominal bases taught by Pāṇini and subsequent grammarians*. But, in the fullness of its authority, this work does not condescend to meet any such demand: it simply cancels whole

categories of grammatical forms, and those of the greatest importance and comprehensiveness. Whether I am right or not in inferring the arguments which were in the minds of its writers when they presumed thus dictatorially to impose their theories on Sanskrit philology, may be a matter of doubt, but my supposition is that this innovation is founded on researches belonging to comparative philology. It cannot rest on mere Sanskrit ground, since all the forms they have cancelled really occur as thematic forms in the Sanskrit language itself. Thus, to use the same instances: *kri* occurs in *kri-ta*, *krip* in *krip-ta*, *pitr* in *pitr-bhis*, *datri* in *datri-bhis*; and as to *jri*,—*jriṇa* can only follow from *jri*, not from *jar*. Their reasons, founded on comparative grammar, must then be these: that some bases in *ri* are represented in Latin by *er* and *or*, and in Greek by *ep*, *op*, and *or*; *pitr*, for instance corresponds with Latin *pater*, Greek *πατήρ*, *datri* with *δατήρ* and *δατήρ*, etc.

Now even supposing that such an argument had any weight at all in a dictionary of the Sanskrit language, the application made

of it would be incongruous. For though *pitar-* corresponds with *pater-*, *dātār-* does not correspond with *dātōr-*; its representative would have had to assume the form *dātār-*. The whole theory therefore, on the supposition I have made, would practically break down, and the innovation would be inconsistent with itself as well as at variance with comparative results.

But can such an argument be at all admissible? If a Sanskrit Dictionary were concerned, like Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar, with eliciting from the forms of sister languages the forms of that parental language whence they may be supposed to have derived their origin, it would be defensible to give the forms of that parental language itself. But a Sanskrit Dictionary can have no such aim. Its immediate object is the actual language which it has to deal with. It must take it such as it is, in its very deviations from the germ whence it has sprung. Its function is not to correct the real historical language, but to record its facts; and in doing so, to collect the materials which are to be used as well by the special as by the comparative philologist. And in so far as its

direct purpose is concerned, this is all it has to do. Any observations it may choose to attach to the real historical facts may of course be given; but it shows an utter want of judgment, to say nothing else, when it presumes to alter the very forms of the language itself.

I may venture also to add a few other observations on the forms thus cancelled in this "conscientious" Sanskrit Wörterbuch. It is known that many Sanskrit bases, and amongst them the bases in *ri*, undergo various changes in their declension and otherwise. *Pitri*, for instance, becomes *pitar-*, in the accusative *pitar-am*, while it remains as it is, in the instrumental *pitrī-bhis*; *dadhi* remains so in *dadhi-bhis*, but its base is *dadhan*, with the loss of *a*, in *dadhm-ā*; *asthi* forms *asthi-bhis*, but *asthm-ā*. Now there exists a paper of Dr. Boehtlingk on the Sanskrit declension; but whoever reads it must fancy that the language either played dice with these and similar forms, or is undergoing some remarkable cure. He talks of bases "which are strengthened as well as weakened," of bases "which are only strengthened," and of bases "which are only

weakened." Why language should nurse and physic its bases, as we learn from him, no one will understand. But a sadder spectacle of the treatment of a language or of linguistic facts than is presented in that paper, it is not possible to imagine. The *reasoning* there is exactly on the same level as the reasoning in the "*edition*" of Pāṇini, of which so many specimens have now become familiar to the reader of this Preface. Exactly the same game at dice or the same vagaries of disease reign in this Dictionary: thus, though the declension phenomena of *akshi*, *asthi*, *dadhi*, are identical, and acknowledged to be so by Dr. Boehtlingk himself in his paper on Declension (§ 69), in his Dictionary he discourses on the first noun under *akṣam*, and again under *akṣhi*, while, on the contrary, if we look to *asthi*, he refers us to *asṭhan*; and if under his guidance we now go to *dadhas*, he requests us to seek for information under *dadhi*.

But since the linguistic hospital, which is opened in the works of Dr. Boehtlingk, is fortunately not the place in which the Sanskrit language lies,—for this language has had a sound and

rational development—it will be obvious to everyone who happens not to be placed under Dr. Boehtlingk's treatment, that there must be reasons for this variety of thematic forms which constitute the declension of the same base. And as there are such reasons, the immediate consequence is that we cannot decide, *a priori*, whether *kārta* be the "strengthened" form of the original base *kartṛi*, or "*kartṛi*" the "weakened" form of the original base *kārta*. Such a decision can only be taken after a thorough investigation of the influences which cause this change, of the nature of these influences themselves, and of the manner in which they work. And as language does not sit down like a school-boy, first to master the declensions, then the conjugations, and so on,—but as the influences I am speaking of are influences which are traceable in the whole organism of language itself, it is obvious, too, that such an investigation would not restrict itself to the phenomena of declension merely, but extend over the whole area of the linguistic development.

When I myself assumed the responsibility of writing a Sanskrit

Dictionary, I considered it incumbent on me to devote a most serious research to those little facts which, as we have seen, are despatched in five lines by our modern "exegetes and lexicographers." Six years have elapsed since I laid my first results, so far as lexicographical purposes are concerned, before the London Philological Society, and it is only the desire of giving them in their full bearing and extent that has hitherto delayed their presentation through the press. Now, it is questions like these—questions which, in my mind, ought to be decided with the very utmost circumspection, and which cannot be decided without very laborious research,—it is questions like these which have been trifled with in this Wörterbuch in the most unwarranted manner. It does not show that it even understands the important problem which lies in its path ; it briefly informs the reader that it has cancelled all the bases in *ṛi*, *ṛi*, *ṛi*, etc. and bids him—good-bye.

Patanjali,—let us for a moment repose after this dreary journey through the Wörterbuch,—Patanjali on one occasion thus speaks

to us : "When a man is in want of a pot, he goes to the house of a potter and says : (potter), make me a pot, for I have occasion for it. But (surely) a man who wants to employ words will not go, like the other, to the house of a grammarian and say : (grammarian) make me some words, I have occasion for them."<sup>220</sup> Happy Patanjali ! blessed in thy ignorance ! Here we have potters who can fabricate—and not simply meanings of words, but the very words themselves, and words, too, which you laboured so earnestly, so learnedly, so conscientiously, to save from the pottering of all future "exegetes and lexicographers." Nay, we have, too, men who can repair to these potters, and call for, and admire, their linguistic wares ! ✓

When in the presence of these extraordinary facts, which, unhappily, must silence the expression of all the acknowledgment—

<sup>220</sup> *Mahābhāṣya* Introduction (p. 53 ed. Ballantyne) : **घटेन वाचं करिष्याम्युत्तार-  
मुचं नलाह नुर चटं कार्यमेव करिष्यामीति । न तद्वत्स्यान्मुत्तुबभावो विवाक-  
नवमुचं नलाह नुर शब्दाप्रलोका इति**

may, of *all the admiration I really entertain for the immense industry displayed in this Wörterbuch*,—when with that deep sense which I entertain of the *duties* and of the *influence* of a Dictionary, and, in the actual condition of Sanskrit philology, more especially of a Sanskrit Dictionary,—when with these convictions, the earnestness of which, I believe, is proved throughout the whole of this investigation,—when—I will not conceal it—under the indignation and grief I felt in seeing a magnificent opportunity thrown away—as I shall abundantly prove that it has been thrown away in the case of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch,—when under these impressions I uttered a warning, five years ago, in the “Westminster Review,” a warning contained in three pages, there ensued a spectacle which, during my literary experience, stands without a parallel.

Professor Kuhn,—not indeed a proficient in Sanskrit, nor having ever obtained any position amongst those who are earnestly engaged in Sanskrit philology, but—as a contributor of quotations to the Wörterbuch, launched against me the grossest personal invectives which ever disgraced the pages of a scientific journal.

As sound, literary argument was beyond his range, he indemnified himself, and gratified his employers, by calling me names. Un fortunately for him his abuse could produce no effect upon me, for the following reason. Amongst the few critical remarks for which I had room, in the “Westminster Review,” there was one which illustrated the manner in which Professor Roth had translated a ritual text. This remark was expressly written for Professor Kuhn’s amusement as well as that of Professor Weber. For, at a small Sanskrit party which used to meet every fortnight at Berlin during the years 1847 and 1848, I had shown them the Commentary of Mádhava on a Mīmáṃsá work, the editing of which I had then commenced, this Commentary being the proof of the assertion I had made in 1855 in the “Westminster Review.” Professor Kuhn heartily enjoyed, at one of these meetings, the precious translation of the passage in question from the *Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, given by Professor Roth, in the preface (pp. xxxviii-xli) to his edition of the *Nirukta*. Nay more, so anxious was he to possess its substance, before it was published, that in my presence he took notes from

the Commentary I am speaking of,—viz., that of the Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara. And in the invectives to which I am alluding, he does not deny the existence, nor yet the value, of my evidence, but he words his defence of Professor Roth in so studied and so ambiguous a manner as to create in the minds of his readers a suspicion as to the reliability of the statement I had made, though its truth was perfectly familiar to him.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> In possession of the information I am speaking of he writes as follows: "Der letzteren stellt der verfasser eine bedeutend abweichende des commentators gegenüber, da er aber nur the commentator und nicht all the commentators oder almost all the commentators sagt, so ist stark zu vermuthen, dass noch andere commentare existiren, welche den text wahrscheinlich in der Rothachen weise erklären werden; dabei nehme ich natürlich den Fall als ganz unmöglich an dass der verfasser (der nichts als die übersetzung giebt) etwa selber den commentar missverstanden haben sollte" i.e. "In opposition to the latter [viz. the version of Professor Roth of the passage in question] the reviewer gives another of the commentator which is considerably different from it; but as he merely says the commentator, and not all the commentators or almost all the commentators, there is a strong probability (*sic*!) that there are other commentators who probably (*sic*!) explain the text in the manner of Professor Roth. With these words I assume it, as a matter of course, to be plainly impossible that the reviewer who

Now, a writer who has recourse to such weapons as these has laid aside those qualities which are necessary to retain a man within the pale of a gentlemanly consideration, and his language, however *gives nothing but the translation, should have misinterpreted the commentary.*"—That Professor Kuhn had not the slightest doubt as to who was the author of the review in question, even he will not venture to deny; for he has stated the fact in letters and in conversation. But even if he had any such doubt, he knew that I was in possession of the commentary, for he had taken notes from it. If, then, the ascertainment of truth about his notes were not complete enough—which, however, I do not admit—the time required for a letter to me and an answer back, that is to say, five days, would have sufficed to give him all the information he could wish for. It requires, however, no statement from me that his object was not to inform his readers of the *true* state of the facts; it better suited his purpose to insinuate a doubt as to the correctness of the translation I had given. Indeed, Professor Weber,—who, as I have mentioned, possessed the *style* knowledge and had obtained it in the same manner, as Professor Kuhn, settles the point. Though he did not remain behind his colleague in scurrilous abuse, and though, in speaking of my translation, he shows his usual levity, he, nevertheless, plainly and openly acknowledges the full reliability of the translation I had given, on the ground of the Mīmāṃsā work. He says: "er kennt nämlich offenbar nur die systematisirte Erklärung der Mīmāṃsāschule, etc.;" i.e. "the reviewer obviously knows only the sys-

gross, and adapted to his own character, can not touch one who does not stand on the same level with him.

A similar exhibition took place, I am grieved to say, in a journal of high standing and respectability, in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft." It is a salutary practice in the journals of all learned societies, not to admit into their pages scurrilous or libellous attacks against individuals; and this practice has been rigidly adhered to in the journal to which I am advertising, with the single exception of my own case. Professor Weber, who is also in the service of the Wörterbuch, suddenly attacked me in this journal,—not, indeed, with anything that deserves the name of argument, but with personal abuse of the coarsest kind. Five years have passed by, and at last a sense of justice, which does credit to himself, has re-entered the mind of Professor Weber; and in the last number of the "Zeitschrift," which

temerizing explanation of the *Mīmāṃsā* school, etc." Thus, whatever be his opinion of this explanation, he speaks of it from *personal knowledge*, and admits that my account of it was correct and not liable of doubt.

reached me when this Preface was nearly completed in print, he has fully and honestly retracted all his former calumnies; still, however, combining with the compliments he now pays to my Dictionary, the remark that my views of the Wörterbuch show a perfect derangement of my mental faculties, since I do not reject the authority of the greatest Hindu scholars as freely and easily as the work he so assiduously praises.

I am certainly in no humour to find fault with the opinion which he entertains of my mental condition, for it will always give me a sense of safety and satisfaction when I find him bearing testimony to the vast distance which separates our respective modes of studying, and judging of, Hindu antiquity. But, as he has chosen to connect his opinion of me with a piece of scientific advice, this seems a fitting opportunity for illustrating, *once more*, his competence for passing a judgment on matters of Sanskrit philology.

He says: "Another, third, essential difference [between the Wörterbuch and my Dictionary;—I, myself, trust and hope that



attentive readers will find many more *essential* differences than three between the two works] consists . . . . . in [my] not marking the accent of the words."

In his opinion, therefore, the Wörterbuch *does* mark the accent. Now, setting aside the very considerable quantity of words which are not marked with any accent in this work, the instances in which it is marked there seem to satisfy the scientific requirements of Professor Weber. I ought, then, to mention, in the first place, that in all such cases the accent is put there over the word without any further explanatory remark. But I have shown that there are *periods* in the known Sanskrit *grammatical* literature ;—that the first period is that of Pāṇini, the second that of the Rik-Prātisākhya, the third (perhaps fourth) that of Kātyāyana, the fourth (or perhaps fifth) that of the Phitsūtras ; and that, as we continue our descent, we have the period of the Kāsikā, Kaumudī, etc. Thus, marking an accent without saying to what period such an accent belongs, *and up to what period it remains in force*, is giving evidence of the greatest superficiality,—it is showing, too, that the difficulties of the question

we are speaking of, were not at all understood. As regards myself, I believe I might have entered into such detail, since I have considered it my duty to turn my researches into this channel also ; and if the scientific and liberal disposition of my publishers could have disregarded all material considerations in the case—and could have added still more to the great concessions of space which they have already made me, to their own material detriment, since the publication of the third part of my Dictionary,—I should have been able not only to give quotations *historically*, which the Wörterbuch, notwithstanding Professor Weber's bold assertion—I will not attach to it another epithet—does not give, and to discuss the matters of accent,—but even to re-edit, little by little, the Commentary to the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, as I have already done on several occasions, in order to prove the meanings I give, and which meanings no one could gather from the text as edited by Professor Weber. No doubt I might have done all this had I been perfectly independent of material considerations. But, at all events, had I, in marking the accents, contented myself with that which satisfies completely,

Professor Weber's scientific wants, my Dictionary would have become as superficial as the book which he has qualified as a work of the "most scrupulous conscientiousness."<sup>201</sup>

In adverting to Professor Weber's advice, I may as well quote one more instance from his impartial illustration of the difference between the two Dictionaries. It concerns the meanings of words in both. But as I have adverted to this subject before, I need now only say, that he describes the Wörterbuch in the following manner.

"It represents," he writes in the 'Zeitschrift,' "the principle of reality in contrast with the historical proceeding of interpretation [which he says, is mine], by allowing the words to interpret themselves through the chronological order (*sic.!*) of the quotations added to them, and through these quotations themselves, the authors always quoting the native exegesis also, but merely as a

<sup>201</sup> In his libel he says; "dieses Werk des bewundernswürthesten Fleisses und der sorgsamsten Gewissenhaftigkeit."

secondary means."<sup>202</sup> And of myself he says, that my "orthodox faith in the authority of native exegetes and grammarians" is something perfectly bewildering; indeed, it presupposes the "derangement of my mental faculties."<sup>203</sup>

It requires all the levity, on the one hand, and all the hardness, on the other, which are the mixed essentials of Professor

<sup>202</sup> "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. XIV. p. 755: Die Haupttendenz, die er [*i.e.*, myself] hierbei verfolgt, besteht eben—und dies markirt einen fernerer Haupt-Unterschied von *Becktiagk-Roth*—darin, dass er es sich zur Aufgabe macht, die Ansichten der einheimischen Erklärer und Sprachforscher zur prägnanten Geltung zu bringen, während *Becktiagk-Roth* diesem historischen Erklärungsverfahren gegenüber das sachliche Princip vertreten, die Wörter nämlich durch zeitliche Ordnung der betreffenden Stellen und durch eben diese Stellen selbst sich unmittelbar erklären zu lassen, wobei sie die einheimische Exegese zwar auch stets anführen, aber doch nur als sekundäres Hülfsmittel betrachten."

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.* p. 756: "Persönliche Beziehungen haben uns seitdem überzeugt, dass der Verfasser bei Abfassung jenes, für uns allerdings immer noch geradezu unbegreiflichen, Angriffes auf das Petersburger Wörterbuch dennoch wirklich im völligen Rechte zu sein glaubte. Es setzt dies freilich nach unserer Ansicht eine Art Verirrung des Denkvermögens voraus, wie sie auf sonstigen Gebieten nicht selten ist, hier aber in der That be-

Wieder literary productions, to allow an author to come before the public with statements like these. As for myself, any one may see that there are various instances in my Dictionary where I *plainly state that I differ from the etymologies or meanings given by the native authorities*. These cases of dissent are certainly not frequent, because a serious investigation of the native grammarians led me in most instances to appreciate their scholarship and the correctness of its results; nor have I the presumption to supersede them with mere vague and vapouring doubts; but that I have ground sometimes to differ even from the views of a Kátyáyana or a Patanjali, Professor Weber will have probably learned now from the foregoing pages, though he might have learned it already from my Sanskrit Dictionary, which he is good enough to favour with his advice. His statement, therefore, concerning my blind

freudet, eine orthodoxe Hingabe nämlich an die Auktorität der indischen Exegeten und Grammatiker, wie sie uns gegenüber diesen Haarpalmen, die bei aller Spitzfindigkeit denn doch gar oft jenen verblödeten Leibern gleichen, die da Rücken zeigen und Kameele verschlucken, sehr wenig am Platze scheint."

belief in all that the Hindu scholars say, is founded on that same overweening superficiality which, as we have seen, leads him to assume the responsibility of schooling Kátyáyana, whom he does not even understand.

But as to his description of the Wörterbuch, I know not how to qualify it without using language which could only be used by a Professor Kuhn. It is one of my most serious reproaches against the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, that it not only creates its own meanings, and by applying them to the most important documents of the literature, *practically falsifies antiquity itself*, but deliberately, and nearly constantly, *suppresses* all the information we may derive from the native commentaries. I have intimated that the great injury they have thus done to the due appreciation of Hindu antiquity, would have been lessened had they at least, as common sense would suggest, given by the side of their own inventions the meanings of Sáyana or Mahídbara or of other authorities, and thus enabled the student to judge for himself. Yet while the reader may peruse their Dictionary page after page,

sheet after sheet, without discovering a trace of these celebrated Vaidik commentaries, while the exceptions to this rule are so rare as to become almost equal to zero, Professor Weber dares to speculate on the credulity of the public in telling it that this Dictionary *ALWAYS quotes the native exegesis!*

When a cause has sunk so low as to have such defenders and require such means of defence as these, when its own contributors and its noisiest bards have no other praise to chant than such as this, it seems almost cruel to aggravate its agony by exposure or reproach.

But the spectacle exhibited on the appearance of my remarks in the "Westminster Review" does not end here, and its epilogue is perhaps even more remarkable than the play itself. In the same "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" there followed another act, which is so characteristic of the system pursued in these attacks, that it deserves a special word, merely for the sake of curiosity. An individual whose sole connection with Sanskrit studies consists in handing Sanskrit books to those who can read them, a literary naught, wholly unknown, but assuming the airs of

a quantity, because it has figures before it that prompt it on,—this personage who, as his own friends informed me, is perfectly ignorant of Sanskrit, he, too, was allowed to give *his* opinion on the Wörterbuch. I need not say that, in the absence of all knowledge of the subject itself, it merely vented itself in the most grandiloquent praise; but, to complete its mission, there was added to this fustian, language, in reference to me, such as certainly was never heard, or admitted, before in a respectable journal of any society. He need not tremble lest I should drag him into notoriety. Nature has not fitted him for estimating the ridicule to which he exposed himself in becoming the mouthpiece and the puppet of his instigators. If he deserve anything, it is not chastisement, but pity, and the mercy of a charitable concealment of his name.

And all this outrage, not only against the interests of science and truth, but against the commonest rules of decency, was committed in a series of planned attacks, because I had warned the Sanskrit Wörterbuch of the danger of its career, and had not expressed any admiration for Dr. Boehtlingk's competence or scholarship.

It was then, and on the ground of observations I had made in regard to his want of proficiency, that I was called upon by one of his men, not only to have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini," but even for the *hidden* reasons he might have had in foisting on the public this blunders of every kind. The "editor of Pāṇini" was held before me as a symbol of scientific accomplishment; his "edition of Pāṇini" was the great thunderbolt which was hurled at my head by one of these little Jupiters.<sup>24</sup>

For eighteen years I have been thoroughly acquainted with the value and the character of this "edition" of Pāṇini; and yet, from

<sup>24</sup> Prof. Kuhn writes in his "Zeitschrift" the following words: "Wo der alten grammatiker nicht erwähnung gethan ist, geschah es nur deshalb nicht, weil ihre etymologie mit der der verfasser übereinstimmte; stellten dieselben aber ohne jene zu erwähnen eigne etymologien auf, so liess sich doch wohl voraussetzen, dass der herausgeber des Pāṇini, des Vopadeva u. s. w. dazu seine wohlwogenden gründe gehabt haben mochte;" i.e., "where no mention was made [in the Wörterbuch] of the old grammarians, this was done because their etymology agreed with that of the authors of the Wörterbuch; but when the latter made their own etymologies without naming the former, it was but natural to suppose that the editor of Pāṇini, of Vopadeva, etc. had his own well-weighted reasons

a natural disinclination to antagonize with those who have similar pursuits to my own, I have refrained from appraising the public of the knowledge I possessed in regard to it. Twelve years have passed since I explained my views on this book personally and

for doing so." The real nature of this statement of Professor Kuhn will become apparent from the review which I shall give of the Wörterbuch. But his information, as it is, is not without great interest. Thus, according to this quotationer of the Wörterbuch, its authors pass over in silence the labours of the Hindu grammarians—not because they see reason to adopt the results of the latter—but because these labourers have the honour to meet with the approval of Dr. Boehdligk and Company. Under any circumstances, however, it was but natural and rational to pass them over in silence and to suppress the information they give,—for, either they have the honour of being approved of by Dr. Boehdligk, or "the editor of Pāṇini" had probably his well-weighted reasons for not agreeing with them; and, in the latter case, there was of course not the slightest necessity that he should give or even allude to these important reasons. The passage quoted would alone quite suffice to illustrate the character of the falstome adulation and of the puffing advertisements—written, of course, exclusively by the employed scribes of the Wörterbuch—which for some years have made their appearance in some literary journals of Germany, and have not only misled, but imposed upon, the public unacquainted or imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit philology.

privately, at our Sanskrit parties, to Professors Weber and Kuhn; and the longer the interval passed over, the less I felt disposed to speak of it in print. At present, after twenty years' time, I should have considered it almost unfair to rake up the past; for a sense of charity would have told me that the moral and intellectual condition of a man may undergo considerable changes during so considerable a period of his life. But in spite of my strongest desire to combine the defence of literary interests with a regard for all the circumstances connected with the author himself, I am not allowed to remain silent, in consequence of the insolent provocations which I receive. Not only does Dr. Boehlingk quote *his* "edition" of Pāṇini, in his Wörterbuch,—not only does he thus force it, as it were, oh us by the references he makes to it, and acknowledge it to this day as his legitimate child,—but one of his own scribes, well acquainted with the judgment I should pass on it, has the hardihood to defy me publicly, by bidding me have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini."

Well, then, I have taken up this impertinent challenge.

so far as my present subject permitted, I have illustrated the nature of this immaculate book; and it will not be my fault if I am compelled to recur to it again.

Still a provocation of this kind alone would have as little induced me to take up my pen now as it did heretofore; but when I see the public told authoritatively, yet without any proof, that Śāyana teaches that understanding of the Veda which was current in India no longer than a few centuries ago;—when I see that the most distinguished and the most learned Hindu scholars and divines—the most valuable, and sometimes the only, source of all our knowledge of ancient India—are scorned in theory, mutilated in print, and, as a consequence, set aside in the interpretation of Vaidik texts;—when I see that the most ancient records of Hindu antiquity are interpreted to the European public in such a manner as to cease to be that which they are;—when a clique of Sanskritists of this description vapours about giving us the sense of the Veda as it existed at the commencement of Hindu antiquity;—when I see that the very forms

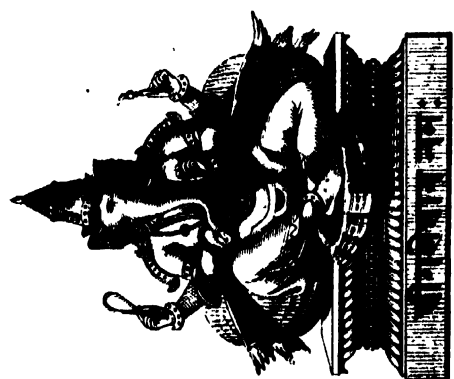
of the language are falsified, and that it is made a principle to slur the grammar of Pāṇini, and to ridicule those who lay stress on it;—when I see that one of the highest grammatical authorities of India is schooled for a “want of practice and skill,” while this censure is passed without even an understanding of the work to which it refers;—when I see that they who emphatically claim the epithet of “veracious,”<sup>28</sup> make statements which are the very reverse of truth;—and when I consider that this method of studying Sanskrit philology is pursued by those whose words apparently derive weight and influence from the professorial position they hold;—and when,

<sup>28</sup> Professor Weber in his libel : “einen um so peinlicheren Eindruck muss es auf jeden wahrheitsliebenden Forscher machen, etc.!” i.e. “the more painful is the impression which must be produced on every veracious scholar” [viz., if he reads my opinion on the Wörterbuch, which opinion,—I must add, so far from having changed, is even more emphatic now than it was when I wrote the review which has so much displeased him].

moreover, departing from rule and precedent, I see the journal of a distinguished Society—I fully hope through an oversight of its editor, though a Professor of Sanskrit himself—permanently made the channel for propagating such statements as I have described and qualified, together with these scandalous personal attacks and calumnies,—then I hold that it would be a want of courage and a dereliction of duty, if I did not make a stand against these SATURNALIA OF SANSKRIT PHILOLOGY.

On this ground I have raised my voice, however feeble and solitary for the moment, and have endeavoured to examine the competence of those who set themselves up as our masters and authorities. On this ground I have endeavoured to vindicate for Pāṇini the position he holds in Sanskrit literature, and the position he ought to hold amongst honest Sanskrit philologists.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,  
November 2, 1860.





मनुः

ॐ॥ उ न मो वि ना य का य ॥ यं मं त्रः प्रा ण्ठि या मा स क ल्पं त च ण्ठ रा कि ज्ञा ऊ ना नि  
क ज्य थि ब्वा तैः सा नः पा उ स र स्व ती ॥ छा उ त्त र ल उ प चा रो वि दा रः ॥ द्वि प दं प रि त्रा षा  
स्त्रं ॥ नि य म व द्वि य ता प रि त्रा षा न व ति उ प चा र स्या धि क र ण त यो त्त रा दि गु नि य  
म्या त उ प व र ण मु प चा र ॥ इ ति क र्त्त व्य तां त दु प का र क सं नि पा त्यो प का र क रू प  
तो ऽ ध्य व सि त उ प चा र इ ति क र्त्त व्य तां त द्वा पा क य ज्ञो प चा रा ज्ञि सु प्र च र ति ॥ इ त्स्म  
म ज्ञि हो त्रो प चा र णि ति प्र यो गा त ॥ बि दा र इ त्य न य न चं ते ॥ बि दा रं पु र स्त्र ते ति प्र  
यो गा त ॥ उ त्त र स्थो दि शि उ त्त र स्मि न् दे शे वा न्नो त्त र तः ॥ श ष्ठो न उ का ले दि कु श हे मः १  
स ष्ठ मी ति व र्त्त मा नो द द्दि म लो क रा म्या म त सु म्भू त य यो दि शि दे शे वो त्त रा श ष्ठ त उ

मि २

ज्ञान

नरतउपचरोयइस्यसउत्तरतउपचारइत्यन्यपदाशोबिहुत्रीदिः।सचान्यप  
 दाशोबिहाराःउत्तरतउपचारोन्नवतीतिशेषः।एतदुक्तंनवतिविहारास्योत्तरतउप  
 चारकर्तव्यइति।गोदोक्षेनवस्पापाकरणवेदकरणादिरुषचारःस्वैस्त्रैवीकोरुत्तर  
 तोकर्तव्यः।दक्षिणतोवाप्राप्त्यापश्चात्तत्रदक्षिणतश्चैतद्विदुष्यंउत्तरतोनीय  
 त्ततः।उत्तरतस्तुपक्षेप्राप्त्यातुनविधीयते।कितर्हिदक्षिणतश्चादिषुयत्रपक्षेप्राप्तिस्त  
 त्रपक्षेउत्तरतश्चादवनीयस्येत्यादौगार्हपत्यादित्रहणंनियमांशीबिहारेकदेशज्जे  
 स्मिन्पक्षेप्राप्त्यातुन्नवद्यातेपेषणदीनोनुसामथ्यद्वितरतस्सिद्धिः।पश्चादुक्तरस्य  
 स्तरणात्तद्विज्ञाजिनस्यैवमादायविहाराग्रहणंपश्चाद्विहाराग्रहणंनियमस्यैव  
 =अप्राप्त्यानैविधीयतइति।नियमोविधीवाचोयुक्तिः।उत्तरतोगार्हपत्यस्योत्तरत=३

मादयः॥ विदारत्रदणं किञ्च नरतउपचा रइत्येता वतिसूत्रे यो यउपचरो यूपकुत्त  
 दिः स नियमेनोत्तरतः स्यात्तु विदारत्रदणं कुत्तु बिहार समीप एवाथै नियम इति म  
 न्ये त्रिपदमिदसूत्रमाकुत्तु दसतुत्तरत इत्यस्य षष्ठं तेन पदेनान्वयाश्रवणात्  
 सूत्रैष षष्ठ्या वक्षिपदानात्तु उपचारविदारयाः समा नक्किनक्ति कचा तु विशेषणविशे  
 श्यत्वं स्यात्तदिदं शास्त्रेनोपयुज्यते। संज्ञा नोपपद्यते न हि विदारसंज्ञा उपचारयो  
 उपचारसंज्ञा विदारस्योक्तता शास्त्रे स्त्रीयजमतिमूढवचनद्वोदनात्तु इतैरापि  
 यज्ञां गानि कर्तुः। त्रिपदोपरिमौषा मूत्रोऽप्यंत रं मध्यंतद्योगी नृयज्ञां गानि न वै क्षिप  
 षंदिता निष्पंत राणि न वंति यद्विदारस्य वांगानां चीतरेण कर्तन संचरेदिति द्विविधा २  
 नियज्ञां गानि साक्षाद्बधानेन चातत्र साक्षात्पुत्रोडाशोर्ज्यपञ्च सोमादीनि च्यवध  
 = अंतरशब्दो मध्यवर्ती



न स्यात् । अत्र माद्विप्रधाने ते रिते पुनर्दीक्षादिप्रधानमावर्त्तते । तत्र मदान् दोषः स्यात् ।  
 स्मावपुनवचने । ततश्च लब्धं न पंचवक्त्राणि त्रिपंचत्रिंशद्विंशति यद्वा प्रमादकर्म  
 विचिन्तय माह्वी च उग्रद्विंशत्पञ्चशतं कर्मपि रक्ष्यं अरुणद्वितुंगणितं च सुतेनेति वि  
 रणीयं । अत्र मंत्रांतेन कर्मत्रिपदं मंत्रस्यांतेन मंत्रांतः । मंत्रस्यामाहौ योतस्मत्पद्यः कर्म  
 रणादिः । केमादि राघं देवस्यार्थः । मंत्रांतेनेच्छन्त नक्षत्राद्यतीत्या मंत्रांतेनेच्छन्त  
 धर्मं न मध्यनिवृत्त्यर्थः । सन्निपातो यथा न वत्ति तद्योक्त्यादिति न यमो । मंत्रांतो मंत्रा  
 यात्मकं कर्म तेन सुकैषापरिभाषा यथेष्टमनरं वैदिककरणदो । यत्र लक्ष्मि क  
 कर्मवधातीत्याहोतत्रादेरजावाक्यं स्यात् । अथाद्यंतवदकस्मिन्निति वद्वि ३

उपक्रम २

अस्यादिष्टपदेशो महावीरपचनादौ द्रष्टव्यः ननु यथावेदिकरणद्वयसंभ  
 र्जनादिज्ञानकक्षेण प्रचयस्य पञ्चपक्षकर्मप्रवृत्तौ पदत्रयावमंत्रोनाम्यस्यो  
 सरूपत्वोक्तमर्थः। तद्वदेव दिक्षरेण बद्धिर्बलौ क्षीयुक्तौ स्तरणदेस्तरूपका  
 दादाहणएवमंत्रेण संबधनीयः। यद्येवं तस्मीलुक्ता मत्राण्येकेति तस्मीत्रदणमनर्थ  
 कं। अंजनस्य सरूपत्वात् त एव तस्मीमेव न वति अथ सर्वसुसुक्तं उपपदिदक्षिणत्र  
 यस्त रं तस्यैककं लेन युगपदं न संस्पृशत तश्च पुनर्लुक्ता मत्राण्येकत रम् त्रैपु  
 न र्त्रिदं स्पृशत न पुन र्त्रिदं मंत्रेण स्पृशत त्रिदं त्र्यर्थं तस्मीत्रदं स्पृशत एव तदि  
 त्रिदं पणदौ बोध्या दानादौ च तस्मीत्रदं न ज्ञायते। स रूपापि कर्मणि प्रतिष्ठाति  
 मंत्रस्यावर्तते तर्हि त्रिदं क्तर एते उरुप्रथमं चिन्ता वर्तेता यद्वा बर्हिस्त्वृणातीति त्रिदं

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र्थक्तिविवहयाप्रतिधातुः प्रवर्तिष्यते। अत्र वसेबिर्दिशन्निधानाच्च। यत्र युगपदेव  
नक्षत्रेण पात्रसंसादनादौ व्याप्तिर्यंतेष्वक्तयः। तत्र न प्रतिग्राह्यता वतीति। यत्र युग  
पन्नक्षत्रकृतौ। तत्र न वत्येव प्रतिग्राह्यता वृत्तिः। सोम ऋतुणा दधुरंजनादौ भ्रू  
यवर्षते। ते पर्जन्य इति वेदिं यजमानं चेत्यादौ युगपच्छ्वेत एवेति चेन्न तत्राद्यावत्  
ते मंत्रा एकावचनां तवातुं संस्पृशिकं मन्त्राच्चासमानं देशत्रैपि संस्पृशेभिर्मावृत्ति  
दत्तान्वा दत्तत्वा दौ एकशेषे प्रमाननिर्देशाद्वगपकायसंबंधः। समा न देशत्रै  
यद्यपि शक्यं। तस्या रश्मि वचनात्तवातुं तत्रावृत्तिर्विवर्तिदिप्रधाना नक्षत्रे  
ननु एतद्वृत्तिरिति धीयमानत्वा मंत्रस्य द्वितीयां तत्त्वाच्च दन्तीति। प्राधान्यं मंत्रस्या

१ धायकत्वं मंत्रस्य

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निधानार्थत्वात्तादर्थ्यपुष्टिणवचं तथावाहृतौलिङ्गादेव सत्ये किं तां कौमिति न च दत्ता  
वितीतरेतरयो गालु रोधेन युगपदादानं शर्षे चेत्ते कखं जातौ स्यान्निनष्टमिदमेकमिति  
देशानामपि सुतरां जातिपक्षमाश्रयत्वं वचनां तोभं त्रः स लस्यात् दत्तं चेत् विरुतो  
भूद्विद्धिनेन मनर्थकस्याद्विवं दिवं वः इति समानं देशानां तथा निन देशानामप्यप  
रुस्तु येरेव त्यादावूदः स्यात्तस्मात्तत्र प्रयोगेण जातिपक्षाश्रया जातौ पदार्थे भित्ति  
तेषां दानावप्यवप्रसजैत एव तौ कार्ययो गातृ कृतिपदार्थपक्षवाश्री यतौ अपरे क  
र्मणिः कर्मिण आदिः कर्मोदि रिति द्वितीयदमीदाने मन्वं नेच्छंति तदसं न हि सम्यग्यथा  
दानादरने कक्षणमकर्मणो रिति द्विच निर्दिशो युज्यते च हंसी त्र दणं च न घटते  
मन्त्रयोरतो मन्त्रां तः इत्यप्यासनादिविकारविदन्यतः विकारस्य चात्रोद्देशकं तस्योच्चा



एण काले सप्तवतिनदिष्ठं यं तं पटं तोस्ति कथं तत्स्यैकादशा नां यूपाना मं ते यूपा दु-  
 त्तो तमपि वादिवा दंतं गदत्पदोषः ॥ ५ ॥ दत्तुः प्रवयववर्माः अदिश एतं तश एतत्पिच द्वा-  
 ष्पां मंत्राभ्या मित्यत्र सत्तद्गुणं नकुयद्यदि द्विवचनात्तस्यापि मंत्रश एस्य कर्मणो त-  
 ति विगृह्ये प्रमाशः स्याद्यत्र पुन मंत्रवस्सनि दृश्यं ते तत्र युगपदेव स्याद्वा शे दं वि-  
 त्विचक्रमं इत्यादौ युगप दाज्यं वेदयोः सा दनं एवं च तस्माज्जिनपस्त्रयोः सदस्तरण-  
 ऋसमाशानिर्दिष्टयो रपि द्विवचनात्तन्मंत्रस्याः शर्मचस्त्रस्मं शौ वै ध्यामित्य स्य न य-  
 द्याः सं रद्यो नाः अत्र अश्रूयूषिपव संजिह्विषि रन्ते पवस्त्रे तत्र लुन युगप कथं तादी-  
 च्यते । सर्वैर्मंत्रै रेकां प्रमिधं पुन स्तै रेताभ्या मिति स्यादेवं यद्विपुता मिति द्वयं नैतदस्ति ५

नमो

एता न्निदितिस दनिदेशा क्ततरांसदप्राप्नोतिच। इतिदिप्रतिस्था तद्यापि यतामि  
 त्त्यधिवृत्तनेन विनापि स दस्मिद्धेः त्रस्माद्यथा संस्थां एतद्रदणं ॥ अत्रादिना  
 त्तरस्येति पंचपदं स्वशारवाशा स्त्रसमयो पदेशश्च त्रैतं तं मंत्रं प्रतीक्यात्र कर्म  
 त्रैतं नैतच्छै मंत्रं प्रतिवातत्र न ज्ञायेत किं प्रमा णेयं मंत्रं प्रकीर्तितं ॥ तत्प्रमा  
 णस्य पदिशति लुत्तर मंत्रस्य । क्रवात्प्रस्मिन् गोपता बुदिदाभ्यस्तु चिरास्मा क्रोसा  
 त्पादिना प्रतीकेन पूर्वमंत्रस्य देवो वस्सु विता प्रापयिष्यतु हिरण्यवस्सु न यास्तु  
 यस्य वक्तु रित्यादेरसमाहिं माघशं सः । प्रवदं तु देवीः । वृणक्ति विंदते वस्त्रित्यादि  
 जानीयात् । पारशारद्यस्तु तस्मैः प्रपद्यते । ननु पारशारद्यानामपि संदेहः । प्रमा  
 णं प्रतिष्ठां तां पितर इत्यादीनां किमेकामंत्रजतप्रतिपर्यायं मंत्रः । अत्रिधानस

मयीदवमादौ पृथक्कातुपित्रादीनामभिधेयानां प्रतिवाक्यं मंत्रज्ञेदः। तथा यत्र द्वाभ्यां  
षड्विस्ति स्य त्रि एताभ्यामेताभिः संज्ञाशब्देन च निदेशस्तत्र त्रत्पृचं प्रतिपद्यति मंत्र एव  
संस्थानि देशोऽष्टविनू नवति। इतरथादिनोत्तरस्थेति सिद्धेनर्थकेऽस्यात् ननु चान्न  
हिकथं च नुमिशिदत्ते तथा संनिवपति द्वाभ्या लुपदधाति ति स्थितिः प्रवपति न स्मेत्या  
दौ अत्रापि संस्थानि देशान्मंत्रज्ञेदः। सत्यं। तथापि न प्रतिमंत्रं कर्म विहितो रभ्यादीनाम  
कथयत्किं कानां अभ्यादीनामेकयात्र स्थानां च संसर्गि द्रिद्याणां न हि श्रातस्य सन्  
त्तस्य च श्रादानं संनिवपनं पुनः स्यात्। सत्तद्वै दितमसत्तस्यात्। यद्वा च नु संमि  
त्राणामेकोनः मंत्रस्यालौकिकवाक्ये ममाज्ज नोपस्थानादीनां मपि सत्तद्वै दि  
तत्वात्। आवृत्तिर्न स्यात्। सत्यं ज्ञापकात्। अस्तद्वक्तं एते निगद्यन्तु होत्यालो निग

घञु दोती त्फक्तेऽपि सन्न दोमेपि सिद्धे यदाहुतित्र दणं मे कवचनोतं क शेतित तो शाया  
तिः अत्रा सन्न स्यान्मंत्र संस्थानु रोधे नाऽन्ये बाहुः अ स ल द धि कर्म शोपकं ते न य  
स्मान्मानो व म्म इत्येताभिः प्र त्प चं दि र ए ग म्म इत्य शाभिः प्र त्प च मि त्या दो प्र त्प च य द  
ण म न र्थ कं स्या ता य दि सं र्वा नि र्दृ शा मं त्रे जे दा द स ल स्या न उ कं च तैः एताभ्यां जु देत  
त्ये क वा क्य परि स माप्तः आ तो मि त्रा व रु ण प्र बा ह वे नि च कु त्वे त्या दो ग नु म तीभ्यां घा कु  
न्नि श्च जु ह्वेति आ वो दि ष्ठी या -- दि त्रि त्या दो स मु दा ये वा क्य परि स मा दौ रे का कृ ति मा र्ज ना  
दि चै कं स्या दि त र शा स ल चो दि त म स क्त्वा स च म दा न् दो षः अ ष्ट अ द्वा व नु त्र दि  
णा दि न प ठि तं पु रो वा ते ति प्र नृ ति नि र ष्टे घा ह्नु ति नि श्च चो र इ त्या दो सं र्वा नि र्दृ शा  
वा णा दि सि म्भ शि ति हौ ते षा म नि प्रा योऽप्रा दि नो त्तर स्य म् वा ति सि ष्ठेऽप्रा पो द भीः

संते वायुशित्तिद्वयोः प्रतिष्ठा न प्रत्येकवाक्यसमाप्यर्थजिगतो सीत्यादिना गयत्रो  
सीत्यस्योत्तोनञ्जवतिप्रत्यभिधानामभिधायकमञ्जनेदात्तञ्जतएवसंज्ञोषा इत्या  
दिनाऽन्येनैषा उग्र इत्यस्योत्तोन गृह्यते दुर्घटाभिधानसंबंधे। अनुवाकशेषेण  
आत्तादनुवाकस्येतिवचनं न तएव संमृष्टा इमानित्पादौ सुघटका न्नोत्तं य  
द्वौ देवदेवनादिना उद्घादेऽपि इदं हविर्हित्यस्योत्तोन गृह्यते। अत्र पादप्रत्यक्षेण  
ऊर्जोनिप्रत्यक्षादिमान्नस्या तास्तयस्य चक्षुरारुहमित्येतस्याः एकवचननिर्दिश  
दास्माको सीत्यादिना तौपिस्योत्तं यज्ञोपवीत्यष्टपदं। ऊर्ज्यादिति प्रत्येकसंबंधः  
यज्ञोपवीतं वस्त्रविन्यासविशेषस्तत्रान्यज्ञोपवीति उपवीतदाक्षिण्यव्याहुः क  
र्म ऊर्ज्यादित्यर्थः। ननु नित्यं यज्ञोपवीतीत्यनेन समाक्षिनियमः सिद्धः। किमर्थमिदमुच्य

तद्यत्तिक्रमेः

हे। तत्र स्नातकव्रताष्टं यत्तिक्रमे प्रायश्चित्तस्वरूपं च तीत्यर्थवताः क्रतुधर्मबाहू  
नाम्ना तं पुरुषार्थत्वात् स्नातकव्रतलोपेक्ष नो ज्ञानमिति प्रायश्चित्तदेयं। क्रतुमध्यग  
यत्तिक्रमाः क्रतुबाधे तु स्नातकव्रतलोपमन्त्रो ज्ञानमेव प्रायश्चित्तोदक्षिणाचार्य  
तिबहुव्रीहिः। दक्षिणेन हस्तेन कुयीदित्यर्थः। उनाभ्यां कुर्वत उपक्रमो  
शीघ्रं प्रधानकालेन पद्येता न तश्चाकाले कर्मस्य यात्प्रधाने तन्मान्दित्वेन  
नास्तेन हस्तेने कृतिः। उफन्सादनं च वेद्यं सौतन्त्रिण्ये प्राप्नुयः। कुयीदित्यर्थः।  
आप्तुयः। प्रतिगृह्णातीति। सुपुनरुक्तं परिहरणीयं। प्रकृतिनिरूपणेन तत्र तत्र प्रा  
प्तुयवतिष्ठतो प्राप्नुतत्कम्पजपतीति पुनरुक्तं ब्रह्मचर्याशोपवीतिवत्परिहृत  
प्राप्नुतत्करणं कर्मविशेषणं। अह्मनि पुनरुक्ता निश्चादवनीयात् प्रायः प्राक्कृतुहे

त्या

तीत्वादीनि घटं तो तस्मात् प्राङ्गिति विविद्धि तां तेन कर्त्तुं श्यते । तत्र नदिशूदे शो व  
 र्ण्यते । ककारान्तेन तद्वितलोपेन चकार । प्रथमिकवचने तस्य न्यायशब्देऽनुनासिक  
 क्रोहं कारो जवति । स इदं नष्टस्य ते पुनरुक्तं नया तु न्यायादनेपे तन्या व्यं क मनि  
 देहेना एव स्यात् । एवं न्यायं देहेऽनुष्मा दोषात्तस्मादयमेव देहे नृत्पे व विधे वि  
 चा रो मी मा णि सा रथ्यः । तथा न्याय विद इति मी मा णि सा विद उच्यते । तस्मान्मीमांसा  
 रथा न्याय्यत्वेन पेताः अन्यत्र बचनात् । ध्रौवस्य स्थि ए क ता स्मरं कारा नि प्रा यश्च  
 यदि त्रीदिवं सु रा द्रष्टुं च व घा तादि संस्कारवदत्यन्निप्रेत स्यात्तदा किं विचि  
 स्य चिद्धर्मस्य विशेषणं निषेधनं वा द शितं स्यादतो न कर्त्तव्यं न्या य्यमुद्यव घा तादि  
 तत्र सप्तदशशरा व निवर्षा दौ शत ल घ्ना लच वा दौ च न्या व्यं न स्यादनेनैव हेतुना ॥

३ मन्त्रिनोच्च

तलश्चन्याय्यशोत्रसौत्रो नर्थकस्मिन्नेवं। सुतराद्द्वेष्टवधा तादिनस्याः। ततो न्मा  
यंका वाक्त्प्रपूर्वत्वात् तन्निर्वापादिन कचित् न्याय्यचमनेकां कंठ पाठिष्ठनोस्वरो  
यस्मिन्नुच्चात्तस्वरितैत्यादिरुपांशुः। यद्भवेत्तद नउपांशुकमेकयादिति उपांशु  
यदणं न पुं स कर्त्तुं गवात क्रिया विशेषणं। धर्म विशेषः। उपांशुव्यं विशेष एणाना  
मन्त्रिधेयवद्विगवचनानि। कश्चपुनः। धर्म शब्दः। कर्मणः। छदनादेर्विशेषणं। य  
था राज्ञाय मित्रं पवय्यति। तत्र सारथाः। कर्मणो विशेषणं। वपांशौ संभव  
तिनापचा रकल्पनात्मतां लभते। तस्माज्जपा यंति पाठ्युत्तरं। यजुर्वेदोपांशु  
यत् कर्म संभवति तत् कुयति। जप एवोपांशु संभवति न छेदनादिनैतदस्ति। यदि  
धर्मनिर्मातृ स्यात् यजुर्वेदेनोपांशुर्जपेदिति ब्रूयात् न पुनः कुयति दिति तस्माद्यजुर्वेदो

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[illegible]

यया ग स्य च उपाऽश्रु यज स्याच्चा नीषोमी य स्य चैद्रा न स्य उ पां शु या ज स्य च मा  
हे इ स्य वा ए के क स्य का स्त्रे नि उ प कुर्वतः सं ब धां ता ए कि क स्यां ग आ वं यो ती त्यर्थः  
नेत्रे ण लु छि ता अ पि प्र ते के स वो ष्ठी धर्माः स्त्रि धो र णो इति स्यात्ते ना लु द श पौ र्ण मा स योः  
प्र धा न या ग त्रि क योः स मु दा य योः प्र ते के स र्वे सा धा र णा इति द्वि च नि र्दि शा त्वा यु क्तो न  
उ ष स्रं स मु दा यि नो इ त र या हि द श पौ र्ण मा सा नो ध र्माः सा धा र णा इति स्यात् नै त  
स्मार्ः। स मु दा यि च तिरि क्त स्य स मु दा य स्या मा वा त् इ त र त रा यां गे फ लं प्र ति द श  
पौ र्ण मा सा न्या मि नि स मु दा या पे दं द्वि च नि र्दि शा यं यु ज्य ते का यं तु स मु दा यि निः सं  
ब ध्य ते ते षां व लु च्चा त् स मु दा य स्या व लु च्चा न्ना स्ति का र्थ यं बंधः अ पि च। स मु दा व  
स्य ध र्म सं बंधे स ति ए क स्य प्र धा न स्य वि स्मृ न स्यात् वै रित स्य पु नः क र्म ति रि त्ते कु य

अंतिवस्य

दिति न स्यात्। स मु दा

पाथचैनता दध्यति। समुदायसु हतराभ्यामेकेन विनापि स्याद कद्विषो नो शेषः। ज्येष्ठ  
 सं स्थाप्य पुन यजितत्पुनर्थकं स्यात्। कथं। समुदायस्य रुक्मो धर्मो भोजातएवा  
 किं तु एकां गे न वि कल्पेद्यनुष्ठितो नुष्ठित एव न हि समुदायस्य दृष्टि  
 स्तस्मात्त्रयाणां प्रत्येकं कार्यं नि धर्मसंबंधोऽप्युपरमाः। पूर्वविवक्षया समुदायी तस्यावा  
 तगार्हपति रंधर्मसंबंधो न साक्षात्। तदुक्तं। तत्र त्रीणि प्रधानानि च त्रीति। एवं हि  
 प्रधानानि स्युः। यदि प्रत्येकं उपकारकै धर्मैरुपक्रियमाणं च जज्ञेता। प्रयाजादि त्रिरूप  
 क्रियमाणानि प्रधानान्कथं तो। प्रयाजादयस्तनुप्रकरणापत्ति तां गंगान्कथं तां फल  
 वसंनिधाच फलं तदंगमिति। यद्देवं तुल्यं सर्वेषां प्रधानानां प्रकरणं। सर्वे धर्मस्तु  
 धानेषु प्राप्नुवंति। श्रीदिवानां विलयनगादप्येताधि श्रयणादयस्कराज्य स्यात्। बर्ष २०

तादयस्सोन्नयस्यवायथाहोबर्दिरादीनां हविश आदनादिषु चिनियो गा तु सर्वप्र  
 धानाशीनितथा विलयनादीन्यपिसुक्कानीति ननु ब्रीह्यो देविलयनादिः श्रुज्जोदस्तु  
 अविमोकादिर्न संभवति अदृष्टार्थे चोदितत्वाद संज्ञवादपि क्रियतोऽस्तलपाकवत्  
 एवं प्राप्तेऽहं कानिर्देष्टा ह्यवनिष्ठे रंन्निहि पदं चेतत् न निर्देश्यत इति निर्देशः साधने  
 निर्देश्यते वानेनेति निर्देशः शौद्धः साधनस्य वाचकस्तस्मानिर्देष्टा ह्यलार्थः एत  
 द्दत्तं न वति सर्वत्र किं तु यत्रैव निर्दिष्टं तात तत्रैव ह्यवकिद्यान्यसाधननिर्दि  
 स्तेऽन्वित्यर्थः यथा दविश्या निति निर्दिष्टपावद्वा तादयस्ते ह विष्यास्वैवं सर्वत्रिति  
 यानिर्देशः अदृष्टार्थोऽपि पयि न्निकरणादयस्तेषामपि निर्देशाद्वा वस्था साधन  
 विवक्षाषु रोजाशयद्यपि नियमो निर्देशात् क्रियतो तथापि साधरणाः षट्प्रधानानि

एवं  
 तत्तु

भैकै कस्य। प्रयाजापि बदेनेपि तत्प्रकरणधीता अतएव दही ७ षिपर्यग्रिक सेतीति त  
 या बहिर्द्वारेण लवणी दयः साधारणास्तथाज्यादि द्वात्रेण विलयनादयः॥ प्रथो जन  
 ना वादवघातादीनामाज्यादिषु लोपाः। यथा च मुख्येषु हविः कृदाक्लानं नाना बीजा  
 नां साधारणं। तस्मादोयत्र प्रयोजनवं तस्ते तत्राक्रियंते। किंपुनः अनयोः सत्त्रयोः  
 प्रयोजनं न्यायं कर्मकुर्यादित्यक्तं। तावत्तस्यैव प्रपंचो यां क्वाचचाररुचिजः षट्पद  
 रुचिकृच्छ्रे वरणचरणनिमित्तको ध्वञ्चीदिषु वर्तीता। स तु यौगिकश्च मया ध्रुयेषु  
 पि प्रसंगास्तेपि यजंते वाननुवरणं नरणं तेषामग्रस्ति। तेपि रुचिज रयः। स्ततश्च  
 रुचिज उपतिष्ठं तदुत्पादोचम। साधूणां मपि त्रदणं स्यात्। अतएव षोडश त्रदण  
 चमसाधूयिनिवृत्त्यर्थे षोडश रुचिजोदिरणपस्कज इति। वरणं च तेषां लौकिकं। मंत्राना

ना तातूयथात्रापित्रयाणं लौकिकं करणं । ब्रह्मण एव मंत्रवत वाचनिकं । यद्देवं न क  
 श्चिद्वासास्तदा तु बोद्धव्यं । अत्र न्यतः प्रयोजनं च कर्तव्यं । अथ कुरुते इति । किं याम  
 ताः श्रद्धा दद्यात् । पागादवचचारस्फुरन्नेच नियमार्थं ब्राह्मणाः । प्रचरंतीति । उणविधा  
 मानुषपन्नो नियमस्य उपागादवसिष्ठश्च उग्रहणमनुवादः । यद्वा कुचौपलक्षण  
 र्थं । एकस्यापराधे प्रायश्चित्तं मानुषास्तत्रयः प्रचरेयुः । सर्वसत्त्वकुर्युः । कर्तुं चैनकमस्ति  
 यस्मान्नैव तां निदिदिशा द्यावतिष्ठे रन्नि तियद्यस्यादिष्टं सततं कुर्यादिनादिष्टं तदिष्टं  
 समं विनज्य सर्वं कुर्युः । अत्राशं क्यत् । अनादेशी धर्तुः कुर्यादिति । त्रिपदं चित्तं तत्तुः । अ  
 शौविनियोगो ब्रह्मादीनां यत्र नास्ति । तत्राधर्तुः कुर्यात् । त्रिपदं चित्तं तत्तुः । अ  
 ताः श्रद्धा दद्यात् । पागादवचचारस्फुरन्नेच नियमार्थं ब्राह्मणाः । प्रचरंतीति । उणविधा  
 मानुषपन्नो नियमस्य उपागादवसिष्ठश्च उग्रहणमनुवादः । यद्वा कुचौपलक्षण  
 र्थं । एकस्यापराधे प्रायश्चित्तं मानुषास्तत्रयः प्रचरेयुः । सर्वसत्त्वकुर्युः । कर्तुं चैनकमस्ति  
 यस्मान्नैव तां निदिदिशा द्यावतिष्ठे रन्नि तियद्यस्यादिष्टं सततं कुर्यादिनादिष्टं तदिष्टं  
 समं विनज्य सर्वं कुर्युः । अत्राशं क्यत् । अनादेशी धर्तुः कुर्यादिति । त्रिपदं चित्तं तत्तुः । अ  
 शौविनियोगो ब्रह्मादीनां यत्र नास्ति । तत्राधर्तुः कुर्यात् । त्रिपदं चित्तं तत्तुः । अ

अथैवास्त्वादावात्रास्मादीत्यानीध्रस्यादेशःशाखाविस्त्रेयनोदोक्तः॥एवयद्यजमा  
 नपस्यादीनामाज्यावेदुणादोमंत्रलिंगाच्चावृत्रस्यासिकनीतिकेतिच।यथापि  
 उनीमायावितियजमानस्य।वाक्येनेतिप्रकारेणतयथादिरण्मवल्लिख्यय  
 तिस्त्वावरयस्तुस्नानादौदीक्षितस्य।स्नानातुयथा।मारुत्यो।मषमवदधातीतिप्र  
 तिप्रस्थातुः।समाख्यायायथादौत्रंदोक्तुर्ब्रह्मखं ब्रह्मणः।यजमानंयजमानस्य  
 ननुः।ध्वयचमध्वयोरेवचविष्पति।समाख्या।किमर्थमिनादेशोध्वयुशितिसर्वम  
 तदाध्वयंवंब्रह्मचदौत्रेयाजमानिकंच।यजुर्वेदिकं कृत्वा।तत्रानादुशाएनाध्वयु  
 क्रयन्नादशेषि।इतरथा।एषिद्यास्त्रादोत्रतिसमारषयाः।अध्वयोऽपिप्राशनस्या  
 त्।।उपस्त्रशाने।षट्पदे।यजमानान्धोउपवस्वशनेननुक्ते सतिआदवनीयप्रप॥२

यनं न वतीति कालनियमार्थं विचनं न पुनः प्रणयनविधानं । आहवनीये जुहोतीत्या  
 द्वेऽप्येतत्सिद्धत्वात् । अत्र विधानेन वतीति कथं प्राप्तां । आहोता नोऽर्कमप्यग्निहोत्रद  
 र्शकीर्णमासादोऽधिकाराः । आहोताग्निचं नु आधानेऽप्यधेयुष्टिपथोतनुष्ठिते  
 सति न वतीति । आहोताग्नेश्च कर्मादिहोत्रादिश्च नुतिष्ठमानस्याहोतागार्हपत्याद्याः  
 साधनं । तत्र गतश्चीरादिताग्निस्तस्मिन्नेवाहवनीये जुहोतीति । इतरं यजुः आधानिकमु  
 ष्टज्या न्यमाहवनीयं प्रणीयतः जुहुयात् । तस्मादग्निहोत्रेऽग्निमप्रणय  
 नविधीयते । तत्रापि कालनियमोऽपराङ्महाष्टायां प्रातरिति पुरुषधर्माविमो  
 नित्यधारणं प्रतिकर्मप्रणयनं वा । यदि प्रणयनं विधीयेतादर्शपौर्णमासयोगतिष्ठ  
 ओपि प्रपद्येत प्राज्ञत्वं विद्यत्वा न स्मार्तेषां नित्यधृत इति वचनादितरेषां न नित्यध



तद्वत्पर्यः किं तदिदं। यावत्कर्म धृतोऽत्रिदोऽत्राधपक्रमप्रवृत्त्यपवर्त्तयं तं धृतोऽ  
 न्नर्नतरानेविस्वज्यतइतिगम्यतेऽत्रतः प्रतिकर्मप्रणयनं प्राप्तामपराक्ता। दृष्टुं  
 कालेनियम्यत। अतएव प्रवसद्विधानादौ आहवनीयप्रणयनमुपस्थानादि  
 वंशतरयागतम्रियएव प्रवसद्विधिः स्यान्नतरस्य। प्रणयनस्यैवादिती। गार्ह  
 पत्यादितीकिं। यावतागार्हपत्यादवाधानेऽहवनीयः प्रणीतः। यस्मादाधाने  
 उत्पन्निरनुगमनादावपितस्मा आहवनीयादेवादिप्रणयनं ताएवं तदिदं प्रापका  
 र्यं। गार्हपत्यग्रहणे। इतराधानादिप्रणयनं योश्चाग्रतयनादिप्रत्युस्थादिधर्म  
 निवृत्त्यर्थं एव वदेषामि स्मृतिरिति तत्रैत्यादि निवृत्तिः सिद्धा। गार्हपत्यानुगमनं प्रणय  
 नेहानुगमनसुधराहवनीयमित्यादिः संशयार्थं। तयाचैतच्छ्रुत्येतो तयातत्रैव द

स्तुतुं  
कति

= अग्राग्रासरासुमितिशाकुप्यति

श्रियिष्णुमः॥शबरस्वामिपादाः॥क्षीमिदं प्रणयनमिच्छंति देवागानु। इति शब्दो मंत्रस्व  
रूपस्य द्योतकः॥ इमं मंत्रं उत्तरतो विदारस्य जपित्वा शाखां वक्षमाणस्य रूपं ज्ञेयं  
ति॥ अहं एतियातिव्रतोऽयं तस्येति कालोपलक्षणार्थं यजमानेन ब्रते तु ये ते सती  
त्यर्थः। यद्यपि जपित्वा शाखामच्छेतीत्येवं संबधात् जपोऽपि ब्रतोपेतस्य प्रसज्यति न  
चापि जपानंतरं ब्रतोपायनं अनुक्रमेण सूत्रपदन्यासानवाताद्यद्वैप्रयुक्ते कर्म  
रंजस्य ब्रतोपायतस्येति कथं षष्ठी। कां दौसी अथ वा षष्ठी चानादर इति यो गविना  
जोद्वष्टव्यः॥ ॥ पस्मिन् स्थशाखापंस्मिन् शाखाम्पाः शाखाशमी शाखा तुल्ये विकल्पः॥ प्रा  
चीमुदीची वा। यमपि तुल्यं विकल्पः। द्वावस्त्रादस्तावात् कस्मात् पुनः प्राचीनं तावच्च  
वदारात्। विप्रतृष्टवात्। अत्र तत्र तत्रास्त्रैवेनापि दृष्टात्। अथैवेतिरपि अर्थानिधानमसि

तस्मात् दात्मनः संबंधि शृष्ट्वा हृत् स्य वा। यवामूलपेक्षया प्राग्गता सा प्राची। ज्ञान  
 अति। यावदेव मुदिचीव। तौ दनां गतां ततां प्राचीं दमामिति विशेष एणमिति द्विती  
 य एते प्रांचं प्रदारेण मन्त्री छेन्नतु प्राचीं प्रति दनां गतामिति वक्तुं शाखां बद्धुं पक्षं बि  
 द्वांशां स्वायस्यापसाम्नि च बद्धानियस्यासेति ऋषुष्क मंत्रं यस्याः सेति ऋषु बिरो  
 ष्मच्छिद्रोऽखे चेत्येति मंत्रां तेनेत्यादि विधिन। छिनक्षि ऋजै चैत्फ त रंतो विदारस्येत्  
 औपतिष्ठते। संप्रवातुः ऋतुमाष्टि सुचूतायेतिसन्नमय इति रुद्धौ डुक रोति क्वा  
 बायवः। शाखयामाहृत्पवसान् करोति किमर्थं यजुर्ग्रहेण। तेनैतत्तज्ञापयति।  
 येषां वसानां यजुषा मंत्रं बंधस्तेषां मेव पोषाय वैति यजुषानुमंत्रेण। ऋपाकृत  
 नो। निघोरिणे षष्ठी। ऋपाकृतानामिति तु कस्याः पाकरणं। शाखयोपस्पृश्यमा

विज्ञाद्योऽप्यपातते सत्ये तदुपस्यर्शनां तरलमुपातत अदणताय द्वा बहुषु श्रीचव  
सुः अनुपातत निवृत्त्यर्थे। इतरथाऽभ्योऽनुपातताः सप्तमाय स्तस्योपस्य शनिं स्यात्  
दन्त्रीपिंज्रैर्दन्त्रीणां पिंज्रलानि एकमूलान्यनेकशाखाः पिंज्रलानि तेः सदशाखया  
वोवदत्पादिमायजुषागास्ति स्त्रः प्रार्थयतिो पूर्वमन्त्रे यजुर्ग्रहेणावुदक्षीति स्त्रो  
या बहुकैवा। मदेद्रायमिति शाखो तरा मंत्रान्तरदुःप्रवृत्तिचातुः सुद्धात्रपः अत्र शत  
मिद्वायेती द्रशष्ट एवमदेन्द्रिपिज्रवतिोपराष्टिचान्न हि शतदृश रदयेद्रस्या शः सन  
थते। संवसरं तस्येज्या विधानात् एतदुन्धे। अमिद्वायां पिबंती। उद्धाना पश्चिवा। द्यु  
कु। इत्येकवचनोक्ता निमवंतियत घर्म्मिकपालमुपविनोनीतिवत्। क्रवाः अरण्यानि  
कुख सन यजमान गृहानभिमुतम्बापशपन्जप्यताः अयमप्रसूते क्रवास्या इति  
जिष्ठेन सिञ्चनयस्तिष्ठति सद्विहारं प्रयास्यतो यस्मिन् अन्नि समीपे वा तिष्ठ

नीत्यग्निष्ठः अनाः अज्ञागारेवागादपि त्यादिशालायां बुल्यो विकल्पः। अनेकयजमान  
 कप्रियजमानस्येति नार्ह्यते। परार्थत्वात्। अनंतरोक्तेन वत्प्रदोः। अनयो गापत्योः  
 एषु गोपतिषु पुरोहितस्य युज्यकामादौ। उत्तरतोः। आदानसामध्यदि उत्तरतो  
 गार्हपत्यासिलास्य पक्लसिः। असिलं अस्त्रं परस्परुच्यते। अस्याशाखायां देवस्य  
 चैत्यस्य मंत्रस्याश्च परस्त्रुमेव विनियोगात्। सविष्टप्रस्तएवैनामिति स्त्रीलिङ्गा  
 त्। असिलमिति नपुंसककलत्रवस्यात्। यद्विचकास्मिद्देशे दात्रमस्मिन्नमुच्यते। तवा  
 शोखां तरत्तत्तद्गृष्टं। गोषदसीति उपस्था न ध्यानं। उर्वतो ब्रह्मनां। गमनां प्रत्यक्ष  
 हरदः। निष्ठपनं। अनाशवत्तापनं। प्रेयमगात्। उदात्तादिस्वरयुक्ते उपः। प्राख  
 दन्वानि प्राखुः। सुखउदज्जुखो वा। अग्निप्रहज्यनिस्त्यततो बहिः। अक्षैति अ॥ १५  
 निगच्छतीत्यर्थः। द्वानां पञ्च। दन्धस्तथार्थे। पिदि प्रातीथर्थः। परिशृङ्गातीति

यावत्। विस्मोऽनुपापरिष्ठतानां मध्यात् एकं अतिदेशं सृजति मुंचतीत्यर्थः। नाति सृ-  
 ष्टानां मध्यादेकं अतिस्थितिः। अनेन तयानु कथं तदिति तत्सर्वं वातीति यत्सर्वेन दापि धरेत्य-  
 क्तै एकांते घटति। षाखां तराङ्गविष्यति पूर्वार्था रथा। शेषं प्रस्तयाया अति सृष्टादन्यः-  
 संशेषः। तं प्रस्तयाय परिदिशतीति गम्यते। माधी मोक्षयः। शाखास्ततो लुनाति। स-  
 नखे मुष्टिः। कनिपययैरभ्यधिकं मुष्टि लुनाति। ह्रस्वादीर्घेषु नखेषु नखाजो वेचाधिक्ये-  
 किं विभ्रयात् प्रस्तयाय दर्जाऽकल्माखाऽप्रधूतः। अर्जो नैद्याः। दृष्टिद्याः सं। मंत्रैरादृष्टं  
 तद्वर्जितं दर्शनीमा दमं अकल्माखान् दर्जान् लुनाति। अवित्रान् प्रभूतान् प्रद्वुरान् अ-  
 प्रधूतय लुनानि मन्त्रेणैवं तद्वर्जितं बर्हिर्निगन्मन्त्रस्य रक्षी मन्त्रावाच्चा। न रथात् रक्षी लुना-  
 तीति ब्रूयात्। आक्षेपात्तेजसाः अतश्च बर्हिः। शनवस्त्वविरोदाः। लवानां बहुलत्वात्

ब्रह्मणि मृशं तैतदन्ति मर्षं निरुनाना संस्कारकंच ननु आनवैः संस्तुतेः किंचितप्रयो  
 जने संस्तुतिं ब्रह्मा आत्मशरीरं दयं वोपस्वरात् तत्रात्मोपलब्धैः श्रुत्युपि तां श्रुत्वा  
 संनहंनं प्रति दधाति अयुग्धा नु सं दधातीत्येके धातुं श्रुत्वा यद्यो यजतीति कोऽत्र यु  
 ग्धातुः युजो धातवो यस्मिन् तमुग्धातु न युग्धातुः श्रुत्युग्धातु उ ए सं दधातः स च  
 दन्तीति । दन्ती कुर्वति हारिकाणीति वचनात् ननु श्रुत्वा धे प्र दक्षिणं श्रुत्वा नु क्तं किं प्रु  
 न प्र दक्षिणं न ह लेन पु वं तदि प्र दक्षिणं प्रति दधातीति न्यंबंधः श्रुत्वं प्र दक्षिणं पा  
 नाषा यै ब सिद्धं यदा मनु पादयं । एषा ते त्रं धि रिति प्र दक्षि ए श द सं नि धा ना न  
 संशयः स ह तं आदि या श्रुत्वा कूलं वर्धतीत्यर्थः । यथा लूनं यद्य तं प्र बल नं किं  
 ये वि आनु र्ध्वं वचनः अस्तु तौ वति विपर्ययात् सु सं श्रुत्वा पि इ द्रा । अतै श्रुत्वा

भूलाग्ने समाय म्यै क धा गृही चा प्र दक्षि ए गृ द ए म ल्वा ष्य चा ता द्रा ए पाः सं न द  
 अं तौ लु ल्ब म् ल प्रां ती । पू षा ता । प्र द क्षि ए गृ द ए णं ऋ ल्वा वृ ष तां । से ते मा । प ष्चा म् ल  
 देशा त्वा प्रां वं ऋ अ देशं बर्हि षाः । अ प क ष ति । आ प स्त्रा ऋ र न ते बर्हिः । प्र क्र मा ता । द्र  
 द्र स्या उ घ म नां ऊ हू सु छ्र य णं । हृ द स्या त् । मूर्ध नि शि र सि उ वं त रि दं वी ह्री ति मे त्र  
 सा मा म्ना य र्त्न ब ली य स्त्वं द श यि ती ते न ऋ न्वे मी ति न ऋ वृ ति अ दि त्या ऋ प रो ग  
 दयि त्वाः । प्र ष्य म्पा न द क्षि ए णि । वि क ल्प प्र सं गा ता । स मा रो प णे न द्यो गा द प शे ण  
 हू प त्प द क्षि ए णि उ क्तौ । बर्हि र सि उ प रि श ष्ये न मि द्य ति रि क्तै ऋ धि क र णे व र्त ते  
 आ द धा ती ति शा र्वा त रं । अः स्पां तु शा र्वा यां अ नि मं त्र यं ते उ क्तौ । बर्हिः श ष् स्प ज ति  
 सं स्कार व च न चा त् । व च न्त्वा घ त्र श र म यं बर्हि स्त त्र उ दः । प्रा न्नो ति श रा स्त दे वं ग



मास्ति यद्वाशोसि देवं गमास्ति एवं शरं देवस्य दनं दामि अतस्त्वं शर इत्यादिषु  
 द्रष्टव्यं यत्र अर्द्धशर मयं स्यातां बर्द्धिशरो रस्त्रो देवं गमो इति स्यातां यंत्रं तु बर्द्धि सं  
 दस्य तत्पश्च करणं तत्तृणी तवर्द्धिभीति वचनो दनि वृत्तप्रगिजन स्येन स्तृणी तशर  
 मत्वेन मिति जवितव्यं अथ बर्द्धिशर इत्यप्यब्रवव नो दो उचय मपि निषिध्यते इत्य  
 नुसृतीति तथ्या बर्द्धिरसीति शर मये पि स्यात्स मूलि देनि वाशं श्रेत्र विकल्पे पाला  
 शयलाश वि कारं खादि रं रीदी त कं वा अष्टव दश वाष्ट दश दारुणिय स्मि न इधो  
 सो षा दश दारुण अष्टा दशानां दारुणां समाहारस्तदा इधमयूषानुप सं न ह्यबल्य  
 जात्रापि इधो स्य मिति तदेत इधस्य ध्यतिरिक्तस्य ज्ञा बातात्री ऽश्च ते देवस मूलि न इध  
 यजिति विषाये धमुयादाय परिधी निति इधो प रि धि नु प सं ह्ये ति नि गत य इति

यद्वदस्येति वक्रवेयो यद्विद्यो वृद्धस्तस्येति उरुस्त्रयं निम्नजातीयनिष्ठत्वं यं यिद्धा  
 दस्यसमानजातीयं वृद्धस्येत्पयिनात्र समानव्यक्तिं कस्येति तत्रांस्त्वविष्टइति इतरे  
 षेक्त्यामथ मस्त्वलतरापुवंद्राव्येयानदीर्घतरो दक्षिणः॥ सामग्र्यनिनातिस्त्वलो नान्यत  
 ऋणीयानङ्कसिष्टउत्तरैतौ तस्यैर्हस्यतरस्योत्तरइतरौ समीक्ष्य उत्तरस्य विशेषएक  
 यंपुरस्तात् प्रायागा ते यच्च स्य षडिधेः पुरस्तात् प्रत्युक्तं तत्तस्यैव विशेषणं उपरीक्ष  
 तुपयदि धातीत्फक्त्वापिशिध्विषेवकायं स्यादानंतयागिन्ने तदस्ति उक्तं तैरेव सम  
 दनंदस्त्रीरितितथापि मदधियां विस्यष्टार्थं वाङ्मयपुनरुक्तं सऽस्त्यनुपप  
 नेन विषयति किमध्यत्र हणेनात्राहापतदपिलिंगमष्टयकसंनहनस्य षडिधा धीनोः १  
 चं द्वादशने ऋष्टपदं प्राच्या दक्षिणादिशो र्यदंतरालं दिक्सा प्राग्दक्षिणा ताम्

निमुखाश्चरंतीति प्राग्दक्षिणवाशाः पिंडपिचयज्ञाख्येन कर्मण्ये चरंतीति ह्युपधुयुज्य  
 मानस्यः ॥ अस्मावास्यायामपराक्लेन नुब्रतोयेतस्य ध्मा बहिः स न ह सुक्तं । ब्रतोपप  
 नयं नु अदर्शनीयमावास्यामुपवसेदित्यत्रोक्तं । तन्नियमार्थं च द्रादृशनिमावा  
 स्यायामिध्मा बहिः संनह्यतीत्युक्तं । नैतद्विधानसमूहस्य किं तर्हि कलायेति वा  
 दः । ननु पाठादावधर्मसंनहनोत्तरकालं न विष्यति किं पुनर्वचनेन इध्मा बहिः सं  
 नह्येत्यनेनेति तत्स्यं गार्थं चापुनर्वचनोत्तर्हि कुं उपायिनां प्राप्नोति । न च गार्थं च द्रा  
 दर्शनि अदृशस्य नियमार्थं चातुयद्येवं च नु दृश्यामुपवस्येन प्राप्नोति तत्र हि  
 चंद्रोदृश्यात्मात्रावनम्रवेवाउपवसेदित्यस्य पौष्मि स्यात्सावकाशं च न हि प्रवे  
 शति द्विवचनं निरवकोशं बाधकं स्यान्न च द्रादर्शनि अदृशं निरवकाशमेवाश्रय्य

सां०

वत्पिचकस्य पिउनिधान निषेधपक्षे द्विवचनमर्थवत्त्वविपरिप्लव्यचिद्वद्  
शीपंचदशीमिश्रितोसिद्धिस्तु नोपेक्षैवेति। आपनायवा। अथ आपनायं किं नष्ट  
यते। यदोतरा मुपसेचदाऽध्याबहिः सन्नस्य पिउपिचय इत्थं कुर्वीति चंद्रादर्शनात्  
यवा सर्वानतदापिउपिचय इत्। दृष्टवाचं त्रस्यदर्शनानियमे संभवति। आपनाय  
मयुक्तं। कथं तदि लोकि कात्पूर्वमुपवसंति कथंचलौ किं वरुणप्रघासेषु  
अर्जुनो यजसोमौ यजअग्नीस्त्रिष्टुतौ यज इत्यदंतिषेस्वकांगदवंति विदंति।  
कान्वा रसूखत्वात्। यद्वा। चंद्रादृष्टि अदृष्टा हि ता इत्थं यथीतेन अष्टकादौ नंभवति।  
वाचीनां प्राप्तागोवद्विणमुखस्य सतः अथ वीत अमं दृतो जवति वस्त्रविन्यासवि  
=तेन अरुमान एव अयसः प्रसवेन अजमावतदा धर्तुः अरुवती तशब्दो व।

तेन यजमान एवाय ए प्रथमं वेद्यं यमानतं साधयति

शोभोऽस्य श्रीनावीतो वस्त्रविन्याऽभविशेषस्तु न सा च निवाववावी ॥ य इतो प्रकृतं  
चादेकं वचनं मा त्वपि हरेः उत्तरतः ॥ पश्चाद्दक्षिणा मेयमेव सोऽग्रेऽपि यत्तु दक्षिणेतः  
पुनरस्तौ स्त्रितः ॥ अथ वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं  
न प्रसाणीतशतवतिः ॥ दक्षिणोऽपि संवत्सिया न प्रथो गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं  
त्यस्येति स्फुटं विन्याः ॥ स्तोमि नं च यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं  
नमु सलं मयूरं सकोदिको तसमायेह हरेः ॥ द्विवचनं स्थापनं दक्षिणं यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं  
मागतु ॥ यत्तु योमीनो तेषां विन्याः ॥ तेषां पक्षिणोऽपि यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं  
दक्षिणं दक्षिणमिति पक्षिणोऽपि यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं  
रवलं ततोऽमु सलं ततोऽपि यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वधुं तरेण गार्हपत्यं

[illegible]

त्रफलीकृत्यति॥७॥दक्षिणैर्नौउदंबंतिःस्यापच्यमानास्तंडुलाउद्व्यतेवाउदिने  
 स्याऽदकंश्मनीपवित्रेणंतदितेउदंकीमध्याविलंवास्त्रीलिंगात्तदतरयापवित्रांत  
 द्दितायामितिस्याताश्रपञ्जानीयंतंडुलानाश्यामकणेनप्रसद्यंपयलुवत्जीवतंकुल  
 मितिक्तियाविशेषणंतथाश्रपयति।यथातंडुलावस्त्राश्रपलन्यता।ईषष्टतमित्यर्थः  
 ।यद्वागम्यमानस्यौदनस्यविशेषणंजीवास्तंडुलायस्मिन्नितिबहुव्रीहिः।ईषतस्त्रिभ  
 एवतंडुलोत्रवतिनपुनर्जीवधान्यतंडुलाजीवतंडुलाः।जीवतंडुलमिति।विक्रासीत्य  
 न्ननस्यातज्जीवतंडुलानितिबहुवचनंवाक्ययित।तस्मात्तुतस्मात्तुदनस्यविशेष  
 णंजीवतंडुलमिति।नबीजधान्यतंडुलाः।ष्टतस्योत्पवनंननविष्यत्यवकिंप्रतिषेधः  
 ।चुतेननवनीतेनकोतृष्टतेनेत्पूक्तेउतष्टत्त्रदणंष्टतस्यापिसंबध्यतइतिनिषेधः।दक्षि

त एउ ह्यस्य यतिद्विदि एतद्वामयतीत्यर्थः। दक्षिणस्यादिशिसामर्थ्यात्तु एघतो दक्षि  
 पातः पुरस्तादक्षिणं त्रेस्त्रिषु प्रक्रमेषु पादविकेषेषु। ऊतयत तन्न न धिक् र ए स समीचात्  
 अपरिमिते वा अवनव किन्नपरिमाणे देश इत्यर्थः। अवकाशे विपुले परमात्मशरीरमात्मशरीरमात्रम्  
 खमित्यर्थः। अवकाशविपुले परमात्मशरीरादुद्धृत्य परमित्यभिमुखोद्धनन निवृत्त्यर्थः  
 अवसिं वति प्रकृतं तच्चोद्धृतं तन्ननुश्रेणोद्धृतं। किं तर्हि अत्र बोद्धेत तस्यादिज्ञबोद्धता। सा  
 दयनीति वक्ष्यति। अत्र यत्तु दक्षिणा त्रेत्यनुवृत्तदक्षिणा त्रिं प्रणयति। अत्रिण  
 द्द तमुद्धतं रेखाया अत्र तस्मिन् स्त्रीया दयति। समूलेषु संस्तीसेषु सप्तमी। समूलेषु  
 अन्या नूत्नानां प्रधानां श्रुतीयायां प्राधान्यं समूलानां मंतमन्त्रित्युदासम्  
 लेषु संयमितेषु समुत्ततो न्यानुपयक्ते तात्रिती न्यानुपसंयम्या कष्टं मुह्यतं त्र्यभि



चप्रणीतं प्रसव्यमुच्छाबमुद्धूयात्रीनुवारानुसमं तातस्त्वचा कर्षा मुच्छते उद्धवान्मुद्धू-  
नावशिष्टान्मुच्छाबपरिस्त्रुणाति यद्वा त्रिं कटिर्षम जिं च त्रिः द्वितीयं त्रिर्द्विष्टं स्तर एव  
दायं स्तर एते सपुनरुनयं प्रयो जुक्तं तेन पिंडानामावतानीन मा सोदत पिंडान्निदध्या  
दित्यत्रातिप्रणीतत्वा वैषिकर्षत्रिः परिस्तीयीता अथ तत्र कर्षेना स्तपे वा चित्यं मेत-  
त्तत्रैवा प्रातिपदि प्रतिपदि त्रिं प्येति वचनात्परिक्लममाणः परिस्त्रुणातीति गम्यते  
यद्वा दक्षिणाग्नि समीपं पुनरागत्य प्रसद्यमं प्रदक्षिणं दक्षिणं त्रिं दक्षिणाग्नेः प्रस-  
द्यमादत्तद्यमुनानि प्रणीतस्येतामना दक्षिणाग्निमुत्तरेणेति युक्तं । अथ वा मशक्ष-  
तप्रसव्यं परस्य राये द्वां अत्रा यवनं स्फात् प्रअद्यं दवी दद्या प्रअद्य मोदन माव २२

त्रि। दित्येवं। आप्तोपत्यने त्पायवननं दृणातिदारयेतेर्दुदमनयेति देवी। ऊस  
 सुकमिति वाससञ्जसुक्कः॥ एतपितरो। आवा हृत्यतिस्त्रिआवतिपरिश्चयेतत्रणा  
 द्यपि। पिटकार्यमि। तन्निस्पातपरितनपिनिवकष्टिः परिषेक्। सववाक्यानंनुल्येद्य  
 बल्लदकचं। अत्रिस्तुप्रततो। नदक्षिणात्रिरन्योवा। निधायनिधायनदुक्कंनेवस्वा  
 वस्वाष्टाप्रतिपरीयातुं। धंतां। बर्हिरेदुमा। एस्यापि मूलशष्टस्य गमकत्वात्समा  
 सोयुरुक्कलवत्। मूलान्येव बर्हिषो मूलदशः। दशग्रहणा मूलानां। तिरिक्तेपि निनयनं।  
 बर्हिर्त्रिदृणात्। असेस्कातषु दान्निष्ठुजातिवचनत्वात्। मेहणेनामिहयति मिश्रयत्यने  
 नेमेहणं ननु द्वितीयैवेयं। किं द्वितीयाग्रहणे भेत्तु। कुत्रेत्यानंतयर्थि स्यात्। किं  
 उशष्टप्रयोगेण पवित्रमनुमत्त एमन्बध्यस्यतीत्यनुशष्ट। ततः फलीकरणं निवे

विद्याद्विगुणात्तु विष्णुश्चिदव्याजिधृत्वापिउदितिसंभवं। विशिष्टत्वात् स्वस्यपिउदितिविना  
 पितृशब्देन लभ्यते। अतोऽयत्नमाकर्तुं कं पिंडनिधनादिकं। नद्यध्वयुपिउत्पद्यमानय  
 उगानपिउत्पत्त्या दानं न वति। लुप्यते जीवतु पितृशब्देन दमध्वयुविषयमनधिकारिवा  
 तस्य विष्टं दक्षिणमिति। दक्षिणाशब्दात्पिंडपंक्तिर्दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यातात्तदसत्तत्रागूष  
 दक्षिणावभाशः। दक्षिणं उदिजे तरालेपि संनवात्। द्योह्ययोर्योऽस्मान् स्यात्तत्र ते।  
 सोम्यतरच्यपदेशो'यथा - न्योपकारः। तिद्वयोश्च उष्ट्रपि वमयीः। संज्ञा - - - हं हं लब्ध  
 प्रथमोत्तोरणसमकालं लैपेदं दुस्तलनं निमृज्यात्। उष्ट्रकृष्टयन्वानाम  
 गृहीत्वा निमृष्टुं लुप्यते जीवति। पितृशब्दस्य सतथोक्तस्य जीवतुपिउत्पत्त्यस्य। पितृ  
 धनं पिंडपितृयज्ञाख्यं कर्म लुप्यते। यद्वा प्रादृशनिघ्नस्मात्तु जीवतु प्रपितान् २२

हस्यापि लुप्यते। यद्वा जीवतः पित्रोर्नास्ति। पिंडनिधानं लुप्यते। कर्मधारयो बहुव्रीहिवत्।  
 यान्। ७॥ न जीवते। पितरं पितामहं वा अतिक्रम्य उच्चैर्न दद्यात्। तत्र यमपि पिंडपिच्छं  
 कुर्यात्। नान्यथा न दानमात्रस्य तस्यासति होमं तत्ता स्यात्। तच्चायुक्तं। प्रधनरहितं मंगलं  
 नृतिष्ठंति धीराः। लुप्यते इत्यतः नैवेद्यं पिच्छं निषेधे अतिक्रम्यापि न दादयति। किं  
 न जीवतमिति निषाधना जीवतः प्राग् दद्यादिति ज्ञापना यदानभिषेधः। स्यात्स्मादेवेन पिंडेन  
 दद्यात्। पिच्छं यज्ञौ जीवतेऽप्राग्दानेन कर्तव्यं। यदि दद्याज्जीवं तस्मिन् विद्वानविद्वान्जीव  
 पितामहस्य तु प्राग्दानमुक्तं। अथ नृवपितृति पिच्छं नृहणे यदियेन्यः पितामहोऽपि दद्या  
 दित्फलयन्ते तदा जीपिच्छं वै पितामहेऽतिद्वष्टव्यं। तेन येन स्तेभ्य एवेत्यवधारणं दत्ता  
 नरथापि नृद्विनिं स्यान्न हितसौ पिता ददाति। न च त्वारः। पिंडादीयं तान्निष्ठुपिंडः। प्रवर्तते इति

क्रतेः॥यदिबुधुपिनुनिमैत्फक्तं तदज्ञाने स्वधा दयो मंत्राः पुनः पिंडं निदधादिति वचना  
 द्वितीयदृतीयत्रदृणाञ्चैलेपनागिनोवदतस्य धादिमात्राननवति किं लेपमेव न निवृत्त्य  
 न्याचाष्टी एकस्याचन्नामविदितं तेन निमृज्या हं होतं त्रं। एश्वानामश्रुदणं व्याख्यातं  
 रस्तात्पुयात्र॥७॥यदि। जपमंत्रा। नृक्षीमावर्त्तनं॥ क्वावाससः कंबलापट्टिकादवीयुडु  
 दुषितां नृक्षीमावर्त्तनं॥ क्वावाससः कंबलापट्टिकादवीयुडु  
 निदधातु सप्तवृक्षीनिधानविधौ मंत्रोक्तः॥। सात्रनवतिनिदधातीति वाक्यपरिसमा  
 स्यंत एषु निसिद्धिधादित्यक्तं वाक्यं तदर्थं। लाभात्पुनः कवचं नादेकं लो। मोक्षरवयसो वृष  
 स्रग्जमान छिन्नावाससो वा दशां छिन्ना निदध्या नमंत्रा एतत्त रवयाः पंचाशत् व  
 षत्ति नृक्षीमिति खकुचानां विषाषत उक्तं। छिन्ना नमंत्रं निदधा नृक्षीमिति च नमंत्रं उक्तं॥

वपस्विनोऽपि नृपदेवं त्रजोमनीनु नयस्मि न दशावास्या नृपदेवं त्रविजिति ॥  
 अंश्चाभ्यं दैतिम धामपुरुषा दसाविति संस्तु धृतपित्रा देनमोच्चाख्ये त् प्रति  
 पिउं यथापिंडं अष्टवापिंडं लक्ष्मिं निखं नो ज्ञानं ज्ञानं नो ज्ञानं निमाष्टि  
 नं ज्ञानं तिलं सपिषि यदस्तदं ज्ञानं विनिविशषा न्मा ज्ञानं त्रिर्दृष्टं मंत्रा विना  
 यं अर्धत्वा यथा तदं तरो पिंडो प्रणीते ओं नो दद्यात् ब्राह्मणे वा यदद्यात् स्यात्  
 न हं ये त् अस्तु वागमयेत् तत् तदुद्वा ननु प्रहृता भो वीरा नो ॥ छात्र पउप पिच्छं क  
 मंश्चा वा मदिता च मनमुप स्पृशनि मंत्रं नाचा मादि ते केन मो व दति जप तीति वक्त  
 चो न म स्मरो तीति वचनं कायिकं नमस्कृत्यापि प्रहं च स्यस्त्व कं एषा युऽनु प्रसि  
 द्वा दृष्टेणा मिति नोक्तं इमा स्माकं दिश इति शेषः अत्र दिशति पिदृष्टां चोत्तनश्च  
 = अत्र हृत्पुत्रं त्रिरुक्ता प्रतिपिंडं मंजुलिदानं विनिविदि ॥  
 = वीर्यतोषितरः त्रीयतां पितामहाः प्रीयतां प्रपिताम हा इत्येता न्मंत्रः ॥

ययतिजीवाबाह्वसंतःस्यामेतिवक्तव्यं। आदिनोत्तरस्य पूर्वस्यां तल्लेखः। एवं तद्यदि  
 त्रिषापारिजापातनाहं न मीमदं तैत्यादिना प्रवदू न मंत्रस्यांता न गृह्यते। परैर्बनेत्यस्य  
 स्मर्जयत्यथेति वाह्यनिर्वाणप्रजापतेः शाखां तस्मै तोदस्यां दिशां स्वायां यत्प्रजापस्य  
 मृचमन्वाहृत्य कर्मांशां स्वावाच्यया विष्टेति। अत्रेतां अर्चयन्त्या दर्घदंकी होतुं कुंजमे  
 कततो वीक्षा कर्मांशं अजनाभ्यजनायाज तर्हि। द्रष्टव्ये अथानां अर्पिशाष्टसमुच्चयेना  
 हिताग्निं तेत्यनंतरं द्रष्टव्यं। अनाहिताग्निनोचपिंडं पिष्टयज्ञः। कायः अथ्यतिशालाग्री  
 अपयिच्छेति द्रष्टव्यं। अपयं ब्रह्मसुरा इत्यग्नेः प्रणयनं अनाहिताग्नेः केचिदिच्छंति ब्रह्म  
 शनि इति काल उक्तः। छात्रस्तज्जिनेप न्यवहंतीति प्रागुघातादपत्रीकचातुपिउपिउ  
 यज्ञो न नवति। छात्रे दं करो। पिष्टयज्ञादनंतरं ब्रह्म दं करात्यामा वा स्मर्या। इध्मा बहिः

संनहनादनंतरमर्षातिपौसर्मा स्यापिट्टयशानावंस्याश्रयं पाठक्रमः संपद्यते। वसुंधरा  
वसुजग्वाकारंदलेकुर्व्याहेद्वारिका एतत्प्रसद्यमावेष्टादक्षिणोत्तरकुंडतं विद्यते  
यस्मिन्तुल्लेः स दक्षिणोत्तरीणः तलः तं दक्षिणोत्तरिणं दलस्यैषु सुल्लं प्रतिनिधाय।  
प्रदक्षिणोत्तरं तले नक्षुल्ले न त्रिवेदमावेष्टाहृत्सुल्लं त्रिवेदं प्रदक्षिणोत्तरं तले नक्षुल्ले  
उत्तरं सुतरेणं प्रदक्षिणं पयसीयसंमद्युतो वतीयं युणे स एव कर्षति। त्रिरावेष्टा  
त्रिः परिवष्टात्यर्थः। यदि त्रिः सनद्यतीति संबधस्यान्वयावष्टात्रदण्डुल्लविष्टा  
षण्चं प्रदक्षिणं त्रिवेदं स्यात्। सिद्धं सत्यां न त्वाष्टा मात्रप्रत्यक् प्राची  
रंशुष्टप्रदेशिन्योः सां तरालयोः प्रमाणे। स नूनं नातपरिवोऽस्याच्छिचाउसेरेकी  
लक्षे पृथक्कुं नेवा मूलान्ने मूलानि गमयति किरति। तलानि निदधाति रक्षिता



निकशेतीत्यर्थः॥ तदं॥ पाटादेव क्रियावदेवेदं दृक्चान्न विप्रति-ज्ञानं तयष्टिभि  
 वस्पादशंगंच तस्याभवेत्तत् तच्च तद्विका रेष्ठो पूर्वैक्यत्रदणं कर्मचानुमस्येष्टद्व  
 र्शितात् तद्विकारेन चैक्यवेत्ता प्रायश्चित्तैपुनर्योगिज्जुडे मन्त्रे तस्याभवेत्ता अष्टापूर्व  
 क्यत्रदणं किं प्रायेण श्रुत्पुन विध्यतास्तत्र काराः प्रा मावास्यायां पूर्वैक्यवेदिक्  
 शेतीति श्रुतेः॥ यद्वा निवासनां तमाभूदिति पूर्वैक्यत्रदणं उच्चैस्मात्पण्डितानां तयवा  
 दणं तं करोति अतर्कदीति विनक्त्यार्थं तं शब्दः प्रशंसस्यते॥ त्वद्या मधिकं रलै त  
 वेदीति विनक्त्यार्थं तं॥ मूलतो मूलशास्त्रोपनिवासात् तस्य मूलस्यावयवं न्यसेत्  
 नशकलं॥ षष्ठ्याद्यतिरेकस्य प्रतीतः॥ शेषं सान्नाय्याजिन उपवेश्याद्यं लिङ्गा  
 राणामवस्थापनोत्पेक्षे द्ये॥ तच्चायुक्ते॥ मूलविद्यमानापद्यते च यदुपवेशमुक्ते २५

रहती ध्यामणि नोक्तं। वसंत शिशिर वर्षवत्। दर्शयं पादज्जणं। विकारो दर्शयं यस्मि  
 न्नाकिं विनिष्ठा मित्याह। त्रिगुणरज्जुः। दर्शयं यत्र दणं नियमाद्यं। दैर्गुयति। वे रुमि  
 क्राणीति सिद्धेऽप्यौ रंभातेनायाक्रादावनियमः। शाखाया मन्तुलोमो मूलं मूलैश्च त्रम  
 मेव स्यजेत संसृजेत त्रंशिवज्जितं। एता आचरं। अयं तीरा गच्छती दृढमभिमुख  
 मन्तु मंत्रयत्। त्रन्तु ह्येतीत्यर्थः। मादृद्र इत्यत्र नम्रचितं तथापि चातुमीस्यषु विभ्वे  
 वाः। यवाञ्चै॥ यवान्धतिनियमाद्यं। एतामिति रात्रि विशेषणं। विशाखविधुष्टी सान्ना  
 यमप्रत्ययाश्चिन्तु मंत्रणे नानेत्येते। रात्रि त्रदणं प्रातरग्नि दोत्र सं ग्रहाद्यं। येन रा  
 यं द्रद्येणादा मास्तेनैव प्रतरितिसं गृहीतं च वत्तिरात्रि शष्ट स्यान्निहेत्र विषोष एवा  
 ता यजमान अदणं विधुष्टी प्राप्य चावा दित्येके। नियमाद्यं पि देऽग्नि होत्रं उदौत

तपुःकादः प्रवेत्तु विप्रोष्णो प्रथो जनाया तस्याः पिउं अकथय वंषष्ठी निर्दिष्टा तपिडना  
 मबाषणु नः यवाचा पिंडाष्टि होम इति केचित्तु तदसत्ता न क्षिपिं उ निधानं यवाक्षेत्रं च  
 होमाश्रित्वा तस्यायथा वदि प्रचत्ता नावदं तस्यावद्यथ चात् यद्विपिंड निधानं स्या  
 प्रथो तद्वत्त्वं तर्दि ए दान्न यजीया न्वा किं न जुहुयात् एतासि तिसृन्ना व्याष्टिं शिखा  
 तौ अष्टौ वं कस्मान्न द्याख्यातां एता सुपवसथ रात्री मिति ए वं द्यारद्या तौ यं पर्वणि जुहु  
 यादिति अकृत्यं तं च नृद्युतौ नैवं क्षन्ना प्य धर्मिणं क्रमे विधाना तौ शारवं तारवा न्ने  
 तौ रात्री पयस्माग्नि होत्रं जुहोति क्रमान्न स्वपायान लोनायथान्ये स्यौ दवमौ यिक्तं  
 स मन्वस्यौ दीयते तौ दृक्कृतस्मात्तयवाग्नाग्नि होत्रं जुहोति ए वं तर्दि पायानि वृत्ति  
 एवार्क्यो यवात् अरुणं न नियमार्थं उपलक्ष्य रत्नात् दध्यादिना पि होम स्यादि २६

तिरा त्रिप्रदणं प्रातर्होमाष्टविदातस्त्वोक्ततापयिस्तीर्यस्त्वमिषं पयिरिस्तीर्यपिरिस्त्वमि  
 साश्चतुर्द्विदुप्रागात्रेदीनस्त्रणातिएवंविधिरग्रीनपयिरिस्त्रणातीअत्रअनिपयिरिस्त्ररणश  
 द्यात्विदारं पयिरिस्तीर्यअत्रत्रत्त्वचनादिधर्मेणविदारपदायागात्पयिरिस्तीर्यमाणावि  
 शेषात्पयिरिस्त्ररणमपि विशिष्टं तस्मद्विशिष्टं त्रतीयातप्रादशषु उत रतो गार्हपत्य  
 ह्यसं। ह। ह। अष्टपूर्वचतुर्त्तं। ऊं। ऋषणां गवां दुग्धेयावत्यां संभवति किं तं तावत्परि  
 माणा। उत रत संस्तीसृष्टि वचनां तस्त्ररणमविशिष्टं। ऊं। ऋषणां गवां चतुर्विधं त्रैलोक्यं  
 दारनिर्दिष्टात्। यद्वाशाखाया मवमत्तं पवित्रं शाखापवित्रं। निदानं द्याद्यं द्वितीयं निदा  
 नं दीह न च। ह। प्राद्विषण्यः प्रापः तत्संयौगात्तदधिकरणं पात्रमत्राप्रोक्तं। शास्त्रे नोच्यते  
 वरुशाह न वतिशुदसिद्धपाकवचननपात्रवरुकापालनीत्यत्र बहिष इत्युक्तं यादने

[illegible]

तिबेधः एवं मं शुभ्री एने वाऽऽने दद्ये रक्त स्वेति। गार्हपत्यस्य पुनस्तादित्यर्थाऽतिपु  
रुपसादयतीति श्रुतः। ऋन्ने इति गार्हपत्यपरचादवेचाप्यानाख्याताऽऽह। अह इति  
पात्राणीति खड्गं च निर्दिष्टात्। मं प्रव बद्धं वचनात्थावंति स्मत्तत्प्रक्षिप्तेनोदकेन  
प्रोक्ष्यात्तावंति तावंति मं त्रावृत्त्या प्राक्षेन्न ऊदीह्यते नाथे कैका कथां प्राक्षेदित्य  
उक्तानि पर्यवृत्त्य उक्तानि उक्तानि पय वितीन न म्वेत्यर्थः। ऋतो न परेष्वा  
पात्राणां प्रयोगे गम्यते प्रोक्ष्य पूर्वोपि यद्विद्य। प्राक्ष्य लुवादाऽऽतः पूर्वोपि प्रति  
पय दित्येति संबन्धः। अयं वाय प्रतीषिद्ध संवरे देशे स्मत्तं निधाय पवित्रं तथि स्म  
वाय दितत्र पवित्रेषु ऋदित्यास्त्र गमिती वातो। श्रीवायामित्यर्थः। ऋबधूतं रक्त इति  
उदश्च स नो यथा वधूय मनैस्यो दीर्घी प्रतिमां स देशे शोभ वति। अत्र तशाम्वांत राद्विशेषे पा

ॐ स्वस्ति नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

सहस्रा ददष्टाष्टविंशतीनां दित्या स्वर्ग सीति पश्चाद्दुकरस्यास्ते एति प्रत्य श्रीबुधतरने  
मनिगदद्या स्वाता प्रती वीन अदं प्रत्यस्यतिकटिदेशं निबुज्य प्रत्येवं प्रत्यस्यतियथाध  
स्तात्माना सद्भवति न हस्तजिनस्येति निरुक्तं मेव सृजतिरिक्तं नृपलसून्यमि  
त्यर्थमिव सृजतिन विमुंचतीत्यर्थः एवंचवामहस्तेनान्वारब्धं कपालविधानव  
त्तुष्टुआवामं त्रिंशद्दशममयमप्यत्तरवले स्यान्नाशमयमेवात्र विधाय कत्वा  
नैत्रस्या तस्याह्येवा दः धृष्टुत्रावासी तस्य आवा एमेनं करोतीति काष्ठमयस्या  
यमुपग्रनरनाश्रमयस्य तस्माजिनमिव नरिक्तं दविष्णसूत्रमित्यर्थं शिखाग्रजिह्वा  
सीति दविष्णास्तुष्टिना त्रिरावपत्तिं तस्मी चतुष्टं नि लषजेऽवघाताष्टविंशतीनां  
वत्तुष्टं बुष्टिमित्यर्थः एवमसीषामायादीनां दविष्णानावपत्तिमद्विचित्रं निमुष्टिनि रथा २८

वावपुंशकंप्रतेअन्येनुआसुषेवइत्फत्तरापिहविष्णानिोदेवतानाईवाएषअहम्  
 त्पयवादादिन्नतैस्सयस्यजिह्वासीचूदमिकेति।एवंचस्त्ररुतानपयिन्तुहीतंतस्मा  
 दन्यदवात्पणुमनोतावदायपात्रंजावताअथवाअग्निशब्देनादवतावचनयात  
 कित्स्वदिबनीयवचनः।ततश्चाबन्धेअपोजिह्वासीतिपरिणामतोहृत्तत्रावा।सु  
 लस्यापिग्राबलमुल्लखवतुदेवस्यादद्य७शमीषेतिस्स्यादिषुदेवाणैर्ज्ञादिषु  
 देवाभ्यामूद्वेपेहृयइपिचून्मोदद्यमिति।तदयुक्तमथास्मात्प्रतिनाति।यद्यपि  
 यौगिकचंनशृह्यते।दानाहोदिपनादिति।अतिप्रसंगान्नद्यापिपितरोपिदेवाउच्ये।  
 अष्टपादिधिकः।सुगगतसाध्याम्रफलंसा२॥फलीकृताः।ह्यालिताः।सायास्त्या  
 जितमलाशतियावत्तदुक्तं।सफलीततानित्यादि।आदानात्त्राधिषेणयः।पुनरा



स्तरण समानादिमं अस्मानात् न स दंप्रतस्य तिष्ठति पठ तपये न निरिक्तं ईष छन्यं न  
 सजेत् धिषणासि इष दं न क्षाजिने निरिक्तां श्रूयै प लं नाव सजेत् धिषणासि  
 वती दषदि निदधातीति लोकेष्य यं क्रमः अदत्यास्कं राम्याया युगे तत्र त्रिदिति  
 तं य द्द्वयो क्रयाश प्रतिमोचनायं कोष्ठं तच्छिरः पश्चादुदक शीघ्रं वृष्याधान  
 तादृषाक्ता कपायेपे षण्णस्याविरुतौ च षण्णोऽस्त्ववाः शम्य शिरोदृष दाशम  
 मिनि धान्यमग्नि धान्य शण्डसुरसे धि क्रियते मां मम सि धि द्वा हि देवानि तित्तो  
 तैः प्रशस्तानां मृगयद्विणो मां सानां पिष्टा पुरोडाशस्य कुर्वंतीति ननु धान्य  
 राद्ये यं तदुलेषु प्रयुक्तौ लक्षणे तो मां सेपि त द्दम गोपीति प्रयोक्तव्यः नैवं स  
 हि वेदेन लक्षणैः प्रयुक्तः किं तत्र कर्मः अथैव यत्नः इदं पुन स्वाधीने सुख २६

शब्दप्रयो गे मैनवति किमिति लक्षणशब्दप्रयुज्यते देवानिति पिटयं ज्ञेयं मेधेक  
 विचारयेत्तद्धिपिटनितितदयुक्तं देवशब्दस्य शब्दविशेषणवोदनाच्चेदितदेवतावि  
 शेषवात् विशेषणचैव प्रहृत्यादिसमुदाययो गेनाश्रित्य मंगीकृत्याम्पगतं ज्ञेयं  
 शब्दानां तद्वादिप्रातिपदिकमर्द्धस्यामर्थवत्सत्वेणास्मिन्नायां छत्तुपत्तिपदाश्रयेन युक्तं  
 स्तत्र मारब्धमुणादयो बहुलमिति पदैवाद्यां तं प्रातंज। दशदशानां शतौ विधिस्थ प्रादो  
 लोबनिरुदुर्घः संबंधाद्योग्यस्य ते तस्याजिधा यकः शब्दांतरस्तु छत्तुपन्नो गृहीतद्यस  
 नपित्रेणामपि देवर्चायौ गिकं अत्र च देवशब्दस्य कथं पिटयं छत्तुदेवः सोमपिटमदादिश  
 दस्तत्स्वानेस्मवपि चादेवशब्दस्य केवलं द्यति तत्र छत्तुपत्तिश्च देवशब्दस्य सामान्य  
 विषयत्वात् धान्यमसिधिनु हीज्जा नित्यादिसामान्यशब्दस्यो मोन्यो बुधेऽभिनिर्तो

सुत्र। अथ भिदेवत्ये किं धेनुखोषधी त्रितिस्रिधिनुरिदेवीरिति न ता वद्वेबीरिति यम्  
 पिष्टुष्टुदेवचनेष्ठौषधिषु तस्य का कथा। तत्र त्रिकारिदुष्टुनक्षत्रे बंधा। उष्ट्रिधिशब्दस्तु  
 विधिस्थशब्दः स यदीष्टुते। सो मपिष्टु मदादिशब्दैः किमपराह। येन तेनेष्टुते देवपद  
 स्थाने अष्टौ ततपरिहाराय अष्टुधीष्टुद्विष्टुष्टुतौ तत्तमस्माभिरिति नित्यादी  
 न। तस्माद्देवानामसीत्यदि मते दवशब्दो न द्यत्तितोऽभिक्रियते। त्रिरधिवपत्तिः  
 नृजागावृक्षचादृषद्यधिवयेतन्वात्रुमस्यार्द्धौ मरुतीदृषवत्कर्तव्यावृत्नीयं वृत्तीषु  
 वाधान्यमसीत्यादिना अमं चोतं सत्तव सत्ततत्रिस्तदयुक्तं। कोऽनु समया  
 तीयते तस्मान्मरुतीपक्ष एव प्राणयच्चेति। प्राचीनिति उपजाविशेषाणं द्विर्भेदो  
 माप्राहृतिपदं प्रतीनीमिति। मद्यादाशदृषदः। अथ वद्वेकाती तिपाठ एकं तीच्यथी ३०

कृत्वा कृती च। स्मिन्नियच्छतीति। दीर्घा मन्त्रासं ततं शब्दो ह्येयमतिमुत्पत्तेरुक्तं संतता  
 उपपत्तः तस्मादद्रव्यस्य सा भवा विकचत्वात्पक्षिक्रिया यो द्रव्यसंतनोपस्थं पिनश्चिन्म  
 त्रसंततो प्रांच। प्राजयेषु पौष उ पला प्रादाण प्राकृ सं स्वेन वति दीर्घं श्रुतं कालवि  
 वक्ष्यताम्। पिबुनिर्दिष्टा वदया। तस्मादीर्घा द्विषत्स्या नू मन्त्रस्य वा। ऋ वेदो ए दृष्टा  
 र्थो मात्रे नित्यममा ह देवो वः दृषदो वसीय माणा निरुक्ता जिने पतमाना निशास्वो त  
 रा तं अस्यानुशास्वोद्यां स विद्मस्मत्त एवेन नुप गृह्णातीति मंत्रार्थ विवर एण दृष्टी सुप्र  
 धानयेने मंत्रान् च विशेषोऽत्रापि अक्षरीयमाणा सुमंत्र ए स्याद्यत्रा मन्त्रत्वा यना जि  
 धाय वा तौ अत्र एव निपत्नी त्रैषां चं केरो भित्ति अत्र एव निपत्तं यत्तुमा वस्त्रा नी त्पथ्यः कृत्वा  
 दितित्रेषां दिस्तत्र एणो एण धामपुरुषे तस्य ता तं कुरुता दि तिसृजा प्रै बिबु वचने  
 = इति मन्त्रेण वक्तुं वेचनं न शक्यं तादां देशः ॥

ना धोषणो यं न त्रेषः ॥ अज्यायं वा बहु वचनं ततः त्रिषः ॥ छिरसी त्ययेषमादुते  
 अदा नृग्रहणे अगार स्थायनां यी छ ॥ निर्द्वयं रक्ष ॥ अगा रकाणो नृप वत्तनिम  
 विरुद्धं क्रवमसिष्टयिर्वी दं ह ॥ अन्वारं नः सद्यै न ॥ अपा न्नो न स नो बहिरंग रं न  
 स्म नो बहिर्न स्मे तप प रि बहिरं च वः पं च मेति ॥ अद्य ग्री नानाया वक्ष्मा म्पाय त  
 नं दशयि ति ॥ बहिर्न स्म शब्दे न य अमा त क्कया त्तम प हत्या दवे यज्ज ने य ह्यिय उप  
 दधा ती ति ॥ अनेर्बहिर्न स्म शब्दः ॥ स त्रिता ए वं च चा लु म स्था दिषु या व दथ मि ग्या य  
 तनं न स्म कर्त्तव्यो न बहिर्न स्म नो द व यज न य द्दिय च म स्तप म्पाय त नो त स्मा व  
 म्पाय त नं बृ हतु कर्त्तव्यो न स्म प्र सा यी ॥ अनेर्दे व यज नो ॥ अग्नि मंगार म धि र्म  
 न्चारब्धे ॥ उ स्रज्जति क पा ला त् स द स्तो त न्नि ग्वा न्वा र बु च्वा त् ॥ नि तश्च रो वि शो धा

ताध्वरूपमसि। पूर्वत्वं। दशयोगात्। धर्ममसि। पूर्वार्द्धत्वं। पूर्वार्द्धयोगादेवाधर्ममसि।  
 मध्यामादार्द्धत्वं। तद्वद्विणयागाद्वर्द्धत्वं। अतएव मध्यमादिति पंचमी। अंन्यारादित्ये  
 न सूत्रेण विदसीति। पश्चादोशयत्कपालमुपदिशतस्तथा प्रमाणात्। अनाधिकमुत्र  
 रपश्चाद्धयोगात्। पश्चाच्चोत्रं च कपालाभिधानं पंच पूर्वार्द्धत्वं। चरं। वीर्यचिदसीति। उ  
 क्तप्राये। विष्णुस्त्विति च। तस्या सज्जनानां सप्त। इति। अनेकयजमानके। अस्यां यजमाना  
 न्ना। मत्स्याज्जमात्रम्य इति। वपयिणमते। केचिन्नेर्वेषां कपालानां उपवेष्टकपालस्या  
 चां। गारावस्थापनादी कंति उपधानधर्मचातुः। अनयवाशुद्वितीयमशुद्वितीयमिव  
 यशब्दः। प्रथमकपालधर्मसमुच्चयाशंते। देतस्तत्रतानां। दृढीतमिवापवशादस्याम  
 योगात्। तदेतच्चित्यं। एकां दशकपालस्य समानं त्रयाणां सुपधानां निद्विषं रक्त इत्यादि

धर्ममसिद्धिवमित्यंतं तु लब्धं। अंगारगिरसने वर्ज्यं। शिखातदङ्ग्याय तनस्य संस्कारास्त्यातु  
 सत्तादवयुक्तं पुनः करणोत्तरसुसगस्या। तत्र च विरुद्धा दोषः। न च कृतं पुनः कर्तव्यं  
 शाखापवित्रां न्येसत्यपि वस्त्रं पवित्रमस्मिन् कृत्तराद्दोहसमानधर्मवैपि एक  
 मात्रे मध्यमादक्षिणे। ततश्चोत्तर। एकस्य कपोस्य यत्तत्प्रमाणं तदुभयोः कर्तव्यं। मध्य  
 मान् कमाजादक्षिणयोः। रुत्तरयोः देवमेकविंशतिकपालस्य पूर्ववद्धिदिकमात्राणि ॥  
 पक्षिणानि तस्यापश्चादिकमात्राणि तथोत्तराणि पूर्ववद्धिदुत्तरां एष कमात्राणि पंच  
 द्वादशकपालेन पूर्वाद्दीदिकमात्रे उत्तरं तत्रोत्तराणि द्वादशकपालेन त्रीणि। अयुक्तमनुत्तर  
 द्धतिन्यायात्। चतुःकपालस्य पंचमात्राणि त्रीणि। त्रिमात्रं चतुष्टयं च कपालस्य अत्र  
 ईमात्रयोः क्षेत्रमात्रं पंचमं। षट्कपालस्य चैवं चतुष्टयं षष्ठेत्रिकपालं क्षेत्रं दक्षिणे। ३२

२६२३ कपालेषु ये ज्ञातः सर्वाहो देकमात्रे उत्तरे कर्तव्ये ३

= त्रयोदशकपाले पूर्ववद्धिदुत्तराणि त्रीणिकपाला निम्नोत्तरे

कुष्टादिक४-प्राज्ञेयव्रतार्णवः४

कुष्माविदिशः



मित्यङ्गायानाञ्जङ्गानाम्ब्रह्मन्भवति। अथापाकार्यथात्वात्तथावति। इति कृपा  
 नियदम्ब्रह्मन्वात्तथास्थिनीष्टातथोष्टामिति द्विवचनेन परिणम्यते। न्यायप्राप्तेऽहम्ब्र  
 नमंत्रचार्थीमंत्रस्त्रिषेप्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं। रुद्रस्त्रिषचनाम्नातेतन्मन्त्रदितिवचनं। एवंत  
 थस्त्रेयोर्कृपात्वांशस्यङ्कुतमग्निहोत्रं सूय्येभ्यः। दित्यादित्यादौ सौ योएककृपालेपुंशे  
 डाशेतत्प्राभ्योधिस्त्रित्यत्रातद्द्वौहंद्वौद्वयतितत्प्राथम्येति। कितत्तत्प्रापः। उतपुवन  
 मंत्रातुल्लोकोत्तरस्यलोकेहि नृक्षेनोद्वक्त्रनपिष्टानिर्भयुर्वति। मध्यपाकाशीप्रा  
 त्तद्द्वौहंद्वौद्वयतो। उक्तमुपसर्जनप्रज्ञातिसमानमादायनादिति। निष्ठधोष्टमाना  
 थां। पाच्यामवधायपवित्रैः। दवस्या। निष्ठपुनमाहवनीयज्जं। ज्ञापकात्। इहमंत्रो  
 नभवत्यनामानात्। अक्षित्तत्तथाहवनीये। तर्हि कथं स्यान्मान्नुदाहवनीय

गर्ह्यसे समर्थाः ॥

ये च्छा केन वा यत्तैः उपमानाया मिति पाठे दुर्मिदु प्रदेपण इत्येस्याप पूर्वस्योपमा  
नेति निष्पन्नं तस्या एव पात्र्याः संनिधानात् क्वचरो नागान् क्वचा च्छी च वृथं संव  
मेता वाचं च यच्छत्या निवाभना ता च शब्दात् यजमानो विस्त्रू कोले स्य प्रयिथ मा एवा  
तुः प्रां ग्राष्टो निविधो तदंत एवा पिष्टालपनिधायो पिष्टानां लेपो हृषदुपलाह क्षी  
जिनपुमं निष्ठुष्टदक्षिण त्रिहो माथी निधा तैष्टुत्प वनं द्या रद्या ता प्राक्षणीषु वै  
दोपयामस्त्रवेण विदउपया मायस्योति स चाप्ते स्त्र वश्चेति कर्म धारयः समाप  
उषधी रितैति मंत्रवस्तीत हाश्चा समोऽस्या सिंचनीति वशाद्दस्यार्थः तद्व्युत्तं मंत्र  
वस्तीपपत्तेः इक्षीतस्यैवः प्रणीताद्देतेन तप्तानो न वनु नैवैः समंत्रक मा सि  
चतीति वतीति संनियोग शिष्टत्वात् तस्मात्तप्ताश्च समापत्त्या सिंचति पिष्टेषु क

रक्षि  
याः

धं सप्तमीऽपः शक्रविश्वसिद्येति यश्चायुक्ताः स्रुवित्यसंस्कृत्यचिन्ताप्रमीपेष्टे  
 छित्तिनयुक्ताः संस्कार्यत्वात् द्वितीयास्यात् न च सा संज्ञवत्यद्विकर्मकत्वात् तस्यास  
 शानां त्रणीताः सैनासकस्त्रहंसी मंत्राणां द्वितीयाः क्रतेरिति। एकविंशैत्रावकली  
 याः। वयं तु पिष्टुषु तद्वा आसिं चामः न चाद्वितीयायाः संभ्यावा किं वित्कृत्वा प्रयो  
 जमपिष्टानि च न सामर्थ्यात् संस्कार्यत्वादासिं चान्तापिष्टप्रातिपदिकमपि संस्कार्य  
 नोपात्तं किंतु विनक्तिर्विंतयाऽऽस्यामेकस्य संयमनाष्टत्वात् का संस्कारकता स्या  
 न बहुबाह्वैरतामेकमात्रस्याचित्तव्यापि संस्कार्ये सप्तमी दृष्ट्या तासप्रातर्दोहइति  
 यथा। अत्र वपुः संनिचोगाणिष्टः समापत्य नुगृह्यते। अद्भ्यः परिप्रजाताः पवि  
 प्रमारयति सर्वतो गमयति। तद्वा आसिं काः सीताः। अत्यूतुपरिसारयंतं तत् ३४

त्संचत्तिमदितसा श्चेतिस्त्रंश्चन्यथावर्षयिंतीत्युक्तं। चरैश्च प्रणीता संको। नायितसापवि  
त्रोतीहीतप्य इतिद्रव्योतरविधानायासीदंडुविः संनयति संहरतीत्यर्थः। मरवस्य। पिंडुं  
कृतं संते स्पशति। एषा वा। आया मोक्षे एण समौ मिच्छा किं नैते। बद्धपुष्पाव इति वि  
कारः। प्रागधिवपनश्चरद्यानमेवं किं नागः कर्तव्यः। अत्र ये। च्छितिः। समचन निष्सात्  
यो रक्षिमशनि। दक्षिण दिगवस्थाना दक्षिण एव सुतराप को ननु यथा देवत भुतम्  
तिनयुक्तं। विजागस्यामिनो यदिकस्या यंदक्षिण संवेतिना दृष्टेऽप्यादुत्तरपर्वत  
स्यैव संबध्यो नैव संबधः। सिद्धः। वचना तसत्तावद्वा तादिज्ञचा विभज्या यम  
स्मा इत्युक्तैर्थाद्वितीया इतरस्यै स्था मिते। तद्विदृष्टा यमिदमुत्तरस्या निमशनि ते नैव  
नामकरदशकपाले निर्वपेत्। यस्यैत्यादौ अक्षिमशनिं हि देवतेन स्यात्। यद्वा यथा

देवतस्तु त्रानुप्रकृतता विधि संज्ञा वत्सु दिते ह्यो देवता नां वत्सु दुक्तं वा तत्रात्रे ध्या विना माः  
 नृत्तपियावते ननु चान्य दिते छिर्विकारः नैवं विरुतं दर्शो सा विष्टी - । तथा चानुस  
 प्रकृतत्वमानपा नैत्यपुनर्यजितति पुनः शब्द द्विरुत च मिति पुनः शब्द स्य न्यमान क्रमा  
 वृत्तिवचन चात्परदम दैस तन्म त्रः कपाल न्य इति वचना त प्रतिक्रिया ल मंत्रा प्रतिप्र  
 यनं वा स्तुतदा न स्मन एक चात्ता धर्मो सि विपु रोडा शो ए वस्तु ते रा प्रकरण साधार  
 रणया तु एकैक काम निर्याः कुर्याति प्रकरण देव लाघवा यो मिदं प्रातिमूत्र मेव  
 मुत्तरमित्युच्यमाने ग्रंथ नार स्या न्न नृक्तं । दर्शयो स मा स जो धर्माः साधारणा इव  
 स्यैव प्रपंचो वस्तु स्थे एव संस्कारे मंत्रो वा क्रियमाण ऋदृष्टा यो द्वितीय स्या पिस  
 स्कारं करोति प्रकल्प पूर्वदा । एवा राजसूय देवता दिव प्रष्टो सु रव यो जेय वस्तु ३५

नानाबीजेषु सत्तत्त्वविः सत्तत्त्वानि गच्छया ज्ञातिरल्यमेतेस्तन्निरासाद्यैवेमुत्तर  
मिस्यादिभिरुपयज्ञपतिरनेकयजमानकेयज्ञपतीप्रष्टोतोयावत्कपालमित्यसे  
ब्रंधे - चि - कपालातिरिक्त इष्टातपुरोडाश। एवं तर्हि कपालकेत्रपुरोडाशप्रमाणमिति  
दर्शयति। तच्च श्रष्टस्य यतः सतितन्वा। अविद्वारय नूनाद्रिमात्रदस्तेनातश्याऽपि पिष्ट  
नेष्पापि कुरति। चरौ प्रष्टनह्योक्तेन कर्तव्ये। अष्टपाश्या चोत्तु। दक्षिणा। श्रीष्मोयादिताप  
सुख्यं विलीनमाज्यं स्यात्तदार्थाद्योपः। अविनी नमन्यदा हर्तव्यं। उपाधिश्रयणं उक्तं  
मवाट्टाद्यथागादप्युपाधिश्रित्यगादप्येते सप्तमोऽतत्परिसरणे कृत्स्नं छेदये  
ति एकदृष्टावचनमधीत्यपरि - अथ एखायमं संश्रयं। संपावनं सुदुर्लभं। नहु  
जनैर्नष्ट एजालेन वा। वै दोषयाममि। त्रिदोषपया मोक्षत्वावेद उपयच्छतीति। वदोपयमः।

ब्रह्म श्री दिव्यपदोपयाममिति छिली यांते पतितं युक्तं तं तस्या दिव्ये दोपयाममाका  
 मैत्रवति क्रिया विशेष एवात्तु दक्षिणा गार्हपत्यात्तु चर्याः मैत्रं लिङ्गात्तु चर्या एवाज्ज  
 ७ स्यात्तु नष्टश्रीगवामाज्यमिति नियमानुगवामिति सनियमोऽजामहिषिनिवृत्तपथ  
 इति चेत्ता एतौ वैयस्यस्य मातास्वेत्यादिश्रुतिविरोधात्पादिके कानुवादित्वाद्द्विविधो धर्म  
 त्वे चेत्तानेन श्वेतागा आज्या येति श्रुणु न नियमादुच्यमिष्यमेवाक्यं धिद्येता निद्यताना  
 मान् दिव्ये तौ वाक्ये न दृश्यत इत्युक्तौ विधुनुमानं एव तद्विशिष्टा ख्यं तदा त्वागद्यमा  
 ज्यं यदित्यन्येते पश्चिरेति सोनामयविभवेत्तदावा अन्यस्या चर्या इति मंत्राणा  
 मभिधाया कत्वा तदृश्रुणु एादरः आज्यस्वा ल्योपवित्रवतीति घाधिक्यं रणस्य सूत्रे  
 पवित्रे विद्येतेत्यस्मिन् स्त्राने तत्तत्पवित्रवत्समानाधिक्यं रणे वाज्यस्वा ल्यां पञ्चे ३६

मवित्रवती तित्यात्र राधादाशतानुश्रुनेविशेषः परिवाजपतिशितिद्वीष्टि  
त्रिद्विर्दृष्टं सान्नायनिषधार्थीपुरोडाशस्यैवं धर्मोवाप्लोर्धमान् २ त्पादिक्र  
नेः पयन्निक्करोतिद्वीष्टिपरिमेदपपत्रिसंतादन्नि यथाभवति तयाद्वीष्टि  
करोतिः प्राद्वनीयादुल्लुकेनिति केचित्पष्टौ दर्शनात् तदयुक्तं अनुवादात्तै  
पुराद्वनीयात् अथैते यच्च यत्र अथैतत्स्य तत्वापयन्निक्करोतां तेनाद्वतीयेयव  
अपयैत्तदाद्वनीयात्पयन्निक्करोतां ॥ यदिगार्दपयेत्तदागार्दपयात् न चैतत्स्य  
दक्षिणां प्रपणमं विद्वानादेवतदाप्रपयतिः स्यते नैकयज्ञमानक दक्षिणां क  
यद्वा इति वै वस्त्रासंविताप्रपयचिक्कलुकेनाग्निना वेयन् गुपतीति शेषः ॥ इत्सया  
सर्वेस्त्रस्यायोऽष्टौ षमेकवाक्यतयाभितापयन् पयन्निक्करोतिः ॥ पुनैनेतिः ॥  
+ एषु प्रपणः श्राद्वनीयात्

= द्वालयन् २



विष्टलेपस्य निघारः कायी

तापयनीत्याख्यातपक्वाकातैवास्त्रुदवीडिष्टलतापयअनुवृत्तेरिति मन्त्रार्थः  
पुंरोडाशं वा अक्षिष्टतमित्पादिभ्रत्पासुरा राशा प्रवापिष्टलेपं च अविशोषादक्षिण  
त्रिद्विभाषं यंतमपि नमन्निरोधानान्निगमनाशमि वं उपरिष्ठादभिघारयतिष्ठ  
तत्रायतिदक्षिणात्रिद्विभाषं तका मादिदवा इति प्रुत्तवा दातु स्यादतएव  
द्विर्त्रिद्विपुष्टमन्त्रानुवापदुवा दस्यस्तु अथ यिष्यन् अग्निष्टे तन्वां दन्ती रिति नियम  
तत्कर्मैव सुरोडाशे स्यान्न क्षाजान्न दजगिराभस्फोटयती अथोक्षादौ रजिवा  
मयतीति श्रुतेः अन्ने ब्रह्मयासां गां सुं रोडाशं दन्ती गारुक् नं के रा म् पचातृणं  
गाराणं क्षालिरन्निवामयति तस्मात्केयोः शिरश्छिन्नमिति श्रुतः अस्मनाभ्युद्व्य  
न्निवायतीत्यर्थः अन्मृद्न स्यादष्टाथिवा तृसां गारुच्यं तेन सां गारुच्येति कल्पित

धर्तृभ्योऽमृतं ततोऽन्नं समनाः श्रुतमपीति च शेरनिवाः समनं न च वत्सपरिपाकाः श्रुतिः  
 न समं संगदायाः चोऽन्नविदहंतः श्रुपयतेति प्रेषाद्यन्नाग्नीध्रादयः कुर्वन्ते बहुवचने  
 यजार्थं वा च षोडशैस्तज्जतयजमानश्चाचर्विष्टामपि अर्धिश्रयणदिशगवैरिक्करोषा  
 न्वाग्यमनापदार्थे धर्मिणा तृणाकापश्चादादवनीयस्य यजमानमात्री ॥ ६० ॥ पश्चा  
 दादवनीयस्य वैदिमन आपरिमिमीतो मन्मा संकल्पयति वेदिः परिश्रुतिता मया  
 यथोक्तजक्षणेति ॥ ५० ॥ यमेव वैदेरुत्पत्तिर्विदादानप्रज्ञति सामान्ये तयोः संस्कारा  
 एवैवातं वैदिषु हेतीत्यपयनाद्यदेवं एवैद्यु रमावास्यायां वैदादानप्रज्ञतीत्येवैवदि  
 करणं स्यात्पश्चादादवनीयस्येति प्रायोजिप्रायमं साम्नामादवनीयस्य परिश्रुतिता  
 अनुच्यमानं यजमानं स्यन्तुरः प्रायं प्रमाणं यथाद्वीधिष्ये न वेयुस्तथा तिर्यक्

लीयसीपुरस्ताचष्टातिरश्च्यस्थायध्याद्वीष्टितावतिस्मंनवंतिवेद्यांद्बलिषा  
 स्मादयेतीतिश्रुतातिरश्च्यतिटतीयोतपातुतष्टातिरश्चामानेनस्यादित्योऽजये  
 न। एतस्मादिवौदकसंस्ठं दकिः सादमौष्ट्वविद्याविटतीयमोत्रे। वेद्याः पूर्वविनाशे  
 ब्राह्मदीचीस्तिस्त्रोनेस्वाः स्फेनकरोतीत्यर्थः। एकतायस्यादेष्टिणितिरसस्मदयं न  
 अमंनेदयं नमंस्त्रुजितियावदुसंशब्दोपादानसामष्ट्यात्तुत्रत्ययुदकुसस्त्रेतिनयं  
 शास्त्रं तत्रैप्रत्यगाम्नानावपिलेष्टेपनाशकर्मलोपोनद्रष्टोतारणचविष्टावपिप्रम  
 गात्तुअयुष्टवेदः। यजमानायेत्यनेकयजमानकेन्द्रः। एवेनावदिननुप्राविष्ट  
 चेदि। अष्टात्रियाविशेषणं। ततः प्राचीनमिति स्यात्। प्राणिनिवा। क्रियाविशेषणं  
 नीकर्मत्वेनपुमकजिगताचेति। क्वचनानुच्यते। वमंभे। कर्त्तृत्वासमवेतिनिर्त्रे ३८

यादिगदिशोदोःकर्मकन्दसमानाधिकरणैर्विषाषणबंदष्टंप्राचीनंतरतःप्रतीचीबा  
द्यतःप्रतीचीमंतरतःप्राचीबाह्यतःइत्यादोअथात्रापिस्कृष्टप्रत्युखीप्रतस्वी  
तित्रेत्तद्वदंतस्त्विदरणसुदीचौगगयनपाह्यप्राचस्त्रीनुप्रक्रमोमित्येवमादिकन्दम  
मानाधिकरणप्रांचोत्फादत्यउबदवस्याप्यात्येवदमादिष्ट्वंप्राचीमितिक्रियापि  
षाषणंक्रियाश्रयद्रष्टुल्लिगसंख्यासंबधजपाचाराद्योक्त्वास्मिन्नकोमुदप  
सेतिबक्रमुणस्नस्तेद्याद्यारोपितःसंतमुतन्त्रंमाष्टीतिसंमाष्टीउन्नरतो  
गार्दपत्यस्यादवाञ्जमावस्याद्यंएवनियमःपाद्यानिर्वपणपक्षपतस्मात्तयथा  
म्बानस्फोनिधीयतेसत्तणस्फुमादायवक्ष्यतिलेस्वोतेरुणेतियोगितीइद्रस्य  
वाङ्कुरसीतिनुषध्यातृणांतरेणनुमाष्टिनाग्रंअप्रयन्निदृशत्यौषध्यास्पस्येल्लिग

मन्तेऽन्निमंशनिमयिस्फात्रेणात्मनस्तस्यावप्रतिशब्दोपादानात्तस्यप्रभुपनिय  
 मादिनिगम्यतौउत्तरतश्चाग्नीध्रःपाणिभ्यांरुतांकाष्टापाणिर्कोष्टःमध्यसुखिरधृतं  
 चाततब्धविषाक्काप्रत्ययात्पाणिर्कोष्टंक्रयतिउक्तरइतिर्यद्देवंसामर्थ्याप्रितेव  
 छुप्यवेशःपश्चात्पाणिर्कोष्टकराणंउत्तुकरस्यउक्तरविषयमप्रमोक्ष्यात्तान्नृक  
 उयविशतीतिसंबंधयेत्तशाखांतरेऽउक्करइतिवचनात्तयद्वाक्काप्रत्ययेरेवती  
 सुवायवंतीयमग्निष्टोमसामन्तुत्येतिवत्तएतदेवमूलंतद्विषयस्योक्तकरायल  
 क्षणमित्यस्यपाणोऽसोमचप्रवेष्टतीयात्प्रादेशमात्रालेश्वाग्रदण्डतीथोपलक्ष  
 णंतत्रनिधानात्तासां।ष्टधिद्यावमीलखासमीपनिर्गुदगग्रंष्टधिर्विदेवातिर्यक्  
 प्रहारेणतिर्यक्छेदोनबक्षि।पिडयज्ञेदेवपिडयजनीतिक्वैचिददद्युक्तेविधयत् ३५

प्रचक्षते देवशब्दोऽङ्गप्रधानदेवताविषयो देवयज्ञनीतिदृष्टो न तस्यां विहितैस्तैर्ऋगदेवतैः  
 विषयो युक्तः अथ देवपितृशब्दोऽङ्गप्रधानदेवशब्दस्मान्नाम्नायं देवशब्दस्तथापि तस्मात्  
 यमंगप्रधानदेवताविषयत्वे युक्तः अथ दैवपितृशब्दस्य नंकार्यस्य त्वमेव अत्र  
 यवाण्येवत्यानविनागस्यात तश्च देवशब्दस्तद्वत्स्वरूपवत् ऽपि अधिकस्त्वदेवकेवलदेवे  
 छुष्टाणि विदेवौषधियज्ञनीत्यादिप्राप्नोति को दोष इति चेत् तत्र जंगलगतो पांसस्तपादने  
 स्फुटितयिकुप्रहारज्ज्वाला नमस्त एगानि त्रिपांस्तृणां विशेषणं शोरेवांतरेकेवलं दृष्टं इति तत्र  
 स्यात् शब्दवाच्यं उपसर्गस्त्ववाचनिकं स्यात् इतरथा ह्यौषधीस्तं वयजुर्देवतीति ब्रूया  
 त्वावर्जिता तयोदेशे दोषावावृत्तिरुक्ता अनेकयजमानकेव प्रवृत्तिवामिति वक्ष्यते  
 सैत्रे उवर्षति नः पञ्चनद्विपुंरेवात्मा च मंत्रोत न युगपद्रद्वौ तदृष्टदुर्वर्षे नः

इत्यं १

[illegible]

पंचमीचेतुतदोढतातुखातादित्यष्टः। ल्यङ्गोपेकापंचमीउद्धतंवौद्ध्यात्रीनुजागानुक्त  
 छाहाम्। द्वांशं तं तं येतुद्धतावके विद्धंतीति वाशिष्ठोवद्यथा मिहायैपुत्रीषोप  
 छादवस्यसंविद्धः सवे। स्फेनुमूला निच्छिन्नतिष्ठतश्च दार्शत्रितादौ नृहेमूलानामग्रं  
 वाछुष्टे। इमोनशः। यजमानुद्धत्येकं नेयजमानेके उदः कार्ये। माध्याय्यासंमत  
 संजक्तो। प्रावे। उदीचिप्रवणं निमंयस्याः सातथोक्ता। स्त्रिचारुदर्शनीयास्तु  
 संस्त्रिष्टावयवेति यावत्। साधुतास्तसाधुवात्तं यस्याः सातथोक्ता। अत्रेष्टिला  
 वयवास्यात्तथा कुर्यात्। यथा चो सास्यामाहवनीया। ओ। ऐत्थ्यां गार्दपतं व्याज  
 यात्तथा कुर्यात्। आहावेपुर्नषं यस्याः सातथोक्ता। उणम् नमेतत्तुष्टरुषाष्टीज  
 करणदर्शपौर्षमाधिक्षतस्याधिकायात्वेत्ततौ न न वत्स्य अदर्शपौर्षमाग्रधर्मचा



तस्याचपुरुषाश्रयनिदिदेशस्य निगी॥ दक्षिणां कौ॥ दोमाविति द्विवचनं स्फुप्रदाल  
 अत्रादशकर्जमित्यश्रुतिः त्रिवाद्यावदि॥ उदाकनावसि च्छात्राद्वा एमामंज्यो त्र्यंशा  
 संतायब्रह्मपरिआदं परित्र्यहीष्वाभीतिमंत्रेणामंत्रेण तैत्तिरीयैर्नृदायो तिलोमु  
 वति॥ सत्यं सदसीत्यादिस्फनपरियदुपं॥ कुतः॥ अर्थधर्मचातयद्वास्फेनावदिप  
 रिष्टक्तातीति परिभाषिते पुराऋग्वेदिप्रतिचीमिति सामानाधिकरण्यमुपपत्ति  
 प्राचीचाहैदे॥ प्रतीची चयमेगान्नावादं प्रतीचीमिति॥ किं॥ अमुमार्जनविशेष एम्बु  
 सज्यमानुहारं कंविधीयातापवाप्रतिचीप्रतिलोमां॥ ततोऽर्थाय विशेषचमं  
 ति॥ यश्चैव विद्याऽति॥ सर्वेति शर्द्धे काकादिव संवद्यते तिष्ठं च दक्षिणास्पृष्टं संशा  
 स्ति प्रेष्यती- यः॥ प्रैवं प्रैषार्थं च करोति शास्त्रिणाद्वा दितरया प्रेष्यतीति श्रूयात् ॥ ४१

कथमशेषं ददुक्तं स्वात्मनि प्रिषानुपयत्तौ रयवा संशान्ति संस्मरति मंत्रेण प्रशं  
 शतीति नित्यमादृष्टाश्रमं त्रः साम - - - - - आदति स्कारवचनं च तज्जातिवचनम्  
 च तमासादाय अदुः आज्यमिताया अज्यास्या दकाशा नि नि स्रुत्र दर्शना न्नादसं  
 द्रुतं अते स्तत्र अज्य शष्पुजास्य प्रायः प्रादता ज्यप्रसंगापत्य चावाता एष वाज्यव  
 त्तिदध्याज्या नुदहीति विषाखाणा चायीनाप सत्तु दशिता नि वृत्त ए प्र घा स ए  
 प्रतिप्रस्थातापनी स न ह्येति वर्जं संस्मरतीति नियमा अतः समस्तं स्क्रुचं समाज्जि  
 दालुया व न समाष्टि न ता व समा अतिष्ठति वृत्तौ समाजं न स्या सु चा दाद  
 तनुपपान्तिरिति दिक्मि ल्यं सत्य स्या नं तार्येष्ट समाजं नो म्कृ द एाया स्तथा  
 एनावध - सानमं त्रस्य संबं धः शा रवांतरा नुमं त्र वल्लि स संष्ट एायथा स्त्र  
 नां समाज्या प्रतिपत्कत्त रं यथा स्थान स्यादन स्त्रे त्रादन्या यन्ममाज्ञायता नप

दायन्त्रि स म योत्रा धि अ य एण दि व त्वा किं त ह्यी दाना द्वा सा दनां तं गुण कौ ड मे कै रुद्रा  
 न्य स नी यं ठ त्ताना नु ख्वाः प त्ति प त्ति। अ स्ति शा ख्यं तं शे प त्ति प त्ती ला क्क प स्था नं ऊ  
 वि ति तं त द्वा पि प त्ता प त्ति त म पि ऊ र्वं य न्ये। य द्वा प त्ति प त्ति यै षा त ला क न म स्ते अ  
 रु मा मा दि ण्डी सी शि ति द द्दि ए स्यं तः प श्चा द प र स्य प त्नी ला क कु प स्था प य ती ति ति तु  
 प द्देशा त्प त्ति प त्ती लो को प स्था नं ऊ वि ति त्र युं कै। य थो ज्जि ती व चि य ती त्प त्ता ज्जि ती  
 र्ब ह्णी ति त्र युं त्ता द द्दि ए तः प श्चा द्प य अग्नि ष्वा न म्म उ च्च र तः पु र स्ता दि त्प थः प त्ती पि  
 ति ना त्की मं त्रा द व प्रा स त्ता त् अग्ने गृ द्प त्ता उप वि श ति। प्रा इ सु र थ प वि श ति। अ न्य  
 धा अग्नि न्मो ध्या वृ त्ता स्या दु क्तं च अ क्तो। या वा ए त स्य प त्नी सा ए तं गार्ह प त्यं सं प्र ति  
 स मी च्ची अ न्वा स प श्चा दि ति। ज न्नु नी प्र ख्बु ज्वा अशा म्ना सौ। न स्य प्र ख्बु ज्वा ज न्नु नी ध र  
 उप वि ष्टु या ने अ त्तो ज न्नु नी प्र ख्बु ज्वा प्र ग त्ता ज न्नु नी क्वा सौ का य थि श न्नु हं न न म्

मर्थः॥ अतः तो वस्त्रस्य परिधानीयस्य शारवांतादिणस्तु वस्त्रस्योपरि संनद्यति  
संवृतं च योऽक्रंत दृष्ट्वा त न कुंहीति अत्रापि न देवयुक्तं दृष्टप्रयोजनं वस्त्रं संयम  
न संनहनं स्यात् एवादीदृशं तपनी सन्नद्यति नादृष्टार्थं चिपुनः संनद्ये ततो निषेधा  
न स्यात् अस्ति सा किं तादृष्टार्थं चि सत्यवकल्पता योऽक्रंतं दर्शयितुं रूढा हे दर्शना  
तमौ जं शाखोतरात् तपनी मिति द्वितीयां तपावेधयुः संनद्या ता स एवाप्युपसृशेव  
काप्रत्ययात् संनद्यस्ति एते व संनद्यति तथा हि संनद्यं च श्रंपे निमं नद्येति संशा  
संनेपनि शब्दं पठंति तदेव मवकल्पेते यद्विचयं संनद्येदिति वेदोपया मेति आजा  
वेह विशेषणं स्त्रीजिगं रपय मन कलाश्रयं षपचोरात् एवंचादस्तेन शहीचा  
उपमावर्त्तते तान्यथा वेदोपया मत्वानुपपत्तैः दधति मंत्रावृत्तिः द्योराज्यस्थान्य

चक्षुःपंथा मचक्षुःसंनवात्तुदणमशक्नोतेजोसीत्यादि। दध्नो धिअयणं नै कंति। द  
 ष्ठाज्जावात्। धर्मेपानं कर्तृष्टं। नाबुतापनमित्यपरे। तदबुपपन्नमतिप्रसक्तैः। विधिबा  
 धीनस्या। नयश्चविष्टं। वतान्नयं वानां। दद्याज्ज्योराधिअयणं। न स्यादित्पादिन  
 ब्रटे। यद्येवमाज्जमपिनाधिअयित्वा। यद्यदिमस्मीतेनेवां। दीर्घका लं विलीनाताये  
 प्रसन्नाथमिधिअयणं। मंत्राधिकरणं चागादपस्यादिनियं। माददृष्टाय। ५ दं बिभु  
 रुत्तरतः। ओक्लणीनामितिशास्वांतरं। अस्यादिशास्वायां स्फ्यस्यवत्तमसादय  
 तीत्पुर्तं। तत्रस्त्रेत्तताशास्वांतरसादवप्रोक्षिण्यः। सादिताश्चाशास्वापरित्यागे  
 यद्विपरं। स्वल्पं स्वल्पं। पिबेत्कुपरस्वंगस्य तद्वितीका रणमिति विक्लप्यार्थ  
 शास्वांतरानुसरणं। मूत्रं करस्येति। न पुनः। स्वशास्वापरित्यागा र्थमिति। हव

नाथैर्धर्षितं। वेदं चाण तथा सा दयतीति च शास्त्रात् पृथग् यौगकरणेन युगपत्  
 सादनं पृथग् यौगद्व्याख्यावदणाय षाट्ठपया माशुसमादित एव पन्निद चादक्ष  
 सहा साद्यतो अष्टपिदाष्टिभ्यमथेनाज्यावेक्षणं कृतं तदा क्षिप्रयणादिसादनं तं य  
 दियुगपद्व्याख्ययोः स्यात्तिदा इदं विस्तुर्विचक्रुमातेत्रे धानिदधोत्पदा समूहम्  
 योऽस्ति विस्तुशब्दस्य सत्त्वे तस्य चातुतुक्तमाज्यं वैयङ्ग्येन विस्तुश्रितिरित्येव तद्वाचनं त्रि  
 णिति वाचनं नृपवासदीनि तच्चैतत्तुक्तं वेदोपयामेतीत्युक्तं च स्मना योदुनं वापि श्रि  
 त्मादाय। कर्त्तव्यापाप। याः सव्यद्वस्तस्य दध्नो दक्षिणे न सादनस्य युगपदं संनवाक्ये  
 यमूदप्रसगास्तजोसीत्यानि गद्व्याख्यातोर्वेदेष्वेव यद्यपि दध्याज्ययोन्मत्रांते  
 नयुगपदं वेदं संनिपातयिष्येति। वरुणप्रघासेषु च तथापि तेजोसितेजोसीस्ते

इति तं ज्ञं सि स्तेति च नो हितं च। कितस्य वृत्त्या पृथग् वेदं। इच्छन्नेदात्तु नाना बीजा  
 निमग्नि वत् आन निवाशयेन नाना बीजे सु होम मन क्रियते। इमे देवानां। इमा नि  
 निन च युगपद वेदं। संभव। एकत्र नां तरी यक बाद्ये स्तं घटाद यो न्मीलितं च छं  
 पटं न हि सुध्यत् इत्यना त पृथग् गिति। अपि च ते ज शुक्रं ज्योतिर मृतं म हः स तमि  
 त्या ज्ञेन समाधिकरणेन प्रयुक्ता। उपाचारा। दुपना मादा। संस्य पि। प्राद्वत्वादा कृत्वा  
 विधेदेवेच्छानशदय ऊदनीयां देव स्वा सद्या स्थाते स्म त्रैधा मसीति स्म वै एण ज्ञा  
 स्म वग्रहणं पात्रं तरा नियमाया आज्यानीत्य नावा च। त्र क्रमां नियमाय चैत न द्रष्टु  
 तरा मावा तात दिवित्तै तौ द्रष्टु नियमः। गृह्णातीति श्रुत मा ह। अहणं मंत्रो नानुयने  
 अथ वानय नार्थि वा त् ग्रहण स्थानयने मंत्रा स्तु दुक्त नीयेति। याथावत् स्मृ पदिने प्र

नृतीत्यत्रादानमुपोदनाद्यैवात्। अज्जानीति वचनात्पंचानां चावातना मितियज्ज  
 मानं विश्वदेवेभ्यो ह्येतो अस्मम वा या त्सं रथाया। अत्र उक्तं क्लृप्तातिप्रयज्जिभ्यस्त  
 ऊक्तातिस्वस्मेवापतत्यज्ञाय गृह्यते यस्मिन् वा गृह्यते शतवचनादंष्ट्रो न च उ  
 पनृतिर्द्वे चतुर्ध्वदीते इत्यष्टिकनी योत्पतंस्त्रवग्रदणानि प्रायं कनीयस्च। गृह्णे  
 निति लिगत्तदितरत्रापि समानं। अतः कर्तव्यो यत्तः पंचतंत्रे चैकवायां नृयिष्टमिति  
 प्रस्मिन्स्त्रवानि प्रार्थयस्त्रवाधिवक्त्रादेव जौदेव ध्वनौ वै नृयिष्टं स्यात्। अज्जस्त्राणी  
 स्त्रवां। दृष्ट्वापि मिदं गार्हपत्यां तो निधानैतेनाज्ये ज्ञेयो न स्यात्। दन्मुपादायाव  
 द्विष्यति कोचिता अर्धं दाक्षिणतः। अर्धं मुष्टोर्दक्षिणतो वेद्याः। प्राक्षिपेत्। देवीरापयति  
 दीरयत्फद्गृह्णाति ब्रतमनः। घृतादा गृह्यते। देवधृतं चैव वा नृमुष्टुद्विपरिवेशारस्ते



नृयः स्मेति प्रोक्षणीरुपादाय। हर्वस्येवायमनुवादे। यथा देवैस्तेति वेद्यां पदानि  
 लोचयंति सुष्ट्या हन्। सन्धिः। वेद्यां पदानि प्रतिनिदिता निउदीरणी तपवनादरा  
 क्रम्य करणता उक्ते लोचनानि प्रविध्यातिदत्तानि तप्यः। अत्र पत्रपस्पृहस्तौ प्रक्षा  
 न्तेत्यर्थः। विषाये धर्मः। श्रीश्रं विमुच्योपादाय परिधीनः। ह्रीवा उयममाधायेति पा  
 ठेपाश्रयितः स्थापयेत्। ब्रह्माणममं च ब्रह्मं निधमिति शास्वीतरमंत्रेण। हस्तौ स्य  
 खरेष्टा इत्यादिभिः प्रोक्षति। अन्नीषोमीयमवनीयानुबं ध्यासु बर्हिः प्रोक्षणे म  
 त्रैवेति पदद्वयबाधो लोपात्। यद्वेत्तरक्वादिर्भेद्यथेचि स्यात्। प्रोक्ष्य पश्चाद्देवेभ्यः।  
 प्रोक्षेत्पुनर्वादाः। हर्ववत्। वेद्या इत्यवयवषष्ठी द्रष्टव्या। वेदिगादेऽपि त्पावत राधुयु  
 बर्हिषोऽवस्थानानुपपत्तेः। पुरस्तात् प्रोक्षिनिदधाति। पुरस्तात् प्रोक्षीति क्रिय

हस्तस्मृचं मुकं कं लयं

विशेषं बं दिर्विशेषं एव। अत्राणि प्रोक्ता कश्चमत्राणि उपपिबंतीत्यत्रैत उपपचारात्  
न विष्यति पानं शोषधयः सेकजलं पिबंतीति उपपाययति सिचयतीत्यर्थः। सामा  
न्यमत्रास्वादापि यनिगदद्या रथातं। मार्जनार्थमवशेषणाय शाखां तरं गृह्ये। उडुर्वे  
स्मृचं उडुह्योद गृह्योत्पन्नं। ऊर्ध्वमुडुह्येकं त्रशदानार्थं। कप्रार्थं। सस्मादुह्यदस्तु  
स्मार्थं मुक्तेति यावत्। एवं दिव्याभ्यं दक्षिणतः दस्तेन पवित्रयोरादानं। सिद्धं। इतरथा सद्यं  
स्ति स्मृचं च चापवित्रोदानं स्यादक्षिणतः परिक्रम्य। विस्तरस्य वेदवर्षादक्षिणतो लुगमने  
मत्रा। उ॥ अष्टमा। छ। विस्ती। सु। प्रस्तरं दन्नु। छिमपादेत्तव दिषः। अपदोय गृह्णी  
तेय ऊमाने प्राणाप वित्रे दन्ते। ए प्रस्तरं दन्नु। छो विसृजति। अपि सृजति। अपि ति  
प्राप वित्रे उपमदादौ विष्टति वत्पुन अद्य। प्रस्तरवत्त्रा। वदिषस्तरणो विनियुक्तवत्।

पवित्रांतरे विनियोगे दृष्टास्तस्माद्विहितप्रस्तरवस्त्रधारणं पवित्रयो रपियजमा  
 नयोः यजमानेषु प्राणपाना विनिविद्यता हृद्ः प्रयेण दवनी यैः अत्रे ए पु रस्त  
 आदवनी यमार्दवनी यस्य पयहि त्वपरिणी य प्र स्तरं दन्मुष्टिं ब्रह्मणे कृचि शवि  
 शोषाय प्रयच्छतिसमर्पयति प्रस्तरमिति संबध्यते परिहरणे न च यमानो यवा प्रय  
 छति उल्लोषिकल्पः परिदरुर्गृथं प्रयेण गमनं ततश्च यत्र प्रसार्यत्वा कुमाद  
 वनी यमंत्रेण प्र स्तरं परिशेजं शा क्यते तत्र तनिवर्तयनी तिस्र्यं गच्छेत्परिदरं  
 न्निती च यनादौ तु गमनार्थं त्रिभारित बाहो रशक्यत्वा न्नान्नार्थं संबंधः अत्रेण द  
 नी यं प्रयच्छतीति परिदरणयो गातुः पुष्टिरयि सुखं तो अत्रतः र्वेखे प्र स्तरं ४६  
 ह्नातीत्यर्थः यदृक्का प्राप्नो प्रतिषेधमाह नो नृज्यात् दस्तेनार्थं प्रसारं मृष्टानु दब

नानामृत्पा। नवाजीतं मृदे न विधुनुयान्न प्रतिचालयेत्तयदुपतिष्ठेदधुर्मुदं स्ता  
दपे तमन्यतयत्रतिष्ठे तै न वेदुपतिष्ठे तं न तत्र उ पचित्तमंग तसंग तं नृक्षया दलुव  
दोयम तो विप रित स्यप्रतिपिठुवा तु विस्त्रै स्यलुलं। बंधनं विस्त्रस्य मोचयिवा फभा  
तां संबंधे। उपसंयम्य। धातुनुपचिति कत्र नृदीवा। अथ दक्षिणतो। यत्र द्दि स्याद  
न। उ दीरणाव संयेतेषां नुपसंयम्यलुलं तेषु दूर्नेषुप संयंयेति संनिकषादिद  
युक्ततरं मतीउरुप्रथु। वेदि संस्कृती नृमिंस्त्रुणात्पाठादयतिबेदिषोवेदि द्वितीया  
नृवात। बदिषस्तादर्थ्यं। स्तरण मीत्रोवेद्यर्थस्यातुबदिषो निधायकोपि स्तरणस्य  
बदिरेष्यस्त्रान्न वेद्यर्थताविदन्पते। अपरमपरमितिपु रस्तादुपक्रमान्न वतिन्नृदु  
पधाचिनिस्तरण विशेषणं। अयुजो विषमाधातवस्तरण संतानाः य। स्मिस्तस्ते

दसुधाकुबहुलं नृशिरः नारीकं अक्षिद्रं अरेण प्रत्यासत्तौ विदारवा परणाम  
 तापरिक्रम्य लंघयि चानपादौ स्तरणौ विद्धे सद्याविति त्रिसिधात्रुग्रदली प्रस्तरं धा  
 रय नपरिधीनं परिदद्याति अत्रादवनी यं अमं तातू परिदितै कुरोतीत्यथ तिगभ्यतैर्ग  
 ध्वे सोति प्रशमं पारिशोऽष्टा तपश्चाद्वेष्टुरस्तादित्यस्योक्तं चातूदक्षिणं त्रोर्ध्वीयो सं  
 उक्तं त्रैलोक्यं मुक्तं अत्रैव न्यादध दिति सं दधते विक्षेपणं कर्चद्वारकं अत्रैव न्यादध  
 दं विषममादध दौ दधानः सं दधाति समौ संधी कुरोतीति दक्षिणस्य मूले उत्त  
 रस्य तु मूलान्त्रे सं धेः अघिगतमिति नेते यथा जवतस्तथा दधतसं दधाति अ  
 जिदित तमं दक्षिणं कथयति इमौ प्रतरं कुरोतीति इमौ मध्यम दक्षिणौ परिधी प्र  
 रं उत्तरा प्राग्गतं एकवचनं क्वां दस्यं प्रतरमिति क्रिया विशेषणं वा इममपतर

इमं उच्चरं पारिधिं ऋपन तंदद्विणत्तत्र तय नूतं ऋप्यनिधमस्या अमपतरं स्यादव्यथावाना  
 सात्वरजिय स्तुते। क्वाप्यस्य स्तुतीयस्य पारिधि संक्षेपजवादिदित तमख्यं यथा ध्यास्या  
 तं एवंपुनरशब्दं जवति अत्र निहिततरमिति पठनीयतमवश्यं संनजते अष्टीतिरं वा यस्मिन्  
 स्या एव अते रान्वषणीयं। इध्मदारुः। आदायेत्यनुवादः न ह्यनादायो धातुं शक्तेः। तिकस्मि  
 ह्मिन् अष्टीतिरिति यमाधारसमिधमिति स्मृतिं गतुं धर्मापेक्षं द्वितीयमिति स्यात्स्यस्य  
 स्त्रीरश्मिनिः मनसादित्यपारिधीयतमं त्रौवस्मिन् रणेन वा विस्मज्जनस्य विधतीत्युदेत्तै रति  
 प्रस्तरं ग्रंथं प्रज्ञाते तत्रैवोपकर्षे तं संनयेद्वा। पशौ नूनं दनकाल उपादानाद्विच्छेद एव  
 कृता विच्छेति। यूपदेष्टुन संधौ वाचनवत् एवंच विनियुक्तविनियोगान्न वेत्त्वदिषः पवि  
 त्रे ऊरुत इति वचनात् विनियोदपमाणस्यान्यत्र विनियोजः। पुरोडाशकपाले च पावापव तप  
 रिजोऽनीय बर्हिषि बर्हिषा ह्यं प्रयुक्ते स्मं त्रं हं तं तं तेन सुस्थदिषः पवित्रे क्वंति आनी प्रेप  
 तसं स्मृणाति सोमेति रश्मी उदीचीने सादयत्यवस्थापयति। चतुरं सुतमात्रं सृणुयोः ॥

न प्रागुक्तं

अथिद्यासः

तस्य मध्ये यथा न वतितथा सा दथे। ६ स्तनां रुद्रा विधुत्पो रुणरि प्रस्तं सा दयति  
रिक्तं आधे यस्तन्यं नावस्तु जति तमुद्यति। द्यौ रसि जन्मु हं प्रस्तं रे सा दयति असा  
द्यु हं प्रस्तं मरिक्तवा न्वा रने ते समं प्रस्तं मरुत्तं देवसू लं कुर्वन् सा दयतीति क्र  
तरिक्तं मस्मि अर्धस्ता दधरे विधुत्पोऽप्यरिष्टा इदं विधुत्पो क्रिवां अ सं सक्तः अस्म  
नमाः प्रन्या न्यः प्रनृवी रन्योन्य मनु सताः अ नि दित तमां उपष्ट त क्रवा याः सका  
शा द निदि तत रा उपष्ट तं सका शा जु ह्वा ह वनी य सं निट्टष्ट त रा ए वं चानूवी  
त्यनु वा दः वेदोपयामाः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः अ ज्यः  
नर मि ति या स्था वी रूतो दो हा व नि घा रये त प्र। ग नि घा र ण दा भि र्घा मि ति स  
ना त्मं त्र वस्मी म वि वे दितं स्त चो यो नि रि ति वे त। अ दि त्पा र न्नो प र्शु इ ति ह्म  
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३ स्या ल्याः भूमि षा याः पर्वेण प्रणी ता हरण वद भि चो रणा प न यति ना न्यथा । x

= पुरोनाशपात्री३

विद्यते२

र  
 केप्रस्तसादनमंत्रेसतिस्तत्रततासर्वस्तुपुद्गलोतकंवस्तनामिति विरुद्धमेक  
 स्वरूपकेंगीतंतुक्तं प्रस्तेरेसादयति। सवविवास्तुचइतिसर्वपक्षेप्रस्तरेष्वितेन  
 तुक्तपक्षे। स्मोनातापात्रीचे। तिलिंगादेकोमेवपात्रीउपस्तृणातिउपछादयति। वे  
 दोपयामएवाऽऽर्द्रिष्टुस्तु। उदंच उदीवीनंउदासयति। प्रवतारयति। अन्यत्र  
 कसेत्पीत्यर्थः। उदृत्यदेशांतरेनिवासयतीतिधावर्था। उन्नयनवर्नमंत्रांतनक  
 मदिनदृष्ट्वालनमात्रमेव कर्मदिदेशांतरेप्राप्तियोगात्तनेवा। माकाशदेशा  
 स्तेरविवक्षितेच्चातस्तुचित्तश्चित्तचलतेदनिवासानुपपत्तिस्तथोदासनं स्थानात  
 प्राच्यावनंउत्तरतउदासयतीत्यधिकरणतेऽतरेतइतिदेशस्यदिशाबोद्धा  
 सनस्यश्रुतांसादनैविकक्षेताउदंउदासनमप्युत्तरतस्तृतेषुश्रुतानेनयनं



देश यत्रैव न्येदितीवाक्यां तरेण तदविवक्षते यत्कं नः तद्देशविशेषे स्थापनप  
 र्थितं स्थापनात् प्रच्यावनं न प्रच्यावं नारं नै एव देशविशेषै पेतययति स्थापनां तदेन  
 पचस्मानं संनिष्ठो योत्यश्च तथापि नियम्यते। वदेनेति अपनी तं न समयस्मा  
 तस्योपचस्मानं अत्र न निघ्ननुपापि नावेद शिरस्याच अपचस्मानं करोति। नस्मा  
 पनयते वेदपाणोः संनवाद निष्ठा तस्य निषेधः। यद्वा तस्मिन् सिद्धा मितरति स्म  
 सादन विशेष मन्निर्घ्नै निति। वेदपयामानुवृत्तैः अग्निघातात्। स्पशं नः अत्रुन  
 योपि पाणिने वा तोवदत्तविशादनं सामर्थ्यात् एवं शिरः प्रतिषेधेन ध्वं वेदम्  
 त्वाऽन्तधानात् अथ शिरसां तधानं संनवानिषेधः पाणिनिषेधो न ध्वं किः अत्र निषि  
 द्धः। पाणो वेदानुपवीनिवगम्यत एव तदिदं द्यात रकृचं स्पृष्टं स्यात् पाणिनिना ४७

सादयितुमशक्यत्वाच्चपाणितलेपाणिशब्दः। समुदायययित्वागोनवेदंतेषामि  
वक्तृद्येन निघ्नैर्नित्यादिपदत्रयमनर्थकं स्यात्। चारं समुदायपरित्पागेन तलमात्रय  
दणं विचार्यमं तत्किं युक्तमिति यवानां मध्दति क्रूरशाखां तं रं दरा नृतिः। एष्टिष्ठ  
ष्टिष्टारस्यो प्रथमोपहितैर्द्विवचनं प्रकरणमिप्रायं। प्रकरणे द्वे एव प्रथमोपहि  
तैर्संभवतः। दुष्टतयोश्चितिवत्ताद्येकवचनां तं प्रथमोपहितमिति सूत्रं योजनदाहि  
तीयपुरोडाशकपालेऽप्रथमं स्यादप्रथमत्वाच्च सत्तमं त्रैलोक्यवन्निघायपुन  
र्यावितिवक्तुं त्वत्वा मंत्रो वृत्ति स्यात्। प्रथमोपहिते द्वितीये सुखस्यैव वति द्वितीयस्य  
संसारमीष्टा लोकोद्देशिकस्यां नाय्यचाच्चायदिवक्तुः। का निघारणमन्निम तं स्यात्। प्र  
थमद्वितीये कपालेऽतिशूत्रये तज्जपधानेपि प्रथमयोः। एवावाप्रां गारादेतयो

सि

रवानिघारणं युक्तं। दृष्टिरसिगायत्रलंकलोति। आज्यमेवां न स्यालंकरणं स्वर्गं  
सुप्रदितं। अनिकायं निक्षेपणमकुर्वेत्कवेण हस्तेन वा। अमर्षे अष्टतंष्टवर्द्धिते  
द्वाष्टिश्च बर्जितं। अमृष्यं तमित्यर्थः। अपर्यावर्तय। न पश्चिमा रयन्। अधस्ताच्चोपा  
नक्तिः अधः। समर्षिः। आज्यं हारयेत्। यस्तस्या मा पश्या। इति दोहोऽत्रे लंकरोतीति सं  
बध्नुमाने पुनरलंकरोति त्रदणं स्वर्गं। दिशु ए निवृत्त्य शीः। अन्महादरति आद  
वनीयं प्रतितु द्रिद्यादरतीति सुषभोऽसि। सादयति। दिशु ते तु कः। प्रस्तरे बर्हि  
षि वा। यदृच्छानः। वेदोपयामः। श्वनुवर्त्तीतादंवी। षीति उक्त्यैतन्मध्ये वेदसादनं नाव  
रीय कवा। दन्वा च ये मवा। साम। श्या किमुक्तं। अत्रेण कवा। पुरस्तादक्रवायाः। उत  
रेण कवा। माज्यस्थाली। क्रवाया। मुत्तरतः। आज्याधानपात्री। अपरेण स्कन्दे पात्रीषु ५०  
पुरोडाशपात्री

शोडशावित्यर्थः। दक्षिणस्थो वेदिश्रोतो वेदिजं ब्राह्मणं। उत्तरस्थो प्रातर्द्वेहं सादयतीति  
 प्राशिन्नद्वेहोऽपात्रो रद्वेदिष्यानुपसादनं वेदिवद्वासं निहितस्त्वनस्याविशिष्टवा  
 दत्रेण क्रवामिति स्त्वननशेषो वाचनिकः। वेदिं शृणु बर्दिषा केनापि वेदिर्वेदिर्न ह्यते  
 मतसमीपलोक्षणेकं। अस्ति मुश्वात्रयो गोवेद्यां हविष्यानां सादयतीति। अत्र न धि  
 अधिउपरिष्टेऽत्रास्तृणान् अयद्या अक्षिस्त्रगादीनस्तृणान्। अत्र न पक्षादयः। अत्र तान्म  
 ध्यांस्तृणानि वेद्यांत चातत्रं तानिति बलुवचनपठंति। यद्येवेदिप्राप्तानवस्तृणानि  
 पश्चात्तद्वेत्रं वेदः। पश्चादर्थं-----उत्तरतो गार्दपत्यस्य मध्यधा उर्द्धदक्षिणाश्रयाः कोयो  
 इत्युपस्तृष्य उदकमुपालभ्या अश्रज्या निवकुर्न्दीतानि बलुवचनप्रसिद्धेऽस्त्र  
 वादीनि वा। चातुर्मास्यां देउतकृष्णदित्रिमर्षणीससंमृशतिसंस्तृपाति हि रुच्चारः॥  
 = एं। स्विष्टाचारः॥

सारांशं॥ छा॥ होत र्यवा होत र्यस्या ल्वेदिकं कर्म तस्मिन्नवस्थिते प्राप्नुरेव॥ वस्थिते स  
 ति॥ अग्रये समिनुक्ता प्रेषा॥ प्रणवे प्रणववर्त्तमाने उच्चार्यमाणे॥ समिधं काष्ठिका मा  
 दध्राति॥ नो॥ समिधमिति त्रादेशमात्रापि स्यात्॥ द्विप्रवे शान्नावेष्टा वविकृत्येन वा  
 आनुयाजिके॥ नन्वानुयाजिकाः॥ प्रणवकान्वाता॥ आनुयाजिके समिधमादयेति  
 वक्ष्यमाणवात्प्रसंगे वा॥ शिष्टं चोक्तं सत्प्रणवेऽस्य त्रयस्य मिधा॥ स दशष्टमन्य  
 त्समिधमिधं समिष्टयाजुषायावत्यर्गसि॥ आदध्यादिति विधानार्थं॥ नानुयाजि  
 के॥ शिष्टे तनुवादाः॥ आनुयाजिके बर्जमधिकमिधं॥ ततोऽन्वेयेत् प्रक्षिपेदेवापु  
 सोमेषु बहुलं ताराहोरात्रपयसि॥ प्रोक्ष्य॥ अक्षिकदध्मा कर्मविशेषनियम्यमानो  
 दृष्टयत्ते॥ दध्ममयूषानुपसन्न ह्यप रिधीनू बल्वज्रनिति॥ अष्टादशदारुन्यो न्योऽतिरिक्त

॥ इधोस्तिवित्ततौ। विशेषनियमान्नंनतिरेचये। दानुयाजिकीनपुनरातिश्रमाया  
 मतिरचनोअननुयाजसुतस्याअसंनदनाहुपसद्यत्तराघारानुयाजसमिधोमि  
 वा। इधमसेनदनेंशुलं। एकत्रंशिपकसंहशसंमार्गेहोचसुखादवनीययोसन्मार्ग  
 मं करोति। आहुतासुदेवतास्वफुलान्नावादितासुदेवतासुअपउपस्पृश्यातदुपवे  
 लानां। वद्व्यत्रसंमार्जनंच॥ त्रिरूपवाजयति। वोवेविधूननेजुक्ल। वेदोत्रधवित्रं। पूण  
 स्तवस्यध्रवावनीतस्यक्षौवस्यत्यष्टीः। वेदोपयामा। इत्याघारधर्मः। कर्त्तुं। ए। उत  
 रंयं। शिधिसंधिसंधिस्यशीघ्रिआस्कवेणेतिगम्यतोइतरथास्पृष्टेतिस्था। उतरांक्षमा  
 हितस्येधमदारुणइत्यष्टीः। एतस्मादनुवचनाहुतरादेतदस्याधीयते। ह्यलतिजुते  
 ति। न्नम्यादितेह्यलति। यद्वाअभ्यादितस्यह्यलनिदेशोउतरादेकलतीति। आघा

३३ वि

रसमिधमा दधातीति वचनात् संपातेन क्रवयो संपातेन संस्क्रवेणेन क्रवां क्रौवी तात्पर्यात्  
 न्नाप्याय्यसबध्यथा स्खानंदक्षिणत्वे लुकाः स्क्रवं निदधातीति वेदां च त्रेण क्रवां न्नामी  
 तपरिधीना त्रेष्वप्याद्वीधं मंत्राष्टितस्त्रिरित्याभ्यामोनुवादः सत्तु केऽपि सुवावीसा धीसि  
 द्वेऽप्याद्वीधः संमात्रं स्फुत्तुपरं द्वितीयां ते वा स्फुराष्टौत्रायथापरिदितं परिधीनुत्सृजि  
 लोमामनुकूलामूलनादाभ्यात्रैयावसंमाष्टिः स्फुरसंमात्रमिमां पावयतीत्यर्थः कृते स्या  
 त्नां केवलानेव सुमार्मणिभिर्मुपाक्षिपन्नुपध्वान्निवात्री न्वाचारान्समुमाष्टिसमस्त  
 पावयतीत्यर्थः अथ द्वात्यं ज्ञानोपाणी लुकाः पूर्वे चंद्रमसीत्येतवमोर्लमा स्या विप्र  
 षणं पीसीमासीद्विशेषांतरं चाक्षिरस्पष्टसूचकप्रयोगो गलप एव स्ववसे नियतजो जनो चांजो ५२  
 यलं कोपवसेदिति लोकेऽपि दृश्यते मायादिवर्जनात्मावस्य चोऽपि घटिष्यतो ततश्च न वि

देवतागणते विसोमगदौ न प्रवर्तते । सोमागं तादिते नाभिगुह्यं ते सवदेवताः । अथानादेवतास्तत्र गृह्यं ते न्यायविना ॥८॥

नेधोत्रउपवासस्य चैजुने । अटर्षाननामा वास्यां चंद्रे चंद्रमयौ श्रवांसमास्नेदमाग्नि  
त्यपोल्लमास्यमावास्ययोः । अरोजसौपकारी स्यादुपवासविधिस्तथा । यदितनामध्ये  
दिपोसुमास्यमपि नृह्यंते । अवास्यावोपवसथा तदा स्यात्समवायकलक्षणापिनहृष्ट  
मद्युष्टकरणाविशेषाणि छितीयांते विप्रैश्चैत्रपदैस्मिन् घटं ते तराएव अमावास्यामिति  
वर्वासावास्यायां तबाधैकं उपवस्य शानमस्य किंतु वद्वयमाणाधिका रादिस विषय  
यमिथे तत्तदचैष्यं मनीषिभिः । ऊर्ध्वपितिष्ठंतोऽसिद्धि वचनं प्रद्ववारणा तपुरस्ता  
अदणंचापि दक्षिणादिनिवायणा । ममान्न इति चोदेत बह्वुलुहा दशा किं कै नृक्षीमपर ॥३॥  
यो एतस्वशास्वोक्तं समाश्रितं पदवतापनि अदृष्टमिन्वाधानं यदप्यते राजयद्मद  
दीतोष्टौ पुनरचादितं च वै तत्स्वयाग्नि अहणाथैव तव स्यात् प्रसंगतः । इष्टीनादवता

त्रिति अहणेध



स्रज्जह्यं ते। त्वयं विभ्रति प्रतीष्टिका व्यं सोमे पिचुक्तं यदिस तं प्रभाः च बाधानं यतः सोमे  
 नातिदृष्टान्नचोदितं। पिष्टयज्ञो यद्विचस्था द्यो रपर यो भवे तत्र तो पायनो पस्थो ने मंत्रस्त  
 त्रेण साधयेत्। संभ्राडासीत्फपस्थानं द्यवा स्थितमिदो द्यौते वासा। प्रसंवेशेनो काले तत्कथं  
 धान्यमो जनं। यस्य च च दतिस्तत्र मारणस्य निषेधकं। प्रठता वसं न वा न्नशरद्या आय एणं  
 वेत तस्ये दनु दविषोन्नविजा तीयं निवर्जयेत्। शयनं ब्रह्म च ये एण न्नम्या मग्नि समीपतः।  
 मद्याः कालो सुषुप्ते तया द्वि नो द्यो पवतस्त्विक्। ईयं व इति मंत्रेण पृथ्वी स्मरणे प्रतिम  
 न सा ध्यान वचन मंत्रा ए विदेत तं। दविशन्न स्य निर्वीप्य क्रिया मो ए न वी स या प रि अ  
 हां ता ए वा स्या सं गतिं सं नि धा न तः। प्राकु त्प नु मंत्रे णा दौ स म का ह्म र्द्ये ए व का आ पो ह्ये  
 त्री र प कु तै कु वेऽ व ष षे उ ह्ये तो त द स न्ना द व नी यो सौ अ तो हो त त्र के व लोऽ ण दि नो त्तर

स्पेतिपदिनाषायदिस्त्रिशङ्गं तादनुवाकस्येतिपुनरुक्तैरनर्थताचनुदेनाऽऽनिस्पृश्य  
 विदुद्यो नपुनः स्पृशेत्तच्चोदनापूर्वायाभेदात्तद्विशंगप्रधानिकं अन्निमृश्येद्वद्विणं प्राक्ते  
 नोद्यो वंतयोत्तरांतथाज्यानिक्तमात्पश्चाद्द्विःसामान्यचोदनात्समुच्चितं विवेद्यं हिना<sup>१२</sup>  
 रण्यदयोदुतं अत्रेण स्रवत्येतद्वितीयायां बहुष्विदः अस्थंजलोवदनादाय निप्रतीया<sup>धका</sup>  
 तेपुनरादानवचनादनुयाजेष्विवद्वयोः पूर्वकल्पनिरासार्थमपि वेति हिस्सत्रितं अन्यत्राद्यं  
 पिवाशब्दः पूर्वत्रापरितोषतः उत्तममंततइति पूर्वकल्पे पित्वात्तात्वायाजमाने प्रप्यमः  
 षंडः सामान्नाऽऽग्निपृष्ठइत्यादिषु उः सुगमं देवाऽप्राज्यमागातिर्यकेपि संज्ञाशब्दो  
 नवद्धते प्रवानकरणी----- निदेवतास्तथास्तिष्ठन्तो यागे प्रक्षिन्नेवानुमंत्रणे लु  
 चैरितिपदस्यात्मायउपपन्नसन्निधौ॥ ७॥ दशाहो॥ ८॥ सोमस्याहं देवज्पायाविश्वं रेतो धे

वीयेत्यादीनिजिगत्तमाभ्योपनीसंथाजानुमंत्रणनीतिगम्यते। सावित्रीयाज्ञेष्टितिनो  
 त्तंप्रकरणत् अथनापिचक्षादीनोसोमादीनांचेत्यादिनोबानुमंत्रणमिनि यद्यास्फत्रिति  
 । क्वाऽडास्मा॥ चिदस्मिनासिधीरसीस्यादितिवित्युच्चैरित्यकारणंमंत्रनिंगतच्छाया  
 सरस्वती॥ क॥ दक्षिणात्रोसारस्वतहोमका लेमुखनिमार्जनंनिंगतनिर्दिष्टं तमिति वेदं  
 स्त्रीयमाणं ननु स्त्रीसंशानवनिर्देशात्। संयद्गपतिः अत्यन्तविधाशिक्षात् सत्रस्य पुनर  
 त्तजानास्ति यद्विप्रवत्ससमिष्टयजुषासं देतिध्रुवात्रोष्वस्वाशुजुक्त्यात्तनेवमंत्रेण  
 तदुक्तं तत्र भापुवयद्गुं प्रतिष्ठापयतीति पश्चाद्देदेरित्यवयवषष्ठीपश्चादित्यवयवेष्वधि  
 करणं। प्राच्यादिशादेवाप्रणीतास्त्वयि अक्लिन्नमाश्वेवनं। अर्घ्यगृहीतं प्राच्यादिशादि  
 लुनितयनार्थमंत्रमित्यर्थः। सखद्रवनिनीतानामंत्रणं। यदस्तु। अतुमंत्रितानि मुर्वैश्चष्टेभ्यः

एणीतात्रिप्रतिमंत्रलिङ्गात्तृगम्यते। दक्षिणाभिर्वेदिवांतरायप्राचीनाविस्तृक्तमाक्रमति  
इतरश्यादक्षिणेनविहारंस्थात्तृयद्विवेदिप्रक्षिन्नेदक्षिणस्मिदैवेविस्तृक्तमाक्रमतेनदक्षि  
णाग्निनाद्यावधानाः। अथनावादरितिपूर्ववत्॥६॥ इदमहमनुष्ठाप्राणं॥७॥ इत्सीमितिना  
मत्रहरेणवामंत्रकंवापास्यवर्तनं। सद्यमत्रसद्यमनुत्तुलक्ष्यावति। तेजोसीत्याहवस्त्रमे  
तदपतइति। असौदेवदक्षोऽनुमातुः। होवेतपुत्रौऽनुसूतिः। द्रुं द्रुं वा यज्ञदत्तविस्तु  
मित्रौऽनुमातुर्नृपौ। एवंबहुषमीदवयदत्तयज्ञदत्तविस्तुमित्राऽनुमातुस्तत्राति  
मोक्षेर्मन्त्राणांमधेयौ। येदेवायज्ञहनइतत्पतेनयशालिनेनगाहपत्यादिनुपतिष्ठते।  
अग्नेव्रतपतेविब्रतविमोकमंत्रांलिंगात्तृनम्यैधानेऽत्रादिकर्मणिलक्षणेहैवैः। शट्तिदं  
शुद्धस्वरं समिक्षादधातियज्ञोबन्धवेति। मंत्रलोचनयोः पुनः। शब्दाऽन्योऽन्यवर्तनं ब्रह्मश्रीः।

प्राच्यत्रैचामंत्रलिंगात्। गोमं त्रुत्रो इति ऋतुदवनीयात्। प्राहु इति शं योऽस्वशास्वोक्तमप्राप्तं  
 शयं तास्य कवस्थितं। इडां तस्मिन् गोस्थिता नोक्तं महर्षिणा। मान्नाज्यामदलेनात्र ब्राह्म  
 णाच्छिजेन वै तयजमानग्रहणं चात्र यच्चिन्नातिविचारणं। प्राशानं ब्राह्मणस्यैव ननु राजस्य  
 वै शय्योः सोमसंयन्निवाद्धिननु सोमभयो न वै तूनागनावाहिसानायप्रतिषेधस्त्विह  
 प्रति। तस्मात्तैश्चेतुनाहेस्मानायमदले॥ क॥ श्रीकृष्णमारुते कल्पना ष्वेयसजमानं समा  
 स॥ क॥ अग्नीनादधीतवसंते ब्राह्मणे श्रीष्मे राजन्याः शरद्वैष्णु इति वसंतादिका लं  
 ब्रह्मणदिषु। आघानोत्पत्तिकर्तृकाश्च यः॥ एवं नक्षत्रादधानेपि वसंतादीनां नक्षत्रा  
 दितिः समुच्चयः। वसंतादीनामुत्पत्तिशिष्टत्वात् येषां तु यएव विद्वानग्निमाधत्त इत्या  
 धानोत्पत्तिस्तेषां वसंतादिकाले नियमाशीस्तन्मन्त्रश्रद्धाधनं विनापि न संतादि

किं स्यात्तथा वसंतादिषु विनापि तत्रिकादिभिरिति तु ल्यबलानां विकल्पाधिगमात् ।  
 अस्मिन् चैषाद्रस्याधानं प्राप्नोति । तदुपनयनाभावाद्विरुद्धत्वां न भवति । य एतं विधानं त्र  
 मादाहेतुतदधीतवेदस्याधिकाशतं अग्नी निति गार्हपत्यादीनृपंचाभिप्रेत्योक्तं यंच सुद्धि  
 स्तेषु स्थापनकालेऽप्रादधातिनाथो गार्हा॥ शिरं सर्वेषां पूर्वविध्वज्ज्योऽनेन शिशिरवि  
 धिना विकल्पं ताः प्रयमं कृतपत्तिराधानस्य द्रवीविकल्पेन नियं इत्यनेनै पूर्वनिमित्तमे  
 वि कल्पे सोमै न यक्षमा एस्य त्तै वि नियमं पूर्वापवादोऽप्यत्र नियमोऽनादर इत्यर्थः । न  
 द्रवैव द्यना एपवादोऽप्यत्र योवा नियमः॥ सोमै न यक्षमा एस्य अत्रि कोमे न  
 वसंत इति सोम कालस्यापि बाधोत्र यक्षमा ए इत्यद्यतनी प्रयो गार्हपर्वणी सुत्या का  
 लस्य नियमो नास्ति । उपसकालवदवांतरचातु एतस्मादेवाद्यातनी अत्र व एतत्प्रमाधिय

की नमं तं रं दी के न । एवं वयुक्तं ऊरु दे न सो मा धा ने प्र ग्म्या धे यी कि ना म ते ऐं द्रा ने ना लु स  
 ष्ठा न ह्वा दी कै ताः । आ हि ताग्नि व स्या नि मि त्त स्या क्वा त त्वा दि ति । तं द यु क्तं न द्य ग्री षो मी ये न  
 सा हा पा ले न्ने ज र रु व स्या नि म तः । के चि त् प वं ती ति व द तः । ये छ प तं ति ते षा म य म नि प्रा यः  
 । आ हि ताग्नि रु सृ ष्टे ना धि क्रि यं ते । व द्य मा णे न च ना हि ताग्निः । स हि स क ल सो म पा न्  
 सं जार सं पं न्ने सो मे धि का रं प्र ति प द्ये त । आ धा ना दा हु व नी या द्य ग्री ना जि ह्वा रु रा धा ने प्र  
 वर्त्त तैः । त त्रा द्य त न प्र त्प्या त स्मि न्ने वा ह् नि दी क्वा । य द द्वा वि ष्य मा ण स्या त द द रा द धी ते  
 ति व ऋ ते । न त स्मि नू त हिं प्र लु सृ ष्ठ स्या त्ने मः । आ हि ताग्नि दी क्ति ष्य मा ण च न नि मि त्त न  
 सं ति प ति तं । त द नि मि त्तं त द्दि घा त स्ये ति न द्यो त रे ए का ले ना धा ने ष्ट यो दी क् णी या सं प्र व ति  
 पर तं त्रै ऋ ऋ ष्ट प ति तः । प्र सं जे प जी वि दी क्ति णी या यं प षु कं तं त्र मा ल न मा नो मी षो मी

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तस्मात्तैस्सिद्धिभूतनीस एव तिस्रस्तथाप

यंयावत्प्रतीक्षते। परंतं त्रौ यजाता त्रिनेमित्तिका निप्र सं गी पजीवी निदिदृष्टा निवे त्रियादी  
मीति। ये च न प वेति यद्युत्तु सृष्टे ते त्यादिते षां नैव सो मा धने वि छिन्न सो म पी य स्या धिका  
रो मि अतः। अ धि कारा पत्ति हेतु बा। दत्तु सृष्ट स्या ननु न धिका प्रि लो दी द्वा स्ति। सां मे च प्र  
भाने ऽ धि क्रियते। प्रधाने धि क्त तत्त्व स्या नै धि क्त रा त्। का लु न्यां जा ह्य ए स्य ऋ तो ऋ त मा धानं।  
स त्वं। नै दृश्ये ते न को लु नो पो र्म मां सै ए वें ति। ऋ त्पा रज न्य वै ष प ए र पि सि दं। कृ पे ग र्ज अल  
वत्। फा लु न्या मि ति स प्र मी। जान पुत्रः। अ न्नी न द धी ते ति शेषः। अ वि द्य मान पुत्र स्या धाने  
ना धिका रं स च य ति। य द्य पुत्रः। प्र य मा यां चि त्पा मि त्क तं पे मे स्या तं। को स र का ले य स्य त द  
नि प्रा यां अ न्ये तु जा त पुत्र इति सै र्हे नि दृ त्प एं बं दं ति। त श्चा च पु यं ध ब धि र्बु ध उ कु लि प्र त्त व  
। वि ञ्जं ति य स्र द्र व जं मि ते शु क ल्प क र। न्या य वि द श्च प रं ति। ए दं वे जा त पु त्रो जा ता प त्प मा त्र

श्रीः

मं ४२

तत्रः स नृ बि न द श्च धानो ३



इत्थं श्रीः कथं तदिन्द्रो मा पौष्टं न पुनैः ७ स क मालनेतपंड कठियज ये दितैः स दोषः  
 संतिषि क्रिस्मि यं लु या गस्त हिष य मे तत्ते षा ज क णं वै द्य श्वर का दिज्ञा ब्रा धानं क चा स्म  
 मा वौ स्मा दि कार्यं ना चि क्रि स्मै यो जे द द्वा धि कारा स्त्रि क्रि स्मै भू ता य त्प तु ज्य त्वा द धि क्रि स्मै यो त रा  
 दि य त्र त्तु भू म र्ज यै ते त्फ प क्र म्पा ता द वा स्मा इंद्रि यं वी मा न्ना द धा ती ति चि क्रि स्मै द श्र य ति  
 यो लं प्र ज यै सं न्नि ति चि र जा त पु त्र आ दि ते ष त्रि षु य स्र पंड ग र्म सौ क्त ना पि नि मि त्ते न स्या  
 स सौ मा यौ स्ता मा ल्य स्पृ ते ब्रा ह्म णाः त्त ति का स्वा ब्रा हु ण ए प्र ङ्ग ति का स्वि ते न तु ब्रा ह्म ण  
 त्त ति का स्ते वा बहु त्वा धा द त्त्य बा ध र्म्यं ग री य र त्ना त् अ त्या क्त ति का स्त तः रा ज न्य वै  
 श्व बा धः शो दि ए पा द्री ति ब्रा ह्म ण स्य ब द्ध नि बा धे ता रो दि णी का श्नु न्य श्चि त्रे त्पा प्सु  
 का मो रो दि ए पा र्श्व र्क म म्बा आ ट ब सै वां श्चि त्रा यां न ग य त्रा द्य - का मः १८ र्व का लु नी लु

प्रजादानकामउन्नतमुफालुनीषु मृगशिरस्यादधीतशांस्वांतरमेतत्तृष्टापुनर्वस्त्रो  
पापीयानयः पूर्वसमृद्धश्चासीत्पश्चादुन्नतः सपुनर्वस्त्रो राट् ध्यात्विशाखयोः प्रजाति  
प्रजुह्वैतं प्रजोपादनक्षमताः अनुराधासुत्रक्षिप्सं यौकानामष्टानि शोहिणादीनां प्रजा  
पातवी एतौ स्तनाविति श्रुतेः । यत्तु प्रतिषेद्धिप्रधातं वक्ष्यति उत्तराममावास्यामुपवसेदि  
ति यौषधैः । आहरति स्म न वेद्यद्दे क्रियादिना चैत्रद्वन्द्वे तत्तदा दे शोऽतिष्ठे दनं प्रपुंजीत  
प्येतानां स्तिष्ठदतो दिंश्याः परणी इति साहित्यमविवक्षितं न्नैकेकस्यामंत्रेण हरेण हत  
रथायथा पूर्वपुनस्स स्कारणामैकस्यां न स्यां एकस्यामपि नष्टायामितरस्यास्त्यागोद  
क्षिणाभ्यादि स्यानाष्टागार्हपत्यस्यैव महाधानात् न च साहित्यैरि न्याजो दोषा उच्चारणो च नि  
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॥ तद्विकल्पते तेन शास्त्रांतरं ब्राह्मिपुनरेकवाक्यताप्रतिपदश्च समावास्या शब्दस्यात्र सिद्धस्तस्यामुप  
सेदिनां बिड

ताद्युधिः। नचै कस्मान्नियमेन द्वेऽरणी निग्रम तोयाज्जादिना लक्ष्ये तेनाच्येकस्मिन्नदनिष  
 तद्याह तयोपरवाक्रियादिनापुन मंत्रिण संस्काराग्रमाहरणं यथा लौकिकेन वाक्येन रुद्धि  
 ऊः पूर्ववृत्ताय श्चास मंत्रवर्सेन संस्कृते एवंच लौकिकवाक्यवृत्ताधुर्यरण्याहरणं ऊ  
 र्गन्निमंत्रवरणं उग्रागन्निह वातुन वो गार्धंष्टयाग्वरणं प्राधानां गंधिहोतैर्भञ्जिं गानि  
 कर्तव्या न्यंगानां प्रधानाद्युत्तरस्यैकैकस्थबहिल्विनादस्य त्त्रातुर्भधियाद्यैः  
 अतो मंत्रलिंगादाहरणमध्योऽपरिवापणं। सौमिकपरिवापणे दंतधावनं स्यात्तन्मा  
 भ्रदितियथा सौमस इति लघुतरं न स्तत्रितं। अलुत्यादतक्षो भोजनं तदति यन्मये दंष्ट्रि  
 पाणिग्रहणादि सत्त्वं धर्मोऽस्त्विति स्मृतेः। तथा हि दौमवम न त्रियमविधानपारवाक्ये स्मृ  
 तिविदितं। पन्यधिकारं अतिरुवदति। सौमवयानौ अजिमादधीयातामिति द्विवचने नैति

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उपबन्धयतोऽननुपवन्ध्यशानं यथादशमिषमसंयोरित्यनुवर्त्ततानान्यन्मावेमइति  
सहाधिकरणोऽननुपवन्ध्यशानं विवर्त्तले सर्वत्र इत्यर्थः प्राचीनप्रवणुदितोदिशुदशकयद्वार  
के यौः अग्नि संस्कारः प्राचीनप्रवणुदिवनु विंशोऽनुलगात्रखरलक्षणे ननु सच्यं तु तेषा  
ये पाकयज्ञबानावातु तस्मिन्नौ पासनीयं ब्राह्मोदनीकमादधातिशालाजितस्मिन्निति  
अल्पनुविधानं न दणस्य प्रवत्तत्वात् तस्मिन्नेवाग्निस्त्वापनस्यादतएवर्त्तुपासनीयस्य शष्ट  
वक्त्रत्पलस्रमनुविधाय तस्यास्मिन् शस्त्रेऽत्रासिद्धत्वात् शालाग्निशब्दं स्वशास्त्रसिद्धि  
तद्व्याख्या नार्थस्तत्रितवौ न यथादर्जमयं यवित्रमित्फक्कात्रियुणा भूतुदिति व्याख्या तं त  
परियत्नमातइत्फक्कादौ मं सप्यिषियस्यस्मिन्तिद्याख्यातं उपायने नृदं नय्यवातं नि  
मित्तोऽग्निशौपायनीय एवं शाष्टोयः शालाग्निस्र्ज्महादिकं त्रे तपिताशालाग्निकुर्वीति

त्पादिदेशिकोपस्थिततादात्म्येऽन्यत्रततः। अत्रेतिपितरीतिवक्ष्यमाणधर्मेणैपदिप्रिकेपित  
 दुनयमपि नृस्येते। विशेषणुपादानात्प्रन्येयमौपायनीयोवाएवोन्निर्दिष्टवसध्यऽत्यनुग्र  
 देषु सङ्गासङ्गपर्वति। तेषां मतेपुनराधानमेवस्यादाप्तिदिताग्रेवसध्यसङ्गावातसं  
 तपूर्वमावसध्यमिति वचनादनादितान्निष्ठुशालान्निःसचोत्तयविधेः। पिसामान्यशब्देनस्त  
 त्रेतुपातः। तस्यातुशालान्निः। ननुकार्वातरेशालान्निरावसध्योप्यद्येतेऽज्ञावसंक्षुष्या  
 धारैकालइतिसत्यं। किंतु। संज्ञास्वशास्त्रेसंज्ञावदारायंक्रियते। स्वशास्त्रैवसत्यात्त्य  
 ज्ञाधीयते। तस्यैवावसध्यशब्दयोऽतोदृष्टते। नशालान्निः। संज्ञोच्चरितासंज्ञिनं। त्वाव  
 तीति। कुपासनीयइतिसंज्ञाः। संज्ञीतुश्रौतः। प्रावसध्यः। अतश्चैतदुद्येनसंज्ञाविधाव  
 एचनंप्रतिषेधति। प्राप्तिपूर्वकाश्चप्रतिषेधात्तवतीति। प्राप्तिश्चशालान्निपय्योयच्चेन

पाकयद्रसाहचर्यानि आवस्येप्येव न निषिद्धमानमर्थांनि स्रष्टवन्ति कुतेशोऽखं कुशातं भव  
 तिव दितहेति छात्राग्निविषयं स्यात् एतद्व्यञ्जाप्यकारोपेति स्वतन्त्रं कपटमस्तदलातलि  
 र्विनोऽहतरप्येतस्मिन् पचननिषेधे स्वकीये सति न्यस्य न्नाप्यकारालौ किकाग्नौ पचनमा  
 कुत न हि उक्तं पुनर्ला किके पचनं ते त्रिरीयके दर्शनादिति वत्तीयान हि ते त्रिरीयके लो  
 किके पचनमस्ति अस्ति च तत्राहु प्रविष्टो गार्दपत्ये शात्राग्निर्ब्रह्मो दनसमये यस्या हितो नो  
 तस्य शात्राग्न्यभावात् लौकिके पचनं न उच्यते स्वकस्य चित् एव तर्हि गृह्यमाणं मादित्ताग्निविषय  
 यमेतदितरथा मूढनिश्चितं स्यात् अतएव भाष्यं तरेपिन लिखितं तत्र हि दृष्टमोऽसंकीर्ण  
 लौकिकोऽग्निः पचनार्थे नित्यं वायं तु कथं सर्वमनीषिकया अलमिति सूत्रं वाच्यं कथ्यते न  
 निर्भयं वाऽसद्यो मयि तोऽग्निनिर्मथ इत्यहुः विकल्पः पूर्वोक्तोऽप्यबाहौ वाहु ल्यबलश्रु

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विधिर्नक्षधयोः श्रुतौ दर्शनात् तृथादियोवाश्रम्यायं मनुष्यो मिरित्यादिनाशालाभिब्रूते  
दनीका विक्षिताय धिष्यन्नमन्ती नृते नातदाहुः सर्वप्रित्यादिना निषिद्धो न चैवं कर्तव्या  
इतीत्येतैर्न विकल्प्य व्याख्या यन्नास्म एवाप्यकास्त्रत्रेणाद्येतन्मूलो विकल्पस्तस्मिन्नो  
पासनीयं ब्रह्मोदनीकमादधाति शालानि निमंष्टुं चैतितं त्रैपवित्वा तन्निर्मथस्तुशा  
जाश्रयणो स्यादन्ययोर्विब्रह्मोदनिक इति संज्ञार्थं उच्यते च तिस्रह्योद निक इति  
द्यवहायः प्रागन्निदवादाश्रध्वयुर्वसुदेभुङ्गात्रात्री धापं वविर्मीमन्त्रः सोमिकैर्ह  
णीत ब्रह्माण्डदृश्यैर्मासिकैर्नादष्ट्युचितवराणस्याद्वा रसाहचर्याद्विद्यार्थचैर्न  
दृष्टेः किंचिदाधाने कर्तव्यमस्ति यदष्टं धरणं स्यान्नच ब्रह्मोदप्राशनार्थं विरणं तस्य  
दि संस्कारत्वात् प्राशनेन हि संस्कृतोद्वातादृष्टेः पृथक् यत्नात् संस्कृतवराणोऽसंगप्रधाना

र्थं च तत्वरणस्य तस्मात्तत्कृपत इति ब्रह्मवरणं ननु पाठाद्वैततत्प्रागभिदूवात् एवं तद्विप्रा  
 गग्रदण्डपसमाधाय यथुह्यपरिस्त्रीयज्यादिसंस्कृत्याङ्गाङ्गातः प्रागृच्छिगुवरणं नैय  
 माग्रं निवेधसे। अत्रिशाष्टादग्निमग्निमुदोतीत्यथेडिभिर्दोमेनाग्निमुपमृकुरुत इति यावत्  
 सक्तुत्तृदीतेन दोमानादेशादिति मूत्रविदश्चतुर्द्वीतेनेतकेवित्पुन्यस्त्रिस्त्रिगेनशो  
 विषेत्यादिषु मूत्रेषु चतुर्द्वीतत्रदणानि विधेयानीतरेषां पुनरुक्ता निततपरिद्वारने  
 मबहुलैर्प्रांयतु सक्तदवत्तं जुहोतीत्यवदानंतत्रग्रहणपरानुष्ठानात् जुह्वया राष्ट्रन्तता  
 दिसु यथासंस्थमाहुतिमिर्जह्वानो लिंगमनादेशो सक्तुत्तदणस्य ॥ क्वाच उशशवं  
 चत्वारः शशवापदिमाणे अस्मनिर्वप्येतिति तद्विताष्टेति पादिना अमाभाः सोदितैरक्तैः प्रा  
 णं नुपुर्वमन्त्रं स्यादवदानंततेपि चत्वारः स्विष्टकृद्वाज्यहवत्तुं जुह्व संमिताः। आसमात्रं न वेद्विद्वा अग्रं अमच  
 । उग्रोत्सपदंतकारः स उग्रोत्सपदंतकारः स उग्रोत्सपदंतकारः स उग्रोत्सपदंतकारः स उग्रोत्सपदंतकारः

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नहुं हंसमर्धबलीवद्धचेर्मणि लोमोपलक्षिते प्रदेशे निरुद्य मासोपलक्षिते लुत्स्व लं  
 खाऽवहंति अष्टवर्वा दनिष्ठ पवित्रस्याश्रो दणा निनस्फासै त्रिशी यकेतु मंत्रवसर्वम  
 जिः आसुरेभ्यो बोलु पं निर्विपासीत्येवंऽस्वद्यात ह्यारक मे लुत्स्व लादः प्रोक्त एं यदि  
 म्पात्रं त्रवत्तदास्याहंसी किं प्रमाणे उपकल्प्य न मात्र मुलुत्स्व लुस लसूप्पी जिना नोन  
 उद्धदे प्रयोगादि मंत्र प्रसंग ननु आसुरेभ्यो जीव तं हुल मि कोप हरेदिति यागवो य  
 नादि किञ्च दानमिदं न ह्यत्र ब्राह्मणे दै शेन द्रव्य त्यागाद्य ब्राह्मणे म एष एव दीयते तदेव ता  
 पितरभ्यो दिप्रपते सत्यपि वायागवै ग्ट दमेधीयव दकर्म स्यात् तदा इह हविर्विनिवृत्त ए  
 लुकोस्ति नृहमेधीये च न विद्यते अप्रणवो दनात् हविः कदाहानं च लुद्यते निशया नि  
 शा अरुणमपरा क प्रस्तावाजीव तं हुल शब्दं द न विशेषणं सा मा नाधिक रं एपाताप

२. निरुद्धं विभक्तं दृष्टं त्रयः प्रादोऽष्टासंमिताः॥ इध्मास्तु द्विसुणः कार्यं त्रिसुणः परिधिस्तथा स्मार्त्तं प्रादेश इध्मो दाहि  
 एः पापं धिस्तथा॥—

शब्दमिति त्रियमा र्थः श्रुतेनाहुतस्तेनाद्यते नेत्कतपवनं न स्यादेकवाक्ये विधानादित्यनु  
 भुत्सतानेत्कत्॥ सुत्पवनं तु दन्ताभ्यां त्रिः परिभाषितं॥ उत्तरतलद्वासनात्पवित्रं तद्विहिते  
 उपद्रुत्पादिनञ्बति॥ पञ्चमन्येऽस्य त्रैक्यं संपाद्या॥ आकृतिवचनचार्थं धिदुह्यप्रसादप्र  
 न्नं बलुधृतं ब्रह्मिण्यामिति॥ समीपतस्तच्चित्तोवक्ष्यमाणः॥ अत्रा - धेयशब्दः प्रवराध्यायेद्या  
 ख्यातो॥ नयेससृज्य इत्यादौ दृष्टतद्विद्वत्तत्त्वात्तु पपन्नैः॥ कालानस्यादस्मिन्वाकालावृणो  
 ते॥ प्रागज्जिद्वक्त्रेति वरुणकालनद्वयतउद्धरणव्यदूरुनादिद्वर्वकालक्रियो मधुगुहेवज्ज  
 र्ग्येन सर्वेषु पविशतीति॥ बलुवचनमतंत्रा॥ लाब्धवायुलि॥ दक्षिणतो ब्रह्माहाता नगा  
 नाधुयधियादिदिशि क्रम एपि ढानदाप्येऽनीनि बलुचं बहवो ब्रह्मायै वैवद्विनिवः स  
 प्पिबिन्तते परिद्विष्टा वस्तु एततो देशांतरं च येत्कपस्यति॥ पश्चात्तवत॥ तेऽप्योद्यन्तु॥ कि

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भ्यः प्राश्रितो दने न्यो धेनुं बो द दामी ति वाच्यत्वे तस्य ॥ चित्पे न्नौ न व श्रे त्प चित्पश्चा अच य नं वे  
 त्य क्र म इ ति प्र सिद्धे र्व भ्री भि सं चितो न्न मित्य निधी यते स्ति न्निक ल वतीः ॥ ऋ ङ र व ती र्वा प य स्य  
 वि व र्त्तयि वा स्या दा स्या हा का रा ते तु हो ति वि धी यते ग य त्री न्निक स्ति ए स्य ऋ ङ र व ती र्वा प य स्य  
 रि त्रै ति ष्टु नी रा न्न न्य स्य स्वा हे ष्टि र्वि म हा का रा ता न्न रि ति व र्त्त ति ॥ ज न स्प गो या इ ति  
 ज ग ती न्न र्वै ष्य स्य स्वा हे ति र्व व त् ऋ तु ऋ तु ऋ सं व शाला न्नो न्न त र्वे र्व ब्रा ह्मै र्व द न्निक चै पि  
 गार्ह्य क र्म प्राप्नो ती ति नि षि धा ते ॥ नि र्मे ष्य प दे च नि त्या नु वा द ए व ॥ प्रा णे सं स्का रा ति श  
 या यि ङ्क स्व ल्प का ल बृ ङ्क का ल यो र्वि क ल्पो न्नु ल्प ब ल ता सो मा धा नो ऽ उ ब्रा ह्मै र्व द न्निक स्यो  
 सा दं स्या त्सा म श ष्ठा त् ॥ प्र धा नो ऽ क र्ष त्र सं ग त्पु त्तं चै त ता सा म वि क्त त स्या धा ने धि का  
 रा ङ्क र्वा ति वां ग प्र ध न का जा या वि रो धे ङ्क का ल्प बा धा ॥ य त्रा धा न का लो बा धां ते त दं ग ष्

स्यात्सर्गकालस्य तत्र का कयेति । तस्मान्मर्षपरिकल्पितैकादयेति अहं कं यस्य रात्र्याऽ  
 त्वपि पक्षो ब्रह्मवेत्तु धितो ब्रह्मैव दनस्य प्राप्ता नो तं तत्रावसंति श्वोभूत इत्यादौ अयं षष्ठ्यस्या  
 रात्र्याऽत्येकरात्रौ तस्यैव मन्वा मदेतद्यात्रिरात्रादिभ्यं त्याया मेव रात्र्यो जग रणमिति दानी  
 उक्तं ब्रह्मैव दनिकस्यानियममाह । नास्यामिष्टादिना दित्यादिना ह्य एनाष्टाकारेणास्या  
 त्रिमिति ब्रह्मैव दनिकमभिधाय तत्तद्वदन्त तव दननिषेधो यं क्रव ऐषिरुपाष्टस्य स्मृतौ  
 निषिद्धं चान्ततश्चान्तवदने श्रौतं स्मार्त्तं धिया श्रितं । ननु क्रव यं दितो तद्योऽस्तु कदिति त्रिषु  
 धानेष्वदोषागादप्यस्य निषेधाभौ । इदं तु नैमित्तिकं अत्रिभ्यो अग्निना धास्यज्ञातमे पदा  
 द्युत्तमानं पवसे तस्यः फाल्गुन्याः पौर्णमास्याः पौर्णमास्याः इति दीक्षिणीये वाहनिवाधास्य  
 मानेऽपि उपपवसेतो ह्रदं पौर्णमासी श्वोऽग्नीना धास्यमान इत्यननसिद्धत्वात् । तत्र रभस्त्राष्टमिकं  
 यत्तत्तदुत्तमानमावास्या । एतच्च शास्त्रोक्तं । पुरस्तात्तद्वत्तत्र च आधास्यमान इति

कर्मणि वा ।

संबंधः॥ सहस्रीनिर्दृष्टात्सवसनि संबंधेन नृवैतेति द्वितीया स्यात्तद्दमष्टनृद्यैते नृवस  
कुच्यो न दृत्रस्य यौस्मिन्ममावास्यान्याः सदमान् नृदिति । श्वोऽमी नित्येनेमपुनरुक्त्यात् ।  
अग्निमंष्ट्रनकाले पौर्णमास्येन दक्षत्रं च हन्ति कोदियदिसंभवे तदोपवसे दाधानस्याधिकर  
णचैन दृत्तिकादीनां अत्वाद्भूतवारिणः । ब्रतं ब्रह्मचर्यविशेषं कत्रयजमानेन सदृजगार  
णशत्रिवसंतीति । त्रिजाज्ञशैवासे वासयेति वासाधिकरणे वासे कीले वा कज्जारवं कबु  
राज्ज्वाशत्किरशक्तैर्दिधाननश्रुतं करणविनक्त्या एव वनवस्था अरणीशक्तानामिधा  
नं प्रतिपत्तेरनवगमात्प्रतिपत्तौ दिशल्कात्तावैदंधनलोपः स्यात्तस्मादिदंधनं शल्काद्यं  
यजमानाया यजमानस्य श्वो नृते एव प्रयच्छतीत्यदृष्टार्थमिदं विषयः । सप्रतिज्ञदोऽयं  
संस्कारार्थः । प्रदानवतो नाशदोषे यद्यासुर्वपुनरयं मंत्रस्यात्कृच्छीयवती । एतस्माद्  
वमत्रलिगात्दंजिकशठमस्मदि म्रव को नृतप्रधानानामनधिकारस्तस्य ह्यश्रुदोषस्य

दक्षिणस्मिन्प्रदेशे ४

अक्षिण्णिण इदमहमन्तास लभुपैनिमनुष्याद्वैवमितिप्रतिज्ञा सान्यायज्ञो नृतेनक्षत्रा  
तिर्बुध्यैवप्रवाससांपरायात्रावातादक्षिणभेदराणीष्टप्रगरीस्मातांदक्षिणाभेदव  
गमातुतेपुववायोगादपेत्पस्पञ्जरणीञ्ज्राहुरतीत्यादौद्विवचनांतं पुनरेवयोऊनाभे  
दक्षिणैतिविलंबितवात्तस्याः प्रतीतेः पूर्वमप्रावाचंयच्छतिदक्षिणाभेददक्षिणतोभे  
रित्पर्याः अरणीपत्नीपाणौकुरुतेपत्नीचेतिचकारलोयोगम्यतेपाणेदस्त्वोवाग्यतौप्य  
तवाचौ। इतस्यातंबहुव्रीहिनिस्रोत्रस्यदूर्वा निपातात्कर्त्तृकरणेऽतत्ताबेङ्गलमिति तत्  
पुरुषस्तर्हिजायतश्रुतिविद्विष्टेपन्यासद्वाधिकारंदशीयिजुंजपृष्णंउषःसमीपमुपश्र  
ब्धं। अनसंतान्नेपुंसकाच्छेदसीतिसमासोतः। उपशब्दविपूर्वः। निष्पत्तीत्यनाशवंतिषेक्ष  
त्वात्। अयंतयोञ्जरणंउपयिब्राह्मोदनिकमन्त्रिसमा। रापयतिअध्विस्वपयतिनक्ष

अरणीदलेतेएवंअनुगमयेतिशीघ्रमनुगमिष्यामः। नैतदस्तिउदुह्यनस्मगादपि  
 त्यायलक्षणेकरोतीतिवचनाध्वनकएवस्वानिबानुगमयोदितिगम्यातनचसंस्पर्शसिमा  
 रोपणंअप्रतिज्ञेदाताअप्रसिद्धेअसस्यशनिमरणीसंस्क्रियेतेसमारोपणेनचाग्निःएवं  
 तद्द्विअयंतेओनिदितिगंत्रकैरणंसमारोपणमज्जेः। यत्तत्ब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यंयोनोऽग्निःपि  
 तदस्यादिमंत्रवर्षीधवगम्यते। यद्योक्तमिमासवाग्निमदातमात्मानमितितथाग्निमे  
 कैवदंतेनमितिपादमेअनुज्योतिरमृतंविश्वानरंयोऽश्नतश्चिन्तिताद्यन्निदितेत्तम्  
 मापयतिअरूपोऽधस्यतीत्यर्थव्यातश्चनेयद्विद्यातनुस्त्वयेह्यारोहेत्यत्रस्य  
 कामवञ्जलिाकिकेरूपंसमारोपणंआशाभूते। यत्तुक्लानात्मकरूपंप्रत्यक्षंधनरा  
 शीरंजगत्तेजोगाथीअज्जेस्तदधिदैवांयस्सधूमंज्योतिरित्यादिपंचप्रज्ञेदयदग्निप्रायेणो

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सं। नोक्तं यस्तु सत्कं भूते यस्मै ह विनिस्तुष्टे ते यमेव सौ। प्रिति। स एव। अजीनादधी  
तव संत इत्यादि इष्टापवत्रे ध्वर्यो ववसन इत्यंत न विधिनानसं स्फुत्त आहवनीयादि संस्क  
रशष्टै रजिधीयतै धियज्ञै। तस्यापि देवता वदनिधानं दष्टं क्षौदे विज्यो मन्विह इत्यादि  
इंद्राजीवा अयश अजी अग्निरयश इन्द्र। पूर्वी प्रजापतिराहवनीय इति च ऊवरस्याग्ने  
रपि देवता वदनिधानं। यो दिव्या निमखुषा ऊनुष्टं त विद्या निविमना जिगति इद्र मि  
त्रवरुण मग्निमाहु रिति आ धियज्ञो यन्निर्देवता वदनिधीयते तु य प्रयं त इत्यादि किं  
त्रिरंत करण। त्रिचुण्ण यन्निर्देवता वदियज्ञे आकुत्से प्रयुज इत्यादि मंत्रे।। किंबहुनो  
क्तं न अग्निविष्वक् नृपो यो स्वंतरग्नि रित्यादौ। अरु इवाग्ने न निर्देवांश्च परिभूरसिञ्जन्नि  
सवीदव ताशल्पवं सर्वं रूपां सर्वरूपा निधाय कैर्मन्त्रिः संधानि कैः प्रवेधम इत्यादि किं।



अधिः संस्क्रियतेऽत एव लौकिकमनुगमय - अथ बाधनेनञ्जलौकिकमेवरूपं अक्रि-  
 लौकिकरूपाधानं संस्क्रियते अन्यथा रागप्रयुक्तयोः प्रवासवजायोः समाश्रयप्रल-  
 क्षं अक्रियन्तीति नमानं अनुगमय लौकिकाग्निना समं मन्या नः 'स्वदेशे सुत रूपं रूपं  
 मन्नेराधीया लौकिके रूपेण दोषाद्याधिकरणदोः अज्ञिदोषादिका यं निवृत्तिरतः पु-  
 नरवता यत्रियावरोदिते सायमग्निदोषादिप्रवर्त्तितञ्जने कस्य चादग्निचाञ्चिद्रूपेण। य-  
 ज्ञोगन्नाकुलेति उदुह्यन्तस्मत्तस्यार्थगार्हपत्यां लिङ्गं करोति उद्धननावोद्धरणं प्राञ्च-  
 दं च मयरेर्षशिष्टं अद्धानां दक्षिणतः पुनरेसादृक्षिणाग्नेर्विद्वतीयमात्रगार्हपत्ये स्या-  
 दक्षिणाग्नेस्तादाय्यर्षिष्वीविद्वतीयमात्र इत्योदिरुविषां यावेदियजमानमात्री न वि-  
 श्यत्तितस्याः तृतीयमात्रं सामर्थ्याद्वक्षिणाग्निजक्षणस्यावधिवैन भूचितं मद्यामाधे

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= (नक्षत्र)

आदित्तविषाग्निगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्थाने ब्रह्मोदतिकजक्षणेऽपराक्षउक्तेऽनुचक्षुषि  
 शात्ताप्रक्रामप्राधेयऽयस्यऽतीयमात्रंऽग्निमन्त्रिद्यैऽन्नादीयसीतिवचनादाशिका  
 एवविद्यतीयमात्रं गम्यतोकांसि नो जिन्यायेन सस्त्रितं वैवंतस्मादिष्टिके क्षेत्रेऽन्नाधानस्य  
 विधानात्संवसरेऽपि देवीऽष्टाश्च प्रणीतास्मिस्तु मध्यमवंशप्राचीनेऽसुसंनारस्तेषु विक  
 प्याणियद्यनु गच्छेत्तपुनरश्चनप्रणेतद्यमं नोरेषु। गार्हपत्योऽयनु गमतः संनारादि  
 पुनऽन्नाधानवन्मष्टिचाप्रणेतद्यऽन्नाच्छुषादिष्टेरपवग्रतिवस्सनदानांतवाधानस्य  
 चक्षुः। ऐष्टिके विधाने नष्टीनामाधानतंत्रमंध्ये विधानो वक्ष्यति तं च्छाभ्याधेयि कश्च  
 तियस्य येन विधानेन घ्राणयनंतस्यानुऽगतस्य पुनस्तेनैव घ्राणयनस्योऽन्नरवेदि  
 कादयि वंगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्यनेदीयसि नितिकेऽसमंगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्य प्रतिपुरता

= अन्नाधानविधानं चक्षुः ऐष्टिकं३

अ ११६ अर्थः

यदददष्टि

समष्टाउभाः

न उ ५ त्वर्थाः। आदवनीयार्थलक्षणं करोति लक्षणं तल्लक्षणं। प्रावृत्ति क्रमोऽर्थी। संज्ञास्य  
हृणं प्रावृत्तानां संज्ञानार्थं संज्ञारण्यमित्यत्र। उस्तस्य दानं धुमं क्रान्तिरुपदास्तुका इति  
जलाशयद्वारमपां विशेषणं स्वभावतस्त्वरूपं त्वदं वापः। इयत्यत्र आत्वस्मिकवपायां  
वक्रिया साम्यान्मौष्ट्यनुवर्तते। नृत्सीग्रहणं। यदददौ दिवौ दीर्घनिवापक्रिया साम्येभ्यः  
वंद्रमसीति भ्रमस्य मकाला। चंद्रमन्त्रि। विषेष्टालानि। पन्नमृदं। अदं हृष्टोः। अष्टौ ये द्वेष्ट्यं  
निवर्त्यं तिलकणार्थं चातुर्देह्योः। प्रास्तुकिरिन्मृत्स्वको तस्वा तमृदं। नृक्ष्मीपुष्करप  
लाशत्रदण्डुत्तरे अष्टिवर्तनीयं निराकांक्षकाय। मंत्रानोन्नो नान् नृक्ष्मीमेव स्यात्तद्दि।  
पारशास्वमविरुद्धमनुमन्यते। तैत्तिरीयके। बानस्पत्यानामपि मंत्राज्ञानं। तन्निवृत्तमन्त्र  
क्षीमिन्वपि शास्त्रां तदं मन्त्रितं संवत्स्रजतीत्यर्थे ते ततो ज्ञायते।

असंख्यं कथं तेऽप्यं गौः अंतश्चरति त्रिंशद्दामा मृशसंमर्शनि अजनेयः क्ली  
नकः पुरस्तादिति गार्हपत्योत्तरदेशाग्निप्रायः छः॥ आर्हपत्यूलः रक्षयं छुद्ररेणुमिह न्य  
मानसु ये सूक्ष्मा वायवाश्च बहुष्टंते वशीयंते ते सुजावलोपाः॥ अन्यद्वा गोमयं च सू  
दियं च द्विप्रमग्निरग्निद्युष्यते॥ दृषणीं स्थः तत्रैति किंप्राग्निपरा मर्शः॥ अत्र किं नो  
जीवौ तयोरुदक्त्तुं॥ प्रजननं निश्चल इति प्रसिद्धिः॥ मूलं मूलतो मूलं द्यादिभ्यस्त  
सेरधिकार एव पांसं रथानां देवं च त्रिंशो मूलतः प्रजननं सिद्धं॥ मूलानत्यन्यो तद  
युक्तमिव तृतीयायस्थिः कर्मभूता या उत्तरा रणे विधीष एवाचामूलं प्रधानं च चंदो  
दृश्चिन्ति स्म गादीन् महादुर्विरताश्च बह्वैर्दृष्टुं वाचयति॥ क्व वं तं प्रत्युक्त इत्यर्थः॥ अत्र  
नरः उपोऽस्यामगानं यजुर्वेदकचात् स मवेदितयोः स मवेदितयोः यंत्रितयोः

प्ररणोः।।वषस्तेधूमः।।अदग्निगा।।एतयोदितैतस्यां सामगायेतिवर्त्तनीयांप्रतीकान्नो  
 मगात्राश्चाप्रजापातः।।अग्निप्राणिनिनासिकयाग्निमन्त्रिस्त्रिसितियोनोअग्निर्हृदयं कमला  
 कारमनोवातदुपलक्षिस्ठानंआरभ्यहृदयादशब्दपे।।मंत्रवसुद्युजमानश्चाजपती  
 तिपूर्ववत्।।तन्नायाद्युमतथाएवपियशानविचिच्छिद्यत्तत्पप्रशब्दार्थः।।उपोद्यम्यपात्र्यो  
 ज्जह्यायत्तृष्टियेष्टा।।अनामृतोपदशाइमेब्रह्मणोयजमानस्यवाधस्यमानश्चितवर्त्तम  
 नसामीष्टे।।अविद्यमानद्वेषेद्दूरस्थैर्नान्येनवाकारेणाएविद्येद्ब्रह्मदस्यद्रजतमिति  
 गम्यते।।देह्याचते।।उद्यताग्निरेवजपति।।तथावाचयति।।घर्मः।।शिरश्च।।मयिगृह्णामीतिसे  
 एकवक्षुधामपिअदंअग्निमितित्रीणाधिकरणकर्तृकमणिकल्पयतीगृह्णतीपश्यती  
 मर्थः।।एकामवेदं तचंपरमाथीतहृदयबोहृदयमित्फक्तै।।योनोअग्निः।।पितरोहृतत्किं

तिवमंत्रः शुभं मनुवदति। क्रियमा एखुवा दिवात्तुमंत्राणा। मात्मयाजिपक्षेदप्रितोयं  
 सत्रक्षतापि दुदयसंकल्पवाचोयुक्त्यासंकल्पयं तदतिद्विवचनादध्वर्युरथोवदष्टि मनु  
 क्तैः प्रजापतिरेव नृचाभनसोत्यादि। तत्र मयीतिः प्रात्मनिद्वित्रहो। अत्रिपरमात्मानोऽ  
 मर्त्येष्ट्या तदृक्का मिः प्रबुधपुष्ट्या त्कल्पयामिः प्राशोपयामि। एकचमनयोः समष्टिमिर्भिः। माभि  
 आदधे अद्भुतमिति वक्षेत्स्यैव एककट्टे च शक्तिनेदा। तदुक्तामात्मानं वा एतत्प्रजमा  
 नः संस्तु सति। युक्तेन हि मनसा यज्ञस्तायते एतदा अदश्चक्षुर्मन्यंते इत्यादि च। नृहो वि  
 रसोऽङ्गं गिरम्युत तष्टु प्रचतयाः अत्रैष्टु म दग्निविश्वामित्रादयः। इन्द्रस्याश  
 ऋतोरजन्म। तथा विष्णो मनाष्टुतिः। अत्रुषगोनं ग रस्येव मा अदिति सर्वत्र त्रीहृणं। उपस्तु  
 छ तत्प्रयश्छे। दक्षिणे तत्तरुजानु विन्यासः। स च तैश्चिती। यन स उपस्तु चेतः। वा रवंतीये

अबुष्टजतिर्मुच्यते

नपत्रिजीत। संतं अबुष्टजतिपद्यन्वाहं सं च तीत्यप्यतिअम अयं एकैकैकांस  
मिधमादध्याद्यथा सं रद्यन्वायस्स लो क सिद्ध चा देवदत्तय इदत्तविष्टुमंत्रेऽप्यता।  
स्तिस्त्रोक्षेन वीवीयं तामित्येकैकस्मा एकैकामिति गम्यते। प्रामीमयीस्त्रिः अक्तानां न त  
स्य एवमं जनेनाश्च छिष्टु द्विरादधाति प्रयोगस्यान्यथात्वाद्गादप्येत्येति। अनिवृत्तैः पिगा  
दप्येऽग्निना दधीते तिबहुवचनादिष्टीनां च तद्गर्भं च क्षाधाते दौ मवस्य ते निधाय त  
दं ते धार्य वेदान विधाना तद्दत्तं तदष्टुपवर्ग इत्युक्तं। तच्छृष्टप्रतिभं मो घटस्य श्री वा करो नी  
तिवदेवं वेष्टिः ज्ञेर्न अह वनीय एव सं रिक्रियतेऽपि तु सर्वे त तश्च प्राणिष्टुपवर्ग इ  
त्तु गदस्या धनीकं मं शुनं प्र एनं च गो मया तिदा रूणे वा जित्प्रलयना नियेष्वग्निः प्र ए  
यतो ॥ छ। या वा जित्नाः अजि मंत्रयते। अमं त्रय तदप्यथो मंत्रवर्त्मतू यदक्तं दायज ६८

मानस्यासंनवाद्यधिकर एल्लंकस्थजुपतेरवतिष्ठतेऽनुर्गीगाघोषचंकल्पनालोकसि  
द्धत्वात्तथाहिराज्ञः कर्त्सिकप्रयतीतिकप्रनाधिकरणं कर एदति संनारशेषः संनार  
शेषस्योपयमनीचंतत्कार्यकर एल्लान्नद्वयजैदः यथोष्टादिकस्यशालान्निब  
शालान्निकाद्यैविविनियोगात् श्वलेवाल्याश्चद्वयचमिति लोकैपिदवदत्तं पुत्रं करोते  
नोमदत्तं पुत्रं कार्येदेवदत्तं कल्पयतीति भवति समानाधिकरणं शष्टृ ह्यस्ये कश्चि  
पयवात्तं करोतिरेवमादौ विनियोगमात्रेवतीत्यत्रुद्यापारं तदेणकरां तत्र क  
र्त्तिकरणं निर्देष्टव्यमिति यथा दन्तगिरं वरसं करोत्यवशिष्टया मृदा दोहिन्येव  
सद्यालगागृष्टकोष्ठस्य मृदं गच्छरुः इत्यामृदोष्ठमनेन वीरणेन कटमिति एव  
वोपयमनीषु संनारशेषशष्टृः समानाधिकरणं प्रयुक्तं ह्यहिकेशालान्निव



आग्नीध्राय प्रदा वेति शखांत राद तयुक्तं । अस्यां तु शखायांत दि म मे बाधाया चो म स  
 घा तु मिच्छाम्यमान प्रणयनाया द्द्विहोना ग्राधानेन द्यवायो न पृथुते मं श्रुति । विबुज  
 यत्फ दईः सुख सम वहि ते धारयति । दक्षिण सुख मं घनं गार्हपत्य वत्तु स्तं प्रष्टु स्यात्  
 वात्तु व ५ तूई ह्युः । अत्र गार्हपत्य वद्यथा यं दिहोना ने र्नेपि पश्चव यो गाता य था दि  
 प्रवंचान्नि परं स्वत्यत्रोक्तं । इवै मन्नि म पारो चेति । नूरित्यस्य तु वो वाधकं उपस्थ त तय  
 तस्यो ई ह्यु रिति बाधकं शेष तु भवत्येवाऽप्रतिषधा ता य दा पि गार्हपत्या हेति प  
 दस्तदाष्टवा मानं तयी विधानात् । हे च यं नि कुंति ते खां य श्चा कृ दस्य गार्हपत्ये ने  
 व म बोक्षे न दक्षिण जे रित्याशयः । अथानि ति देश श्रु मं घ न विधान मस्य न ति देशा  
 तस्यादिति रित्यंता वा म देहोऽनु स्तु जती क्तं स सिधः पूर्वोक्ताऽऽनीना दधी ते ति त्र

आणं प्रकरणादुल्लुकापनुत्यर्थो वादाश्चनात्र विद्वान्नवरंददामिति वत्प्रतिषेधात्तावा  
 त्। अन्निप्रणयनादुल्लुका निःस्वप्रणयमास्वपूर्वरिष्टं चक्रं वावर्तयति गमयति क्रि  
 पस्वर्तनं विहाय यत्ते द्वे स चैव उक्तं समयाद्धूपष्टे मंत्रोद्दिश्य एव प्रतयति। अत्र दृष्ट्या  
 अन्निप्रणयनात्तिदिराणधुः। अत्र पूर्वस्मिन्निति स कर्मकास्तस्मात्तयुक्तं मानेदेव उक्त  
 तीरिति च। तेन वरदाने वरणापने च समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकालेति सिद्धादवदानं कृष्ण  
 जात्रध्यामी भिक्षेभ्यः। अत्र दवनीया गेप्रणयनद्या एतच्चातु तत्रेण लक्षणं। समया  
 ध्वस्तानोऽत्राहवनीयलक्षणं वासविज्ञानात्। अत्र क्रमणमद्या रोहणं। अत्र पर्यावृत्त  
 नेपरिक्रमणं परिसामीप्यनलं घनं प्राकृत्सर्पणं। अत्र त्यवनीयाश्च प्रत्यक्षं सुखं चैव  
 यत्प्रतिफलम्यान्नि। प्रतिष्ठहीचाबुपसमीकं कल्पत्रमा एस्य नियम्य धारयि चाना  
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उपमा एव नृकीया तत्तयै त्कस्मिन्तिया वत्नात्फ ज्जल्यः कस्मिन् दप्त्र मतिकम्पनो  
द्यकैतत्तु वाः स्वयद्यस्याप्येकस्मिन् यथा यं उल्लाप्योचयि मत्राणां मधुरता हृवनेदा  
तत्प्ररस्तादिति दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्निर्धृत्पर्थं प्रत्यङ्मुखं स्वस्वपश्चात् तस्थितस्यायोग्य  
त्वात् ननु ईदृशति प्रद्वष्टितौ मात्र तर्हि गतं पुनरस्तात् त्वेयं व्रतमभिधेयेत् अथोच्चमद  
णमनर्थकं तिष्ठेनेवाच्चः कथ्यताम् प्रातस्तिष्ठन्निवन् अथ कोच्चो लक्षणं प्रत्यङ्गद  
लङ्गिहना मूर्द्धादितिवत्प्राग्ने वंश्रतः करणमत्राङ्गदिलं दृष्टांतीयज्ञाय द्विमेनोक्तं त्क  
सम्भवतः सपन्नभ्रातृद्ययोः प्रकाशाप्रकाशवृत्तिश्च ततोत्पद्यते विहारेऽपि  
सोऽप्यधिकमाधिकरणेचेत् त्विरुद्योतको दोषः सोऽप्यपि सा मीष्टा युक्तं च अपि व  
तीयतपुनरिन्नामायत्तयकारथ्यचक्रेण विपरिक्रमयेदिति गम्यते संस्कृत्यमाणवा

तविहारस्यात्रौ संस्तुर्वनञाट्ट चंद्र --- तिउनयार्थं सतायउमानो मीउपतिष्ठ  
तेनिधनौतदात्र। सस्त्राडित्पादि। अमीनूपरि। सवति; समूहति। परिमूजति। दने। समू  
हन्पादने। ऊर्योदेहादिकाणीति। परिमार्ज। जचसमूहति। पयुं कृणपरिस्तरणम्  
साहचर्यत्तिस्मादनेछुंधस्यैतिमत्रैः स्यान्नेमंस्तोमइतिपरि। समूहमशष्टादिमं  
स्तीममि। पवगमानं गार्दपे। त्पान्नचस्यते। परिस्त्रुणातिपूर्वमग्निमपरीवैतिपरिस्त  
रणमग्निशष्टादकिणाग्नावाज्यनिर्वपादिनिवृत्त्यर्थस्यादा उपशष्टस्य संस्कारव  
चनवा। दूरर्वविधिवर्जितिवचनपदै। उन्नयथापि पृश्न्याः पयइत्यादिदुर्धने। एवं  
इच्छं नूतस्य प्राप्नस्याज्यार्थनाड्यसाध्यानिप्रयोजनानि। निर्वपानैकणादि  
केचिद्वर्ममात्रमिच्छंत्कापयमनादिदविहोमिदर्शनात्कवंतीतिप्रसिद्धिस्त्वना

ब्रह्ममीमंशिः प्रज्ज्या कृता न्वाक्ता एव जातिवचनत्वादाज्यस्येति। येऽनन्ययाः सम  
 स्वादुत्यत्राहुर्वर्त्तयंति। प्रादधातिसन्निध्या गशिष्ट्या न्नत्पत्त्ये। पूर्वविवेकगत  
 स्पयैते क्रयसंबंधात्। सप्ततैः प्रश्नेषु द्वौ तीक्ष्णतरस्त्रात् प्रसृष्टि तिप्तिरिति द्वितीय  
 तत्वात्। येऽनन्ययोत्रे लोकाग्रयो विप्रकर्षेण परं चो न द्याहु त्पानीयं ते द्वि  
 एादिना तौपनीयं त इत्यग्नि विपराणयनीया यवाग्नीनां द्विविणादिः स च स्य विप  
 रराणयनं विपर्यायो द्विविणप्रदाट्टत्रयस्याः सा तष्टोक्ताः प्रध्वर्यवे इति करणा  
 त्मन्नोयं वाग्विसर्गैश्च त्पापावेन चः प्रश्न दानमध्वर्यवलिं गातु दुर्बलं न भवति स्म  
 त्रकारस्तु न यार्थमपि मंत्रार्थवादनो कं क्वचि स्त्रचयति। द्विविः स देहीत्येव  
 विधेस्तु देवतावा एतत्पूर्वैर्द्विरित्येवा वरं चापाकः। अनपाकृतं द्रव्यं हि दीयते इति

ना बाहिदीयते वाचा प्रदीयत इति मनुः प्रतिज्ञानमेतदनपात्र तस्य ह् मोत्रेण ददा तथ  
स्या न्निवृत्तिः सत्यं तथापि यजमानो वरं ददातीति ददाति प्रयोगात् प्रत्येकः संप्रदाने  
ज्योवाचा दत्तमपि स्वीकृतं परदस्ते गतं छयत्र निदोषस्यात् यं जुष्यो द्यौः संप्रदाने  
भ्यः संकल्प्यात् । सप्रतिज्ञा तस्य विषय एव ते तस्या धेनुं ददातीति अखंडितस्यैव धे  
न्या ए दीनस्य स्वीकरणं रुचिनां अर्चनं कृतमधुगत धनवत् स्यात् तस्मादपाठतमपि  
वाचा दत्तं न वति प्रत्यक्षपात्रेभ्यः ॥ ७ ॥ दाशीपोर्लुमासिकं विधानमिष्टीनामिष्टीति  
देशसूत्रं निर्वपत्यादि प्राक्ततलिं गात्तपंच दसलान्यपि प्रयाजस्त्रित्या दिष्टुचोद  
कप्राप्त्युधामस्रिन्नस्य लादिनु एविध्दं दर्शनास्वविधानप्रकृतित्वे संनवाधम  
कोदास्वरूपसिद्ध्यर्थं भिष्टीनां विद्यत इति सादृश्या दार्शपोर्लुमासिकमेवासाध

मज्झिमतं युक्तमिति मया शस्त्रं कृतं। दशोपनिषत्सि कं विधानमिष्टीनामिति। यद्याव  
 श्य कं दशोपनिषत्साम्ना-- सर्वकश्चिन्ति त्वं तदान्यायं कस्मैपि पश्चितिस्त्रैगतात्तत्रै  
 व वक्तव्यमेतत्तथा दशोपनिषत्सामशब्दोऽस्वप्नकरणे चारुता। तयोर्जवं विधानं पूर्णं  
 वं द्रुमसीत्यादियजमानपत्यध्व्यादि साधनं प्रायुक्ते स्युज्यां तमिष्टौ नोतत्रिकद्वे  
 त्पानामात्रे यवत्तु हि देवत्पानामत्रीषो मीयवत्तु ब्रह्म देवत्पानामक्षरवर्त्तसा म्या। दद्या  
 मरुतां ह्यक्षरं दद्यादत्रैश्च मारुतमात्रे यवदेवं कुरु कुरु च दैवैश्च देवमत्रीषो मीयव  
 देवं च कुरुर्जषधी देवत्ये एं द्रात्रवत्प्राय ह्यष्टिवी स्नान देवतानामात्रे यव दोषधा  
 दीनां त्रै त्रिस्तु स्नानं च स्नानानामै द्रवहैष्टवद्यथा संस्था। अथ सोऽयं च सौ यदितौ  
 र्त्समासात्रे यव हि धानं। ततश्चो नूते ब्रह्म वरणं। यदि दर्शने यव तदा प्रवेद्यं वेदिक

रणं यदेवं विधेयं विधानेऽपि दृष्टं पौर्णमासां त्रेयवतश्चादाद्यथा त्वयस्मां च पूर्वैर्द्विः स्या  
 तः सा त्नाय्यधर्मस्त्वाद्द्ववताश्च यथाऽग्निप्रायेण वा पौर्णमासां सा प्रययणादग्निविष्यते नैवाग्नि  
 प्रायेणानवैश्वदेववरुणप्रघास्यपर्वणोऽर्चयेद्यत्वीदिकरुणोपशौखवचनं यद्वा मा  
 वास्यायामिति कालवचनं नानामधेयमिति विवेकराश्च तत्रैवावसरेऽनुक्रमिष्यमाण  
 प्रवक्ष्यामि विकाराश्चोदकाधर्मेन दद्यात्प्रयुक्तिप्रसंगेन कृणोत्तत्र भूदेयश्राद्धि  
 तीयामाज्यश्चालींस्त्वं चोपच्युतो न तरेति प्रच्युतिं संस्कृतां विषयस्य स्यापदो होक्च  
 नो होस्ति गोहस्तिष्ठि कल्ये उदाहरिष्यति नत्र विषयः बाधः स्त्वेनेकप्रकारः यश्राग्नि  
 कृश्राग्नेयमष्टाकपालमित्यग्निद्वौ न हवणास्त्रिंशन्मनोदिदं हि एवाहायस्य प्र  
 त्वकृश्विष्टेन कृतावाज्यनागाविति पल्लुः आतिशयनिर्वपणं योरिव क्वचित्सुद्धया॥



तत्र ब्रह्मदेशकालफलानिधानकैश्चैक्ये तत्र वदयति तद्देहः। आहर्हि च। परतं त्रौ तत्पुं  
 पुत्रं अस्मिन् वक्ष्यति। प्रायजकचमप्रायाजकवैठनयप्रयोऽजकत्वे च दशोऽप्यति  
 देवताऽपलक्ष्ये तां शनैः। शनैः शनैः विविशेषेण सुपलक्ष्येण स्यादवतावाचकः। शब्दो  
 दनावाक्यस्य स्थितिं तस्त्वन्तावत्तैः तद्धि ते न सुपाचमिकारितः। शनैः रत्नरयास  
 म्पुत्रे त्पनिशक्तं तेन चैतसा तद्धितादिजं विकारं विनयप्रकृतिभूते लक्ष्ये तद्यो  
 यद्दीतद्यः। आत्मद्योपारत्नोपलक्ष्ये स्याः। शनैः सम्यगखरयेत्फक्तं। तत्र ऋडिना  
 निश्चिन्तं तद्धितः। अग्नये विविचयेऽतीकारं ताञ्चकारात्ताञ्छुश्री। एवं समासादुप  
 लक्ष्ये। आग्नावैष्णवमित्रावरुणाम्पाइत्यादि वैष्णवोऽदवा वैष्णवोऽनरामिति तद्धि  
 त्तुक्तं प्रायान्नचायं तु एतद्धित उत पत्तिवाक्ये कैवल्योपादानाद्याज्यानुवाक्ये

रन्निशद्योनिपातनागेवासौयविरुणोर्यमादायइतीतरश्याप्रिसंगस्याताइ  
पानप्रीयस्यकाकस्यचद्याकरणदुपलक्षणांउत्तंचामेनायणीनाचैर्येणध्वज्यादयो  
बृहतीतिप्रिष्टस्याक्तासिद्धिरितिचकेचित्तुयशाम्नातमित्त्राबुवर्तयंतिष्ट्वस्त्रत्वा  
तेनविश्वेभ्योदेवेभ्योबृहतीतिसिद्धविश्वेभ्योदेवीनामहंदव्यज्यायतिसमाप्तातांइ  
परेतुयशाम्नातत्रहणउवृत्तिरेवाऽपानप्रेतुबृहतीतिमन्यंते।ऋपोनप्रपानपृष्या  
भित्तिस्त्रे।नाराशंसयाजिनोवात्याधसितनूनपादेवयशाम्नातमितिभिर्हंनयनु  
दष्टाबुविधिषुंदसीतितद्विताशेसमासंभूमौविश्वदेवंवरुमिति।उंषधीन्योवेदतमि  
तिदीर्घइकायविनक्तिषुविशेषः।आदित्यनम्बुनूपमितिवाक्यशेषादादितादा  
दित्यचरुमित्यादितउंतिनुद्यंताद्यप्रपशिक्तदादीनिष्टंजनोन्यमादीनोचैदग्निम्ना

दृष्ट्वादियाजमानादिकंस्यान्नहिबुबुद्धितस्तातोवाच्यलुमापद्यतेब्राह्मणस्तस्मा  
 स्तय्यदित्यवधंजनेसतिन्नादागंतव्य॥छा॥ऋग्याधेयिकीनांविशेषमादातंद्याऋ  
 ग्याधेयिक्यःसद्याकालाःसर्वत्रिपाच्छिदेवतातंत्रिन्नवास्तद्यातंत्रतंत्रेचादाधामि  
 क्रोविदार॥प्रकरणातयथासाकमेधिकस्तंथावयवदृष्ट्यतंत्रतंत्र्यतिपिचयज्ञादेः  
 समानविहारिकस्यसाकमेधावयवस्येतिविशेषणं॥भिन्नतंत्रस्यानीकवतादे  
 निवृत्त्यर्थंतत्रमदाहविस्तन्मदबाधानंऋतएवैष्टिककर्ममिधानिष्यंवद्यतिषितं  
 परस्यरावधिवैनेस्तत्रयिष्यतिऋपिचाग्याधेयेन्नवाऋग्याधेयिक्यस्ततप्रयोजना  
 क्रयेनेष्टायाधानमैत्रं॥तंत्रशष्टाङ्गकषेष्टीदिगादिभ्योयत्प्रत्ययतंन्यास्तंत्रेति सप्तमं  
 तोवागपुनस्तंत्रीशष्टातंबहुवचनेतंच्यदितंत्रीणमिदोसंनवाताएवंचयएवाधान

नाङ्कि२

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ल्लिङ्गस्तदृष्टिषु स्यस्तं त्रमधोविधानो नान्येववरीतद्याः सद्यः समानं कालोयासां ता  
स्ताणां तान् आधाङ्गो नैकाऽत्यर्थः ननु सद्यः कालत्रदणमुपवसद्य निवृत्त्यर्थः संस्थित  
यामित्फपवसद्यः सा मा धाने स्तत्रिद्वनिषिध्यति सा मा धानस्त्रिरेव निषत्स्यति  
तस्मात्सद्या कालत्रदणमिष्टिनिर्गते तपोसमस्यामित्याद्येष्टिके कालव्यदासाथ  
अताद्युक्तमुक्तं मा धानाङ्गिक्यऽति संवत्सरे देवीषिति उवाषिकं उक्तं चावाशद्वै  
संवत्सरसाद्यावति अङ्गिर्विस्तृष्टः प्रजापतिरित्यादि अपि पदे द्वे द्विये क्रिता पार्श्वे  
च्चादितानो प्रतिसमाधत्ते शङ्कुमः किं तु यावान् स्त्रत्रार्थस्तवेदां यमावाचामेति सर्वाः  
आधाने देवतान्त्वारं नृणी याश्च पौंसमास्याममावास्या याद्विवा सद्यः कालयाद्वीष्टि  
षिनिर्वपितीत्यर्थः आज्यनवाक्यविसंवत्सरे वा दवीष्टिनिर्वपतीत्यर्थः आज्यनवा

इत्यनुवादाशब्दबुधार्थं संवत्सरं देवीं षीति पदेऽपि तत्र स्पष्टमिति स्मारितौ यमवधि  
स्तु दुक्तं ब्राह्मणभाष्यकारणपवमानादीनि हवींश्च ग्रथीनि लिंगप्रकरणभ्यां इति  
तस्मादजसौ येऽग्रयः स्फः संस्काराश्चिन्तातदारीतमाश्रयतावोक्तं अज्ञाधेयस्य  
ग्रहं पवमानादिष्टान्निप्रायमित्फपक्वम्यतावेनाग्रनिष्पत्तेरित्यादि उपपत्तिरे  
वतान्निधानानियासोऽप्यादि देवैरेव ताः अग्रम्याधेये त्रिद्विवारं न एषे त्यग्रम्याधेयं वि  
शेष एमारं न एषा परिज्ञापार्थं वा आधानस्यातेन पुनराधानेष्टारं न एषा स्या  
तु उपपत्तिरेव तार्थत्वं वा अग्रम्याधेयं विशेष एमारं न एषा स्यात् न स्फुट्याने यमष्टा  
कपालां अत्राकचिदाहुः अग्रम्यर्थादीनि हवीः षि अग्निवैवस्य स्थितिः लिङ्गप्रक  
रणभ्यां अग्रधानाग्निं कानीत्यपरेऽस्मिन्नकारस्य आधानागानीति लक्ष्यताम्हो मे

वसानाऽऽग्निमादधीयातामिति ब्रह्मोदनादिष्टिपर्यंतं ह्येवसानो रशधानं सूचय  
 तो यतिषं गन्धस्तुत्रयतः साधानां गान्निहवीहृष्यप्रतानि निरुप्यग्रदण्णदग्निदेवत्र  
 देवण्यजावपि निवीपस्य युणालाप नमु रथस्येति वचनात् ब्रह्मावृत एव सां गप्रधानाथ  
 स्वातवरणस्य यथासामहिषु ब्रह्मणावृतत्वाद्यर्थे सोमसिक्कं वरणसोमनिवर्त्तते  
 तिएवं अत्राफिउपवस्य सुत्राधानिक एव हृष्टीनां सद्याः कालख्यो ह्यवागुविद इत्या  
 दिभ्यामेयसुपसाद्यान्मद्वयं रक्षेति मयं तं ननु दर्शयौ समसौ अत्राधेयिकी  
 ष्टिसंस्कृतेषां त्रिषु विहितौ अत्राधेयि क्वापि न संस्क्रिते सुस्फुरितिनाऽनवस्था  
 प्रसंगोत्तरां नलीया चेत्स्वत्राणैव निषिद्धाऽनन ग्रीवा दनायष्टीनां सप्तमीत्रया  
 यथाधाय त्रिह विप्रति सायस्य च जावेनेति न च धिक्करणै वै मृधादयस्तु काम्य चान्ना

आनेतर्क

तिदिष्टं तत्प्रश्नप्रणीतसुः सृज्य निर्वर्पंतिदं वीषिये। अस्या धेयविधिघ्नस्तेक्ष्मं तेचदि  
 केवलोऽसंस्कारना गिनं त्यक्त्वा न्यतुसंस्क्रियते यदिव्रह्मैो दनादिकाल्काशाञ्चष्टादे  
 यन्निर्गमं न वे। अथ संस्कृतसु तत्सृज्यत तद्गुणतत्वीरहाच वत्प्रणवचनाना  
 संस्कृतोपिदिनौकिकः। अद्रस्य द्विजसंस्कोपे द्विजचं नाभिधीयते। किंयुपांजोषयिवा  
 नून्योयुपांरुचन। नून्याथपिवाधाय। मिष्टिर्नैर्यः ससुष्टजेत्वा अश्वघ्नणीतसंस्कार  
 इष्टयस्तेऽसमाश्रिताः। अन्यायोनपि वचनं तवशास्त्वं तत्प्रस्थितं न्याधानेन प्रिप्रण  
 यनमंगमंगं प्रतिष्ठा विनिरुद्धेति निर्वापमग्निदेवद्रव एवाञ्जना वेपिदशयति तत्  
 श्वपाञ्चोतरे ननु सून्येनानाबीजनिर्वापदर्शनान्नानाबीजपात्रीतु संसाद्यतेऽग्निदे  
 तद्दव एण्यविधानादिद्रुतस्या अनावाग्निहात्रानावान्नचप्रोक्तणीभिः प्रयुज्यते

ऋनिर्दृष्टायामसिच्योतिपरप्रयुबौधार्च्यत्तासांएवंचाग्निष्टोवाचक्षोपवपनेचनकेन  
 चिरसंसादितनक्रियातानदिबुषापवपनेनकपालं प्रयुज्यातात्तुनकर्तृष्टोबुषो  
 पवपनेनिरुष्टाग्रहणेनअणलोपेचमुख्येतिदक्षितेवोतोऽग्नेर्मन्त्रेत्पादिऽत्र  
 हवनीयात्संभ्यः। आहवनीयशष्टोना विन्याहृत्पातस्मिन्ब्रह्मोदनिकमितियथा  
 अतः आहवनीयेषु हातीति। इमाऽतिदेशाताऽत्रस्यः॥ किं तु द्वितीययापरिणाम्यते  
 आवनीयेषु हातीति। इमं संस्काराण्युत्वा नृहंसीमाधानुमात्रं सन्यस्य। तप्याचौदनाताऽ  
 चारणात्पाहवनीयमित्यधिकारादावसंश्रयानं यत्तत्पूर्वमा मंत्रणायाधिदेव  
 नोदितोदवैनिषसादधृतत्रतीति। तु होत्यर्थादाज्यं प्रखनति दीष्टति। विचित्रयादृश  
 निधायोतिदारुतात्तुहताद्विचिंत्येति च तादृशयेन या यत्तत्तृक्नीयादिद्यथासिच्येद



तथोदिरण्यदि। एवं विदः सञ्चाना मंत्रये ता यथोक्तमायनिकितवाद्यतिप्राकृते न प्रपद्येत्  
 तत्सूत्रं प्राक्प्राकृणादित्फक्तया दवधः। सिद्धेष्टिदप्रपिर्समासविधानप्रसिद्धं। संतिष्ठत  
 त्ति। किं यावता सिद्धेष्टिरिति वचनेन संस्था लेभ्यत एष उच्यते। तत्कैषां चित्सूत्रकाराणामेता  
 यामिष्येव तविमो कइति मतं। तन्निरासाय संतिष्ठत इत्फक्तं। युक्तं चेतदीष्टीनां परस्पराना  
 काङ्क्षा। न वपनी संयोजीतेत्यादि वचनमस्ति दीदृणीयादिवाद्युपरोवधे। संस्था वच  
 नात्तावात्तु तविमो कं संस्था स्याते पञ्चवत् च वरुणप्रद्यासादिषु। अवश्यं हि यस्मिन् देवताप  
 रिग्रहाद्यैर्मन्वाधानं तस्य वैश्वदेवीष्टोपुनः। कार्ये न सोमार्थवाधानवत् दीदृणीयादिष्विवा  
 मावाप्त्यै वैश्वदेवस्य प्रसूयेतां। अंगानि च नावातु तत्र तं उच्यमानेन जेहीते न पुन नृष्ट्य  
 तेपिष्टपे षण्मन्यथा भवेत्। अत्रापि बालाः संस्था वचनं दृष्ट्वा जिने प्रवादयंति अतएव वा

संतिष्ठतः ॥ ३ ॥ अथ पुनरुक्ते

लाः॥ येनेष्टि संस्थावचनमग्रपवत्राष्टिं विदंति न तावत्संस्थितशब्देनाग्र्यस्य ग्रन्थे ते समा  
स्य चानापितात्पयं त्रिन संस्थिताया मिति का लविधानपस्थासंनिष्ठतिने इत्यत्र स्त्री पुन  
रुक्ते उक्ते तात्पर्यं अत्रिपि च प्रतिरात्रं संस्थाप्य सान्नाय्यन यजुं तिसान्नाय्यं संस्थाप्या  
त्रेण संस्थिते पोर्णमास्येन यजंत इत्पादौ कावात्तसिंस्थावचनं त्रं तत्राणपि कर्मापव  
त्रे विस्तृत्य एवाद्दवनीयः सत्यपि संस्थावचने अंग न्तरेषु इष्टिपक्षे ओमे पुनर्विस्तृत्य  
तेन कात्रणं संस्थावचनमत्रि विस्सर्जनस्य ननु त्रैक प्राप्या शंका अश्वप्रणीति इष्टीनां  
क्ति निराय तं निषेधसि यादि प्राप्सं मन्ये सो न्यायतस्माकं न बाध्यते प्रयोजनमपि ते तन्नि  
षेधपरं ॥ स्त्री ॥ संस्थिताया मत्राय एव संस्थिताया मात्रे यामिति कलनि यमप्यवमाननि  
वपि स्या यद्यप्यवसष्टादि पावमानं ह विरजि त्रे तं स्यात्तदा संस्थिताया मिति कालविधा

नमनर्थकं स्यात्। स्तत्र पाठक्रमेणैव सिद्धेऽस्ति। संतिष्ठते। अत्र नये पवमाना येत्फपवसथा  
दिलभ्येत। तत्र सद्यः कालाऽत्यनेन वचनेनाधानिके द्विविधानसमष्ट्युपवसथा  
धानप्रतीतिः। तस्मात्संस्थितायामिति न पुनरुक्तमासा माधानसद्यः कालनायामा  
त्मधार्थ्यं निचासा माधानविषयं संवस्यारहं वीषीति विशेषविधानासो माधाने पाठ  
क्रमेण सद्यः अधानद्विकेऽस्याः। दात्रेया अधानमध्ये विधानादिरथा संवसरत आग्रय  
नार्थि स्यात्। तस्मादसो माधानपक्षेऽपि सद्यः कालता सिद्धाभात्र ब्रह्मवरणं। तत्र मध्ये विधा  
नादुक्तं द्विदशपैर्हसिमासिकवरणं सोमे निवर्त्ततति। अन्वाधानादिसिद्धं दक्षिणा  
यां विकारः। कचिदश्वेन प्रणीतमुच्छाद्यान्यमाहवनीयं प्रणयति। ते हव्रन्यायं वस्यं  
तः। आग्नेयीष्टं तमाधानमिति गायंते उक्तः। परिहारस्तथापि तं पृच्छामा यद्याधानेति

ष्यन्ते ॥ किमर्थमिदं मानादीनि अथ श्रुतिं तत्रैतत् बुध्यते कुशमादवनीयस्येष्टिफलत्वा  
 यनेष्टिनिःसिद्धता अस्मिद्धं हि साध्या योपदिश्यते ॥ आदवनीयस्य सिद्धः साध्यते ह विनि  
 रतो वा सिद्ध उक्तं दितेन केवलं यथा क्लेशा फलजा कौद्या वतावीर ह त्यापि तिनवपे  
 समसिक्तं प्रणयनमाधानेष्टिषु श्रुत्यादिनिष्पद्यतेत्यादवनीयेषु व  
 तीतिवत् अथातिदेशतः प्राप्तस्याप्यर्थता होमादिदेशस्य मन्त्रेष्टितानिवं उक्तं न्य  
 दिहोमादि संप्रतन बाधते ॥ लब्धविनियुक्तिर्विकस्य विदमि ॥ अपिचादवनीयेषु होत  
 त्याधानि केमेवेदं वाक्य उपाधायै सच्चन्मयगम्य अतिदेशिकपक्षेपितादथाक्षिप्र  
 स्यात्कं ॥ तस्मात् प्रागर्ध्र्युवसनदानादनुगतो अग्निराधानिकविधानेन मन्त्रेण प्रण  
 येत्यथार्थेनात्र संतिष्ठत इत्युक्तं ॥ नाश्रुतरं न वद्व्यतिन संस्थिता यामिति हेतु  
 स्त्वालम्पत कालपरचादस्य सद्यो ॥ तर्हि या सां संस्थावचनं नास्ति तान संस्थाप्या

स्माः

इति अत्र ये च यो चकारः सोऽत्रो न सं प्रेषकाले प्रयोक्तव्यः सप्त तिमानमिति पाव  
 कस्य त्रिंशन्मानमत्रा पूर्वयोर्द्विषोद्वे त्रिंशन्माने इत्यादि अचिनापावकसमा  
 नबर्हिद्वेति पवमानोपेकं पूर्वयो रनि पूर्वचं पावकस्यानपु न द्वेद्विगा विषये एसा  
 दित्येन बर्हि विषयी सा द्वित्यं विकल्पात् अत्र उल्यबात एतस्माद्वायते एका द्विकु  
 नवरुणप्रघासिको वद्वद्विणेति नवान्ममनंतरचात एवैव संतत्र मध्ये पि प्रायश्चित्त  
 क्षोपतितायां न पृथग् दद्विणे तो संस्थायां विस्तु वैवप्ति पि विष्ठा यचकार उक्तं  
 आदित्यश्च रुकां कां स्पन ब्रह्मवर्चसं कामस्येति वतका म्यच्चाद नित्य रोदिएण  
 धानवा स्योने तदस्ति अ नित्यत्वे प्रसंगात् उ स्वाप्रद्ये जनावन्नि अचं युक्तं अ  
 यथत्वात् अनां अवादेति ब्रह्मण इति प्लुका म इति वर्तति अ न्नीषा मोय

द्वितीयमिति पक्षकामाये द्वितीयचंद्रतरशा चक्षुर्मिति स्यात् अन्त्ये उद्धृति  
यग्रहणा द्विद्विकामादिनष्टिमन्यतां आवपनं श्रुतौ बकुव्रीदिर्यीष्टतमिति  
भावसाधनेनैवमक्षणे अविद्यमानमेक्षणे एव च श्रवदानकालेपि न मेक्षणेन  
वद्येत् अतएव अरंभणीयायामक्षणां वक्ष्यात् तत्रापि न श्रपणामाया तत्र भूमा  
गयजमानाग्न्यामपि परिहृत्य एव सादित्यां ननु प्रदाने प्रक्षयश्च तत्राश्चेदक्षि  
णकालेपि नागपरिहृत्योत्तरकोले दक्षिणपाठक्रमबलीयस्त्वा तु उक्तं विकाराच्छे  
कमिष्यामीयथा श्रुतेमिति प्रक्षतौ श्वष्टमेव पवितं नागपरिहृत्योत्तरकोले  
क्षासनमनुमंत्रणं ततो दानमिति युक्तं न ह्यभिघोरितं चानुयो ग्ये अस्मिन्नस्थत्वा  
द्युवर्जं श्रुतौ दानमुक्तं अजं कल्माषमुक्तं अजाने वा श्ववतूनुपयुक्तं तत्रोपब

ईणसुपधानमिदधानिकाः॥सर्वमवस्तुत्रमयं स्यात्॥अनङ्गानितिवयोवचनेन  
 पलक्षणेन तस्मात्तस्य अतएव यो वदतीति साऽनङ्गानेयद्वेधेनुरपिवयः॥स त्वं  
 तस्मान्न वयान्न वदन्न च न विनिश्चिन्तु तत्र न च तिस्रु वयः सुवर्त्तमानं वयसाम्  
 यमिति श्रुता तयोः सांङ्गः॥दित्यवा दंचसुः करमिति श्रुता॥हिंसायनीवस्तरीयदि  
 त्यो दोषो वयसो ददातीति श्रुताः॥अङ्गादया दक्षिणा आधानप्रकरणे पतिता स्ना  
 न्नापोया मिष्टौ विनियुं जानन्नाधानां गा इष्टीः स्तुचयति पूर्वयो स्त्वष्ट्रो राधानप्र  
 कुरण एव शतमानं द्विज्य अत्या विनियुक्तं॥तया स्तेना विरुद्धत्वात् परि तोषाव  
 न्यामिष्यो वजादयो दक्षिण स्फुरित्यग्नि प्रायः॥अथा प्रसङ्गितिवदिष्टयोऽपगं इतर  
 यायावा अस्त्यै त इति लिंगात् प्रकरणे बाधित्वात् प्रवृत्तिरपि अत्र नष्टा स्यादिति

एणि

वतः सुकोदोष इति चेत् न कश्चिदिति किं तु सूत्रकारस्य आधानां गासर्वव्यतिषेण  
 विधौ वा आधानसुपकारे कमुपदिष्टं ब्रह्मि रूपत्वे तच्छ्रयासमुपकारकरोति समु  
 दयादंशं गिन्नावपाह्नाबलीयानि तिसृन् च त्रयोदशायः रथं युक्तं गवामादीनां ज्ञान  
 तमो वायुक्तिः अविशेषोऽन्यत्र त्रदणं क्रियातः अत्राप्रवात् प्राप्तिश्च तत्परि संख्या  
 नियात्मा वापुनर्वचनात् च प्राप्तिः सोऽरगादीनामपि प्रसक्तेः ॥ इष्टं पवत्रिऽध्यवे  
 वसने ददाति अत्र क्रमसूत्रेण कोऽभिप्रायः न तावदत्र च्वयं अस्मात्पुनः कर  
 णं दृष्टं इष्टं तेषां धर्म्यैव स्मने दत्ता तद्य इति वक्तव्योऽत्रात् अत्रादि दक्षिणाकांक्षे  
 स न यो दीनं यदि स्यात् तत्र दत्तौ मवसानाभ्यां आधानं कृत्स्नं नालुप्तिं स्यात् ततः  
 क्रमप्राप्तात् तत्रेष्टं तद्दानं उक्तं चैतदंगवै कारणं सु रथं सूत्रं सर्वयोद् विषोऽति ते  
 २५ तथा च श्रुतिः ॥ यदजमग्राधेये ददातीत्यग्राधेयो मज दानमिष्टिषु दी



गदशनिदि त्पाया मिष्टो स्त्रिंशत्तं कृतैः समिष्टजुषि विनश्य प्राशानां तैः तेऽस्य इति कृत  
 प्राशानभ्यः।। सामनाय दूमा ण इति विधं त र प्रयुक्त माधानं सूचयति। तत्र कैचित्  
 काम्यविधाः प्रयुक्तमेवान्येन नित्यविधयः पुरुषाण्यपि वेति। तत् प्रयुक्तिः।। कनका  
 र्थिता यस्तु स्मृतिकाराऽप्राप्त संस्कारसाधनस्य नित्यत्वमिदं तित हि धं त र प्रयु  
 क्तं चैपि न विरोध्याता अग्निष्टोमादि संस्थावताऽप्रजिगृह्य मसंस्थां चाव त्यष्टपुरु  
 षार्थप्रायश्चित्तछायाऽस्ति मम लज्जन न।। हिरण्यवा स संश्रयति त्रिदादिनिमि  
 त्ताः किं आधानं प्रयुंज्जी रन्नुत त नैतिकाम्येष्टि वता पु रुषार्थं चात् प्रयुक्तो प्रा शा  
 यो ब्रूमः।। यस्य प्रकृतं तैष्टियं तपद्यतोऽप्यति पद्यत इति वा।। वायु कया आदितान्त्रे  
 रधिकारागम्या ता तथा चानुवादे।। यस्यादितान्त्रेः सतामिष्टिदानं दादति तान्त्र  
 ज्ञेना ध्यायेत्यग्नित्रयं दू ण मतिरिच्यता प्रकृत चोदाधेय विषया खनो न्नी नो न त्रैय

तस्मा नव के बु ध्वा धी मंदधी रजस्रधारणं वस्मरेदपि स्मारितं वान्यै रजस्राग्रयः सं  
 वसरं सुस्कारा शिचिदिति अस्मीना धायामी नृधि ह्स्मृष्ट स्थापयित्वै ल्यष्टः आधानं  
 स्या नैर्दृष्टा यतन्निष्पत्तिरुक्तं च संस्कृते कर्म संस्काराणं न तदष्टा वातु अ न तद्व  
 तं तद्गुल चोन्नतः शरा वं उद नं दक्षिणा न्नो केचित् अ पयं तप न्वा हाय दशेनातः सो  
 ऽपि दिस चिग्न्यो दी यत न्ना तु नाय अज्यस्यो ऽष्टिषु देवताः पवमानस्य दवीः  
 प्रियद्वि वत्पानिता ल्यादवतोभ्य अज्यं जुहुयात् यत्तोभ्यो देवताभ्यो अग्निमाधुत  
 दत्पादिभ्रूतेः संभाषेत आदितस्या दवनीयस्या ननु ध्यानां प्रं आज्य होमः संव  
 सरं यावत् दृष्टिषां प्रतीक्षणा योक्तो न स्थापनाय यथापयो दृष्टिषो रिति नाषा  
 योः प्रवर्गे गण्यते तथाज्य होतापि पथो द्द्वयते शाखां तरत्वात् आधानं तत्र मधापा  
 नं संवसरं अज्यं रण सप्त मीय ॥—१

निमित्तसप्तम्यां सर्वपदेऽनावातः काले स्य च स्त्री मन्वाधानं सद्यः कालोक्तस्यपि  
 छीनां स्थापितत्वात् आदिताम्यनिर्णयमाना दोना स्यान् सन्निपादिना अन्नश्रतं सनि  
 नो जनांश्चिन्वेन्नासायदित्यर्थः रुबी सं दृष्टिर्वा तस्याध्वीवनस्य सुयोऽज्जिस्त  
 त पूर्वमोऽपक्षेऽप्यपक्षचः श्रामं त्रणं श्राद्धं तत्रामं त्रितोन गच्छेत् नान्मपगच्छे  
 दनिद्येना यामं त्रिताय च तिक्रमणं अग्निं द्यामं त्रणं स्य दोषश्रवणं तदभ्यपगम्य  
 निक्रमेद्रष्टव्यं तत्रापवादाः अथपराक्तामं त्रणं ब्रजे तत्र द्रव्यं वसीदन् पूर्ववत्  
 गच्छेत् एवं च श्राद्धादोऽप्यपराक्तामं त्रणं गच्छेत् स्वदत्तं तद्विराट् इत्यादि  
 सिद्धवान् द्या रघ्या तमिति प्राकुरु विनिर्वापा त्प्रादिता नैव त्रितानि श्रुतौ नोदितौ  
 निदप्रथोऽर्चमासा वारस्पमाण इति संवत्सरे गतदशमौर्चमासा रं न निमित्तास्त

एयानिर्वीपंस्तत्रयन्प्राक्कुदशीपोर्लमासाग्रंनदिवसेगमयति। यावज्जीवंदशीपो  
 मासाधिका राकाभ्योवा। तदारंनेनिवीपत्नप्रतिप्रयोगा रजोऽतरथाऽप्याधेयेन्निह  
 विरित्पादि। अग्न्याधयस्योपरिस्त्रणमनर्षकं स्यात्। एवम तदुसंनान्ने रधिक  
 रा॥ विच्छेदात्पुनराधायज्ञारंनणीयांलवाधिका रं प्रतिपद्यतोऽप्यपरेऽत्रविच्छिन्नाभि  
 होत्रस्यदशीपोर्लमासविच्छेदेऽज्ञारंनणीया मिच्छंति। स्वस्त्रवचनात्। तत्रज्ञतिरु  
 त्तपत्तौ। आदशीदोपोर्लमासाद्वाग्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्। तदाद्यायादिपत्तिं एवं आ  
 रंनणीयांलवापुनरा रंनेत्। दशीपोर्लमासयो रविच्छेदयच्छुतसन्नोऽग्निस्ततश्चा  
 न्नवपुनराशीपेतेतदारंनणीयांनेच्छंति। प्रायश्चित्तवस्यद्यपुनराधानं स्यात्। नचधिका  
 रविच्छेदश्चिनारंनणीया। स्त्रका रस्यउअशाधेयवि। षणवदत्येवेति। अ नयेनमि

काल

ने इति चकारः स्तौत्रः। प्राकस्विष्टततो द्वादशो त्पत ग्राहं कुवाजु द्वमन्मद्विप्रो तत्प  
 जुहुयादित्यथीसमिष्टयजुषं च संतवमाज्यानि रकादविरुहं। त्रयोदशी सत्तज्ज  
 क्षीतनष्टेर्वैश्वेदेऽत्रैः आहुयथा संख्येन द्वादश अर्देण नञ् रघो ब्रह्मवर्चसी चेति फल  
 क्रुतिः। विनैव कामनित्याहुतिर्जयाचातया कामायां अहुतौ पादिकमाहुः।  
 तेषां ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य त्रयोदश गृहीतं तु द्वामित्येवं स्या। चतुर्दशी स ब्रह्म  
 नयात्वे कल्पते। मक्षणेन च तद्यागावौ इत्थं स्तुतं वाक्यं श्रुति काले द्वाणां पोष  
 मास्या माधाय सद्यो द्वाविषां निवीप पक्षस्येतस्य लिङ्गं सैव सरेदविषां निवीप  
 चतुर्दश्यामेव स्यात्। अतीतैः संवसार पौर्णमासी स्यात्। न हि संवसारमा सपक्षाय  
 स्याति यौः। अत्र च तस्य तिथिस्तदांत गण्यते। तत्र पक्षे चतुर्दश्यामेवोपक्रम आनं

नणीयाः। अपिच। यस्तु तस्य प्रतिपदि न क्वं वे शादा धानं ऊयति तस्य यथापि पौर्ण  
 मास्यां संवत्सरोत्थात् द्वीं ऽष्विप्राप्नुवंति तद्यापि न तस्यां निर्वपेत्। किं तद्विचित्रं दृष्ट्वा  
 मेवाऽतरथा सद्यः कालतापोऽसमास्या संवत्सरोत्थात् द्वीं ऽष्विप्राप्नुवंति तद्या  
 पि न तस्यां निर्वपेत् दृष्टं च संवत्सरोत्थात् द्वीं ऽष्विप्राप्नुवंति तद्या  
 तस्यां तया हवीं पोऽसमासीति सद्यः कालायति काम्यदशी पौर्णमासप्रयुक्तो  
 ऽपि पौर्णमास्या धानेन कामं संकल्प्या यप्रश्नमप्रयोगे काम्या सिद्धः सद्यः काल  
 स्तेन विकलचा ता एवंच निचयति मित्तिके यथाशक्ति ऊयति न ह्यप्यवश्यमप्राकाला स  
 नवमात्रेण प्रधानकाल संजवे प्रधानो फाराधी युक्त इति सद्यस्तु वचनं एत  
 स्य नित्यस्य विकल्पस्याद्यनुष्ठानं लिङ्गात् एतावत् यदि प्राग्निर्वपण इति प्र

धानकालप्रवृत्तिस्यास्तएवेतद्रष्टव्यं। नोपवसथकालातिक्रमोनउपवसथबुद्ध्या  
 पक्रमात्वाचनिकं वा सद्यः कालचनित्याशिकिरनिष्ठत्वाय तैदशेदितितदङ्गैः।  
 भ्रमावास्यामाधाय बानहत्रप्रदर्शनार्थः फाल्गुन्याः पुरस्तादाधायेतितपवसथ  
 कालस्यसंभवात्तात्सद्यः। पोसमासीयुक्ताः। अज्ञातामंत्रेणाच्वाधानमारंजणीयायाः  
 च्यवस्थितवात्कैलस्यासौमाधानपोसमास्यासुत्पादेनपौसमासीवदारंजणी  
 यापिसद्यः कालादंडयूपिकयासिद्धाद्रष्टव्याः। छ। स माप्रमाधानं॥ छ। उद्धरादे  
 वनीयमित्फक्कागार्देपत्पादादवनीयहलं तंप्रणयत्पराक्ने। अाधानादनंतरं य  
 द्यपिसौमायं विदरं प्रथममादवनीयस्यारंजणीयैवाकदाचिस्मान्नायाचौसि  
 त्पादन्निहोत्रस्य प्रथमचमिति। तदथमिव प्रथमं विदरं। धर्ममादा। उद्धरादवनीय

याधरि

क्षेपादिऽतश्चाग्निदोऽन्नादन्यत्रऽदृष्टीकं विदुरणोऽतथाच दृष्टिषौ क्षमास्तप्रकृदणोऽ  
र्हपत्या ददृक्वनीयं द्वा लंतमिति गार्दपत्या दो नि वचना निधमंति रपरि संस्था नाथा  
न्यक्ता निऽतरशोपवस्त्रशान्तुत्तैऽग्निं विदुरतीत्ये तावदेवावदमत्तयद्यग्निः कोत्र  
धर्मकं विदुरणाम् अन्मपे यादिति द्रुवाचा योऽशा र्वोतराणे चाऽद्वा वक्ष्येऽग्नि  
दोत्रप्रकरणे क्तमपि दर्शयिष्ये एभिः सादौ मंत्रब्रतप्रणयनं युक्तमिव यथासावि  
त्रदोमैः स्तुवयं माजुनं दाषीक प्रकरणे क्तं यथा वैदवं दृष्टिषौ क्षमास्तप्रकृद  
पस्युक्षेणपरिस्तरणंति रपि द्वाते पदाथ धिर्मचात्तु प्रसृजित्वा न्यसंस्वारवत्तथा  
दिप्रदोषमग्निदोत्रादा तद्यमिति यतोऽग्निदोत्राधिकारवाक्याश्रवणात्प्रकरणे  
रक्षीयुक्ता यत्पुनरुक्तं गार्दपसादादवनीयं कलंतमिति वास्तवप्रवाचयित्वा ब



धस्तस्याः कल्पतेऽत्यनेकाष्टकेऽप्यनात्तस्माद्दृशिपौसमिन्प्रयोगदिपत्यादिषु  
 अवणमाधानिकप्रणयनधमपिनुत्तयष्टिन्निद्रात्रिकत्रैकेऽणयनधमपिब  
 द्दणार्थतेयाच्वाएवंचप्रणयनाननुवादेनकालमात्रंउपवस्वशानेनुक्तं  
 त्विविधीयतेऽप्रणयनविधानेऽनित्यधृतेऽपिगोतश्रीदृशिपौसमिन्प्रयोः  
 प्रणयनमपूर्वविधानात्केनवार्येतस्मिन्प्रणयनवत्तन्निद्रात्रेऽनु  
 वीधीयतएवप्रणयनंरुदस्तंयच्चाऽग्निदोत्राश्रम्यविधानंप्रणयन  
 स्यतद्दृमपिरिसंख्यायगादपित्यादित्यदरांशुनरुक्तंदृशपौसमिन्प्र  
 णयनंरुदसीनवत्तन्मदङ्गिबेद्विद्यंगतस्त्रियापिसायहोमाश्रःप्रणीतोय  
 ऋद्वनीयःसधार्यतद्विज्ञात्तेशाखरस्वामिपादाःसमाश्रयेऽष्ट्यतेऽऽधानैपात्याद  
 नै

वनीया वैकायतनौ च वत इति तिरुक्कं अतो नाश्व प्रणीतधारणं तेषामिति मन्या  
मादा इतर श्रुतगतस्याधानिकं प्रणयनं स्यात् नारुक्कं अत्र धर्मकं विधानात् उद्धराद्व  
नीयमिति मंत्रमुक्तादवनीयं प्रणयति वक्ष्यमाणधर्मैर्गोदापत्या तगादेष त्पायतनादि  
त्यर्थः। विराडे वास्याग्नीन्विदधत इति गादपत्ये विप्रक्ताग्नीनो प्रणयन्ते। कर्कत्पामि  
ति न विप्रतिवर्त्तमानापदेशः। मुरुद्ये वर्त्तमानवैक्यं निष्टं तशश्चवाद्या प्राशुद  
य कालो नोक्तमालानां शको कर्कत्पे वस्यादुच्छितकालातिक्रमात्। कावाचादा  
त्र त्फरत्फद्य क्तितो ज्ञेयमाण इति रुतिनयति अमृतकुतिः। सा यमपराक  
निदधाति अत्र वस्थापयति स्तयमिमा विति प्रातरुषा कालो न कठिवाय को यात

कुतसायमजिहोत्रैतमेवाहवनीयंप्रातर्होमार्थधारयेदित्यर्थी। गृह्णीयान्नक्तमग्नि  
 निति श्रुतेः। अथ कर्मिक्याका लने। दपि किंतं न ता विह्वर स्यात्त्रा निप्रेता। अत्रा दोषो  
 तद्धोषा। अत्रा तर्होम विधिः। यदि कर्मिक्यादि तप कः। दशपि सोमस्य दिनिमे  
 न्निकं च परतं त्रपावधीय वैश्वदेवादि वत्स्यान्न ह तपो एमि से दशे चो तस्याय  
 ए। दिस्या तद्ध तप ष प दस्तु कर्मिक्य प ह न घ टा तलो किं के औ प्रा तर्होमो यं के  
 शो त्। अथ सायं होम प्रा तादर्होमो पर स्य रा न पे दौ। त दान र्हो वा गृह्णीयादिति वाच  
 निक मग्ने स्तं त्र चं। इदानी कर्तुं विशेषेण। विशेषमाद। गत श्रीरित्यादि संज्ञा मूर्ते यं त्र। न  
 ना षार्थी। सदि वरु व इति छु अ वा नु अ व स ए वे त्वे थि। न हा पा द स म। अत्रि शुक्ल  
 व इति त्रैतासदि पाद वाक्ये प्रमाणे स्वेष्टु र्क्वेष्टु विषयेषु सम्यक्परिज्ञातेषु स

तिन ऋत मात्रेण तस्य वर्जनीय चात। सूर्यस्या न धिका रात्। ग्रामणी मंडली का बहु  
कुष्ट दृषद स माप्ता धन धान्य पशु पुत्र दित रण्य दित स मृच्छ। स्तेषां गत श्रियो गा देय त्या दिव  
यै भ्रिय ते यः स एव सायं हो मा धि आ धा ना द नं त र मु भ्रिय ते। स एव सर्व कर्मिणां सा धा र  
णो धायति। गार्हपत्य यो नि चैऽपि दक्षिण मि निर्मित्य धृत चो स मा रो प य त्प रा व त्री इ ति  
सूत्रज्ञ तो तं। एवं वसु ऋतुषां ब्राह्मणा नो प्रति कर्म विदूत्या ह व नी य मनु शा नो क्तु र्वत्तां  
वृथा ल्ले शाः। उ सः अपि वा द रूप विधि वा द न योऽप क्त यो रिंद्र म दे द्र या ग प द्द व त्  
लुवो विजि र सा मि त्या दि व द्य नि य म वि धि श्रे। न यार्क त य न नि य मा ऋ पि य र स्प रा प वा  
देन द्य व तिष्ठं ते। प यो ब्राह्मण व्र त मि त्या दि व त्। इ त र ष्यं ते षां नि त्प धृतः॥ किं ते प्रा मे व नि  
प धृत ए वे ति। त त्रा ने क च यो नि य म्य ते। पा द्दिक प्रा जि ना वा त्। त था च समा न्ये ना द व

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 व्याहृणो विहिते नित्य धारण मप्राप्तं गतं स्त्रियां विधीयते यद्वा सामान्य प्राप्ते विशेषम्  
 त्रैविध्यं तैत्तिरीयानामनुच्यमानं विपर्ययत प्रतियोगे निमित्तं स्यात् किंचि- नित्यमविवक्षा  
 भावादत्रैति विधेरेवेति निश्चयः यथा गतीश्रीः सन्नया धेयं ऊरुते तदेतदाधानादनेत  
 रं नित्य धारणं यदा चाधानोत्तरकाले गतश्रीर्ब्रजयते तदा तददरेण स्यायं होमाद्युद्धृतो  
 ज्जिनित्यं धियेत सर्वकर्मार्थं तया यथा सोमाधानसोमार्थमाहुत्यश्नयः सर्वकर्म  
 अर्चिसं त एव ब्रंति नान्यदाधानं सर्वकर्मणि मृग्यं क्रियते यदा पुनश्चं चलचाह्नदयाः  
 पुराहृतकमीधीनचातन्नाग्यानां राजन्यवैश्ययोः श्रीमणी चादिगुणोदीयते ब्राह्मणस्या  
 पियदि वा तन्नमो न्मादादिना श्रीतं विज्ञानं छिन्नं स्यात् तदानीं त्योद्धारपक्षमाश्रये  
 त् तन्निमित्तान्भावानि मित्तिक स्याद्यज्ञावात् नान्योदये यदिसुन अमिणी चादिस्यात् ८१

दोषजातं निमित्तमिति पुनरित्यधृतं चेत्समाश्रयेत् एतदधिकारधारककट्टिद्वारकं वं  
 रूपधर्मतया प्रतिकामादिरणं नित्यधृतं च विधीयते तस्मात्सूतवतां प्रतिकामादिर  
 एनाधिकारे नित्ये धारयेत् यस्तु नित्यधारणपक्षोऽङ्गीकृत्य वसरेऽसूतहीनचमात्मने  
 मन्यता विस्मयिष्ये सदा विवादपण्डितं मन्यः ॥ आचिज्जीन बहुविध उद्धरणं वेलायां नौकष  
 सुहृदति समिध्याचारवादासघातको घृल्लोचप्रवृत्तवान्नतत्तुतं बहुविध उद्धरणदि  
 त्तमाणां ॥ ७ ॥ मददाहवनीयमदत्तं प्रहुरसि वं ह्यधनं आहवनीये गार्दपत्ते वा यत्र क्रयते न  
 समिदनिदोतवोऽत्यादि क्रते ॥ स्तस्मान्महा इत्यग्निदोत्रस्या इत्यत्राग्निदोत्रग्रहणमथ  
 सांक्रमति येपि मददत्ता धानस्यष्टचातद्वानामास्यसंपत्तये इति प्रम्यादधातीति धनं ददा  
 तीत्यर्थः ॥ प्रदोषमग्निदोत्रं प्रादाषमित्यद्ययीचावैविचिक्तमर्थेति षट्पुत्रनी निच

तिवा। ब्रह्म ब्रह्मै प्रदोषेऽग्नि होत्र मिति सप्तमी श्रूयतो प्रवर्त्तति दोषोऽस्मिन् काले स प्रदो  
 षं काले। वशी घन रुत्राणि दृष्ट्वाग्नि होत्रं होतव्यमिति श्रुत्ये कवाक्यं वा तत्रा तं ग्रहणे  
 न्यत्राग्नि प्रकरणे सायमिति गम्यते प्रातर्मध्यं दिन सायमित्यपराह्ने सोयं शब्दः साया  
 क्रुद्धति च सायमोदनः सायमग्नीत्यादौ पूर्व रात्रि वं सार्यं शं क्रियते सायमग्नि होत्रे  
 प्रदोषमेवं होतव्यं न कृत्राणि दृष्ट्वा क्रुन्नं तं रमेव होतव्यं इत्यर्थः। कृष्टार्था प्रातः स्रप  
 र रात्रे पूर्वान्नै च प्रातः शब्द प्रयोग दर्शनात् कृष्टात्र दणं नित्यमार्थं कृष्टाया मे वप्रा  
 त्र रग्नि होत्रं होतव्यमिति। कृष्टार्था रात्र्या मुखा काल इत्यर्थः। अग्नेऽधश्चेत्याह। आ  
 रवनीयोपरि आहवनीयं परित इत्यर्थः। माह्वि स मलित्यतीत्यर्थः। एवं गार्दप तं व  
 क्षिणाग्निं च। परितः समाग्नेऽद्रि ष्टव्यः। रुत सत्याभ्यो चाप्यर्चु कामीति सायं पृथु क्षमे ८

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आहवनीयं गार्हपत्यं दक्षिणाग्निमिति गम्यते प्र ऋतुत्वात् पुरीतिद्या स्यात्तं उदतिष्मि  
नतिद्रवद्रष्टेण। द्रष्टी वा तश्चानाशाहुदकं अतिप्रसिद्धः। सोयं ग्रहणं शक्यमकहुंति तत्र  
हूत्रे प्रातर्ग्रहेणास्मायमेवायं मंत्रः स्यात्। एवं तद्युग्निदात्रादन्यत्र हूँ। पौंसैर्महनादि  
रपि उद्धरणवत् स्यात्तथा। हिंस्रत्रे त्वा। यदि वसंता यज्जातति वसंत यदृणां  
तत्तत्तव सं तं दन्यत्रापियथा स्यादिति। अन्यत्र नुपदा र्थधर्मत्वादन्य स्य धर्मनिान्यत्रेया  
ऊपरपर कालधर्मावतौ। यदि प्राहृषियजैति ते व तत्राहिवसंते षिवरुणप्रघासेष्वपि  
द्विरूप स्तरणं प्राहृषिपशु बंधस्यापि सत्तदुपस्तरणमिति तदैव विचार्यमेतत्। सायं प्रा  
तः शश्विहकर्मनामधेयचैषि सं गच्छेता यता। स त्य रूताभ्यां चति प्रातः। पयुद्वतीति वदते  
आहवनीयमित्यादिवा। अन्यी नूपरि स्तृणांति ननु परि स्तृणांतीत्येतावत्पुरुक्तैः। नो नो मेव

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परिस्तरणं प्रकृतं वा स्यात् किमन्निग्रहणेन उच्यते । निग्रहणे सति किंचैदा रिकः  
 संदिग्धं अन्निग्रहणं किं धर्मकं परिस्तरणं परिस्तरणं तत्पुर्वमन्निग्रहणं तत्रैवेति कायं  
 ज्ञेहोत्रवक्रकरणत्वं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्रैवेति कायं स्यात् यं दोहपरिस्तरणे तदंगं वा  
 सुगतं प्रियः स्थापनं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्रैवेति कायं स्यात् तत्रैवेति कायं स्यात् तत्रैवेति कायं  
 तत्परिस्तरणमात्रमेव सोमं तत्रैवेति कायं स्यात् तत्रैवेति कायं स्यात् तत्रैवेति कायं  
 मस्तव एवमात्रं वाचनीकं प्रवर्ग्य विदारस्तरणवत्स्येवं परिधिः समाग्रनिषेध  
 परोपनिषन्निग्रहं संमृद्दीति त्रैषः स्यात् यस्तु योगविशेषः काचारं नानुनये वाच  
 निका निमन्यत तस्यान्निग्रही तन्निग्रहं संमृद्दीत्यस्य संमृद्दीति वाचनिकः प्रा  
 त्तित्युपायः न पानाणि प्रोक्ष्यति न पानं तं प्रत्यन्निघारयत्येवं जीयकेषु

अ॥ गितिषाधुयो गविशेकादिषु पुनर्वचने वान्यो निप्रा योनियमो वा सति प्रयोजने जा  
पको वा पुनर्वचिः स्यात् तन्निश्चित्य विहन्ति स्तदनुसारं एण्डं धनपयुक्तं एते निश्चयः का यो  
॥ क्वापश्चादाहवनीयस्योदग्रान्दन्तग्रदण्डन्यत्रा स्तरणे प्रयोजनं वक्तव्यं दन्तैक्य  
वैक्यकारिकाणीति सिद्धे स्तरणोत्तरतोगादप्यस्य स स्तरणं कार्यो न नित्यं तत्तु य  
सादनसमिधादीनामुपकल्पाना उत्तरतो बसमुपसृजति तथाहो मित्रशरणं कर्तव्यं  
यद्योत्तरतु यचोरोददने विना शोकिष्यति पुनरुत्तरतु तं सोका यदि प्रयोज  
ने नान्यत्राग्निशालासाम्नादिति प्राप्नु रंवी प्राप्नु रंवी गां दोग्धुमुपसीद तं पविशति श्र  
यत्ति त्पां दोदयत्पां न्यं स्रद्रादुदङ्मु र्वीहवा म् नमये दाहमये वा नैवास्मिन् केन दोदयति  
स्वयं दौग्धिचोशा स्मोतरानू उदङ्मु रंवी वेति पक्षोत्तरं अपोटागा दपि त्पादने रूदीवउ

क्षीतानं गानवस्तुजितित्यवनस्त्रात्रिज्ञैः प्रोह्यापसायमाणैः। इडाग्रास्पदं  
 अक्षिप्रयत्नं गाराणुपरिस्त्रयति। यावादवगोक्षीरं वस्त्रार्थमिक्शेषयिचादुग्धं  
 तत्परिमाणं मेव श्रयितव्यं। नान्यदर्थमुद्धरयितव्यं। ततो न्यूनस्य लुक् कर्त्तव्यम्।  
 पितृविशेषवाच्यतां नापद्येत। पूर्वस्याहुतायोस्कंदश्च न्यूनं दुग्धेनैव च नापुनरु  
 यक्त्या उन्नयनमिष्टं प्रवेत्नीतेत्युनीलतस्य अहविष्टं मन्यमानेन एतस्मादेव नि  
 गात्। यवदानेः क्रुतिभूतेन छेदुष्टे। बौहविषिपुनरुत्पादनां कुंतिनलुपुनरायतेनाम्न  
 न स्यात्। हविष्ठावदुष्टे वेति सर्वत्र दणानर्थक्यं स्यात्तैषी। उन्नवस्त्रे स्य वेद्वे तत्राप्यम  
 णपयोन्नर्गताः प्रपञ्चवेद्वे तेषां उन्नवस्त्रे तेषां उन्नवस्त्रे तेषां उन्नवस्त्रे तेषां  
 नो हलनावस्थाया माधिक्यमाशा स्य तोऽष्टाधिक्यमन्य उन्नवस्त्रे ति उददं प्रजया

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पञ्चभिर्नृयाभिः कवाक्यचातुयथायूयंश्रयमाणेपयसिउद्भवितै। एवमहं प्रज  
 यापञ्चभिर्नृयासं। दृष्टेनेव नृपोनापमानेनादृष्टेनेत्पतौदद्याज्जयोरधिश्रयणं न ज्ञेवति  
 श्रन्तितापनसंबंधं मंत्राभावात्। छ। उदं प्रजयाचजल्लुकेन ईषदग्नेकाष्टेन तापयत्  
 चदीपतीत्यष्टि। दरस्तो। उदक्विंदुनौदस्तौकेनाससुदंतं उहृतवंप्रतिनयतिवारयतिमि  
 श्रज्यो। पुनरवदीपयतिउल्लुकेनाज्जितापयति। पुनः। शब्दादंतस्तिरक्षौ। तच्छणेनाच्छणे  
 नौल्लुकेन नृवारानुपदिस्वर्तौजिंकशोतिपयज्जिवेतिनपुंस्वकं। तृपाठे। बहुव्रीहि  
 णपयोन्निधीयते। उदेदिवेदिप्रजजुदनुदीचीनमुहासयति। उन्नारयति। वर्त्मपंथानं कुर्वन् विदधत। एवं चर्म  
 नूविदधत्। एवं च संकयत्तुहासयति। उन्नारयति। वर्त्मपंथानं कुर्वन् विदधत। एवं चर्म  
 येत्तुहासहृत्मीनिदृष्टै। प्रत्युत्तं ज्ञं। नृगानुप्रत्युदतिगादपत्यं प्रतिगमयति। वर्त्म  
 मलोपयति। नोपनसमूहं न च कारो नर्थकः। यद्वा प्रतिशब्दानु कषणार्थश्च काज्ञ

रुतश्च त्रतिक्कललोपयेद्दक्षिणा निष्पत्तिरर्थी उदयुद्धासनात उदन्निष्ठं हितं ततो दध्ना  
उदासति पयसा यवाग्वाज्येन वा जुहोतीति प्रत्येकं पूयसेत्यादि निःसंबध्यते वा शष्टश्र  
दध्ना वा जुहोति पयं म्या वा जुहोतीत्येवं केन संबंधित्वेन दं सूत्रमभिहितं च गो दोह  
नात् पूरवीमवक्तृत्वां स्यात् क्रमात् तस्यापयसेति किमर्थं प्रकृतं तमेव पयः प्राप्नु  
स्वीमुपसीदनीयतः तस्यापि पयसे प्रवंक्तृत्वां प्रकृतं तत्त्वादेवा किमर्थं दध्नेति पूर्वमु  
क्तं उच्यते अत्र प्रयणादि संबंधेन तत्प्रतिषेधांश्च मिह निधानं पयोन दत्ता गोव  
दनादि धर्मो विनापि पयस्याहोतृत्वात् प्रतिषेधांश्च मिह निधानं पयोन दत्ता गोव  
स्यादिति स्यात् तस्याश्च तिसृतिस्त्रलिंगं होमाय पुनरवनीयपयोन दत्तादि तत्प्रय  
॥ ७ ॥ अन्यानि ह्येति वाक्यं तस्य तत्र यत्त्वितरविधानार्थं जुवादादधि तद्गुण  
पूर्वकं तं तु व्यविकल्पार्थं दध्नादि निःपयश्चाऽतरस्यापयस्योऽसंभवे दध्नादयो वि

विज्ञायेरन्नायत्पयोन स्या के ननु कुयादित्येवमादिविकल्पसरूपाग्निदोत्रप्रशंसा  
काशोदसत्पवचनादधिगंतव्यांऽप्राजं वा विशेषात्माद्विषस्याशिष्टमदवैऽपिद्विष्टनेव  
तोऽस्मिन्पृष्ठतमाकुरपायदक्षिणाग्नावोऽप्यहविनायत्यात्राक्तमेवपृष्ठतस्याज्यायान्कुर्व  
नीतिमन्यातायवायुसंदुलौदकसिद्धयेयायवक्षणेदिकसिद्धावाऽऽप्ययवायुपरिग्रहे  
ऽपिप्रसिद्धेऽस्मावातेऽच्छादध्याज्ययोरधिप्रयणंप्राप्नोतिपयन्त्रिकरणवत्तन्निषिद्धा  
यानिर्देशाद्यवतिष्ठेरन्नितिनिर्दिष्टातिदध्याज्ययोरितिऽऽज्जितापनग्रदणैपयान्त्रिकर  
णास्यनुज्ञानार्थंऽऽइवैश्लेस्यवेदस एमांन्नणसन्निपत्त्योपकारकेणान्जितापनमंत्रस्यैक  
वाक्यत्वादारादुपकारकमयन्जितापनंनन्नविष्यति। किमन्जितापनप्रतिबोधेनउच्यते  
निष्कृज्येतिरसीतियदन्जितापनंतस्यायंप्रतिषेधोवाचनिकः। ननुऽऽवदीपनमदृष्टा  
यंतितपयान्त्रिकरणवत्उच्यते। पुनरवदीपयतिष्ठुनः। शुद्धादन्जितापनमेवतदितिद्याख्यातं।

तत्र दधाद्यो रिति नियमाद्यंति न तिल तंडुल सोम मीमादी निदधादि नि नि वि कल्प्यते  
 अत्र यादिकृत्वा तत्तुल्यं शक्तौ प्रति निक्षि रिति अत्रुग्रहैलु कल्पः प्रति निधि रिति समा  
 नाद्यः। यदि नर्वन विद्यदिति त्रैक माश्रय क मपि दोष बंधस्तु तंडुलादीनां शुण धिकार चोड  
 न्य बलत्वे कारणं। आ यश्चि तैपिक मपि दोष बंधो दृश्यात्। पशुकामो मावा स्या मिष्ट  
 सर्वा नि सन्व सान पाक रोतीति किं सु तशु णां शस्तु लनादि प्रति निधीना मिति। तथा चोप  
 सं हंतां सर्वा नो वे सत्वं सत्त्वे तु दोषाति पयो दधा दीनां पशुकामा दि एक एव हो मे न्मु ख्य  
 द्रव्येषु उत्तरं विधि स्योक्तं। मवं च तंडुलेषु ससु यदिय वायु रूपेण भूयो दिय तरेन  
 तदा दध्ना वा तंडुले स्यात्। यथा गवि विद्यमाना यामपि स्यु दिय चरया दध्ना ज्येन वा  
 शीघ्रं सुकुं यान्न च येनैव सायं कुतं द्रव्येण तनेव प्रातर्हति य मिति सूत्र मस्ति। नापि एरि  
 यवा न्वेतां श मिति रात्रि ग्रहण मक्रांतिकं लिंगं। एता मिति स्त्री लिंगे नोपवस्य कालस्य

परमशीत। रात्रिमिति तस्यैव विशेषानुवादो वा क्यत्पराणां नैकांततः। आतरपियवा  
गं स्तु च धिउं च। मा। न च यवा सुविधानं परं तथा च श्रुतिः। नितो रात्रीपयसा त्रिदोत्रे  
जुद्धाति क्रमानाश्च पयो न लज्जत यथा न्यस्य देवतायि च स मन्वस्ये दीयते तादृक्। तस्मा  
तयवा च त्रिदोत्रं जुद्धोतीति च ततो यवा गृह्णासु पलक्षणां दध्यादीनां। पिडनाशदो  
स्त्रेषु न रज्जिदोत्रं स्यात्। तच्च निष्टं प्रयोजकानां वा तपि उ स्यात्तस्मात्तैर्ह लानि स्तुल्य  
प्रमाणं विशिष्टं तद्भुतं प्रथमकल्पे सति तदुक्तं। प्रथमकल्पस्य यौतुकल्पे न वं त्रै  
तो। न मां पशयि कं तस्य दुः। मिति विद्यते फलमिति सोमै न यद्विद्धुं याधौ किं मन्निषवैक  
यनिधि श्रयेत् सोमं तथा दृष्ट्वा। मां ये तु यवा गृह्णन्ति यद्ये तव्यं। ननु ज्वालया पशुर  
वचनात्। वसमानेन त इत्थं पश्यन्ति निमात्रमुपस्था न काली नत्वा तु न च्छेदं न हितं। सिन न्नो



माः संपचंतियस्मिन्नाहुतीर्द्धतीतीततकष्टं गार्दप्येधिस्रयेदुच्यतेऽर्थवादेया  
 नदितस्मिन्नाग्नेमांसं संपचतीतिवर्त्तमानापदेशादुपसंहारवाक्यवाच्चाविधवाक्योदक्लिण्णो  
 ब्रकरणान्मांसपाकप्रतिषाधा। माः संतुनपत्विद्युस्तस्मिन्नत्रावितियद्विपनीसंवस्पर  
 दीक्षादिव्याधीयततदानास्सयूपचिकिंसापदैदद्विणात्रौश्रपणेऽस्थानापत्याधमनि  
 भातश्राप्तेप्राप्तिपूर्वत्वात्त्रातिषधानां मांसं तु न पच्युस्तस्मिन्नत्रावितिन्यायवि  
 दः। श्रीवराहसुहृएतस्मादवेमांसपाकनिषेधाद्द्विणात्रौपाकयज्ञानाद्देस्माऽविषर्गं  
 पिच्छुपावतिप्राप्तमांसस्यैवनिषेधादन्यथा। कास्त्रीतिगम्यते। यजमानचिकिंसायंतिमा  
 संश्रपयितव्यामवाग्निदोत्रार्थमांसवत्। आदवनीयवपावच्चोपिच। षष्ठप्रपणवात्  
 वनीयएवातव्योनित्वादुच्यते। तथाच श्रुतिरुपयजांलाम। स्वयेवै सर्वः पशुयदेत्यत्र।

दृवनीया तदुक्तं या तु कुयाद स्वग्रसि या तु पञ्चप्रपणादग्निमादयं तितेन स्वग्रः सवी पञ्च  
 रिति आदवनीये एवोपयजो ह्येतं स्वग्रं चायपशोरित्यर्थः। निष्टं सट् रक्षे निष्टं निष्टपनि  
 मनोत्तापयतीत्यर्थः स्त्रक् स्त्रवमिति समुदितं स्य निष्टपनं समाहारनिर्देशात् स्त्रवे समि  
 धं उपसंयम्य ऋक् उपसंस्त्रिषितां संस्तु स मिधं नृत्नैष्यामीत्फक् चोन्नयामिति प्रातः उक्  
 चोन्नमन्त्रयजमानमित्यर्थः उक् संचात्रात्र दणं स्वययं दोमं पक्षेपि मंत्रं स्यादुद्धरादवनीये  
 मिति वत् नृदिष्टाए कैकेन मंत्रेणोति उच्चते उन्नयत्पञ्चमिदो नृद्ववणा मुपरि श्रादवतीत्य  
 यः उन्नतं नृत्तं सर्वस्माद्ग्या संबद्धं तं उन्नयतीति संबंधः। पूर्वमुत्तमं अष्टमे पि स्वमि  
 दं यान्त्रयस्त्रं स्यात्तन्निर्हृत्पथं क्षिप्रं दणं नृत्तं स मिति स्त्रच विशेषणधारकं लिङ्गं। नृयश्री  
 ह्युक्तं क्रियाविशेषणं चेत्तन्मन्त्रा समा नृत्तं यतीति वत्तितमुद्दिङ्गं पूर्ववत्तददादवान्  
 अन्निमशती स्पृशतीत्यर्थः। इदमुक्तं महति शेषं। यतो धन्नी तं अन्निमशती तोपञ्चमेयके

त्रियदं त्रीषु सादयति उत्तरतागादपि तस्य संस्तीर्णत्वं । सामर्थात् तत्रैवोनीतं तत्रैव वसाव  
 येत् प्राक्तं गच्छादनेपि इत्यर्थः । प्रतेरवैति श्रुतेः । दशाहोत्राग्निहोत्रं । चित्तिस्क्रान्तिदशाहोत्रे  
 तिवक्ष्यति । तेन प्राक्तं सादितं अग्निहोत्रं दशाहोत्रं त्रिमुनीतं द्रव्यं उपरिष्ठावस्कगदंडु  
 समिधमुपसयमोर्वेति रिकं वीहीति समया उपरिष्ठादित्यादीति कर्त्तव्यतया द्रव्यं संस्क्रि  
 यतो समया सामीयेनाग्निगादपि तदुदरतिवदति न केवलं प्रणीतमपि च यवित्री कर्णं । अ  
 नेः सामीयेन दरणं मंत्रयोनिचादने यत्ति पवित्रमस्त्रिष्यान्मविततमंतरा ब्रह्मेति तत्तन्म  
 निवेदयेत्पन्निहोत्रगरीयसीति श्रुतः । स्वादाग्रये वैश्वानरा समयाग्नेः ऋवयवाचनीचै  
 र्गृह्णाति वायवे चैल्क उद्यच्छति । उच्चैर्गृह्णाति । आयुष्मयि छेति पश्चादादवनीयस्य येदमग्नि  
 स्मृतास्तेषु सादयति । एषा ने अने समितः । अथादिदवनीयेऽधो न्यस्यति । प्राण्यापात्रेभ्य ए  
 वाकोष्ठवायुनासिकाभ्यां निःसार्यः प्रपाने लपुनस्ते वायुप्रवेशयेत् । आपान्यादितच्छाद

संविकरणं निःस्पृहं मीलयेत् स्यैदेव ता यै हो ष्टा न्नवतितां देव तां चिंतयेत् तत्र प्र  
 त्यक्षं वा न्नः सूर्यस्य च मूर्पमं चाष्टिवा द्यस्तुना मां जिजनक मं छुणो मं दो मा ग्या तु  
 सारा मं सूर्यं च रूपं स्मरेत् प्रजापते रप्रत्यक्षं वा नागमादि निरेवावगता तदूरूपं ध्याये  
 त् कर्मजन्मानं प्राप्नुयन् न श्वदेवाऽत्कं शारीरकैः शोदेवता स ब्रह्ममवासा यं प्राणा  
 पानं मिमीलेने ध्याने मनः प्रसीदतीत्यपदिष्टानि प्राणादिति ह्युत्पलसमिधमभिजुहोति  
 श्चोनी क्लृप्तं तीवा समिधमभिजुहोति मूलाष्टं तुले परिमाले त्यक्ते यद्युन समिद निहोत्वाऽ  
 त्कं कं तदिधनमभिदो तमस्य निधयं श्येनी कुमद पत्रा नावा हि पसतापे न कृतां समिधं क  
 र्त्तुं तिवा निजुहोति नृ लुवे स्वयित्यादिसिद्धं वचैभि यच्छेति दन्नेषु स्म उदगग्र स्तृतेषु दन्ने  
 शुक्रजपते पशून्मे यच्छेति गादपि तं श्रावृत्त्या साम च्छर्त्ता ननु श्रीवान्नं गमात्रेण अ वज्ञा न

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स्त्वन वा तत्र जापतये स्यादिति मनसोत्तरं न्यसी उत्तरं द्वितीयां न च तत्रादिकं संबं  
 न। इयं देवता यपरेत्पादि श्रुता। न्यसी उत्तराहुतिर्न्यो दोतद्योतिवचनात् स्वादाका  
 रमपि मनसा कुर्यादिति कुर्यात् बहिर्न स्यमंत्रस्य मानसत्वात् प्रजापतये स्यादिति तद्यम  
 श्रुतिः। यत्रैषीव जुहोति मनसा च तत्र मिथुनमिति शिष्टान्नयिष्ठमना नो समया सामीये  
 नाग्नेत्री न्वा रनुदंड उदङ्मुख उद्दिशति जुहोतीति शिष्टान्नकृ—चिः सनि सज्जति अथ वा उदङ्मुखि  
 त्फदं शुखी संकचं उद्दिशति कां दसो लिङ्गं विनक्ति अथ उदने यथा नवतितयो  
 द्दिशति कां दसमुदङ्खितं पुद्भिर्गं अथ वा शिष्टान्नयिष्ठमिति पूर्वमन्त्रेण संबध्नां तो शिष्टा  
 न्नयिष्ठमुत्तरं जुहोति ननु च दोमोत्र पूर्वत तश्च न्यसी ऽशिष्टान्नयिष्ठमवशेषयेदिति सूत्रेण  
 त्रयितद्य स्यात् नैष दोषान्नदिया वत्तु च्या पूर्वने कल्पयति न्नयिष्ठं शेषयिष्यामीति

बतुहोमार्थं न पारया मस्तस्मात्तद्वयमानस्य विशेषाणां यथासंभोत्यदसतीवारवंती  
 यमन्निष्ठोमसामन्तत्रायात्यवमिष्ठोदोतीति स्यात्तत्तिष्ठत्येतावाऽत्रवाचीनं केयदिदाम्नाधा  
 संसुहृद्वयमानं द्रव्यं तव तमिक्त्वाऽवमाष्टिपोणिनाऽत्रवैत्तम्यसञ्ज्ञेनियंकोवाचीनिपदेन  
 वीनरुक्तात् रुक्तेष्वल्फुं दिऽत्रधऽत्राम्यर्धसंस्थं संमाष्टिजदगुरुं शब्देन गतचातुर्ध  
 वोमाष्टीति कष्टायादिवाशब्दो न दुष्टांशान्नाधानऽत्रतोऽतथाचौक्तं न पुनरस्यस्योदात्तो नो  
 रूपकम्योदरुक्तेरूपे सप्तदो न शां प्राऽप्राधानात् अतो न लिङमिदं प्रक्षेपदितं दोमस्य  
 अन्ये तु स्क्रवं अ वस्तजं त्फः स्तजंति च दशाददष्टकल्पना प्रस्यं गाता को दोष इति चेत्  
 दत्तेषु जौपो नोपपद्यतेऽत्रायुर्मैयच्छेत्फदगदडैध्वेवदं नैष्ठेत्यथा सिद्धे शब्दतिक्त्वा  
 रणान्नावात् ऊरेषधौ जिन्वया ऐौस्त्रिष्टमवंमोर्जनास्क्रुदोमज्जमनालेपप्रदण  
 निलतंडुलदा।मालपस्यान्नावादर्थिनुप्तमेतदधिअयएवतुप्राचीनावीतं न ह्योऽत्र

लेहन्त्र

पविचान्चे। हलिदराणशेषनिनयने। पितस्मानं। प्रकाशतीति। अंशुलीरूपमध्यमा।  
आचम्याचम्या। यद्यामधुपर्कवतः। इतरेस्मनितीदृनिः। प्राषले। हिति। क्रियातु रेवेप्रवेष्ट  
यंति। अटीत्फ च। तेन उदस्तेन सृष्णस्यैवैमिच्छंति। गंधर्वैराजितान्ति। विवर्तता। अ  
निमिष्टायामालि चोतिनेनेदोतिनिः। शशो हनः। अतिद्विष्टेति। नोपपद्यते। तस्मात्क्र  
चोपनियनित्स्यातनिः। शशोऽनर्घको वादोर्मेऽप्रक्षाल्यत्वात्। स्मृक्कालनमेव कुनिनीय  
तो। सन्निधानात्। इतरशोदकंपुनः। पुनरादयनिनयनं स्यात्। नचिवयुक्तैः। दर्शैः। प्रकाशे  
दकमासि च। हत्तिनयेदिति। ध्यानि। द्विष्टायाः अपि च तस्ती। अहणेन स र्षीषी। लिका मंत्र  
निबृत्पथेन। लपप्रकालनमेवावगम्यते। लेपसंसृष्टस्यैवैपि। पिपीलिक्रसं प्रदेयवाच  
काशात्। इतरथा तस्ती। अहणमनर्घकं स्यान्निःसारयति। संबधोर्मंत्रस्य निनयनेका

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पदि

प्राप्तिशेषं तशतकर्मप्राप्तिः शङ्कतशतकर्मोतिरेमं त्रातशान्ना नैतस्मीमेव स्यात्तुल्यः। इति मन्त्रे  
 उदीचीदिजनिष्ठनिनयनेन वति। प्राणममृतेनापदद्यत्पौसेनामंत्रात्तदाचं विचनं च्चन्निहोत्रा  
 दवर्णीप्रतप्रातनिष्ठपतीत्यथीइतरथादस्येताविपय्योवावातेतदाहंस्वाप्रतथाउतयत्तु  
 यं मदीचीपदं। स्वेवेणापरयोः। क्रवअदगमन्निहोत्रदवर्णीनिहृत्पथं देतितकर्तव्यतां होमस्यादो  
 अमेगृह्यतशतस्क्रवाहं प्रितयस्मिन् प्रविनागेर्दशेषु समप्रविनागेदि। अर्धस्क्रवमिति स्म  
 त्। तथाचाह। स्वाहेति शेषमिति। इतरथा स्वाहेति द्वितीयमिति स्यादवमित्यनुवृत्तेः। न  
 मतेऽन्नास्क्रवाहं अदणं दक्षिणा नो होमश्चशां स्वांतरादुपहतौ। अहोमोवापर्यो रिति तुल्यो  
 विकल्पः। अथवायत्तत्मा अग्निहोत्रशेषेनेष्टुष्टेन प्ररणा तादर्थ्येनेष्टुष्टा तायावावा  
 दिवानपुनः संसृज्यदिति। अथ वस्मिन् तविकल्पः। यां प्रथमाग्निहोत्रा यदुष्टा त्सोदक्षिणा  
 प्रथमाग्निहोत्रे गोहोदनमष्ट्रिययोवा नियम्यते। उजि।



परिक्रयार्थचिन्तनप्राप्तचादेवचनित्यमेवाग्निहोत्रेऽप्राप्तिर्नवतिद्विरण्णादिदक्षिणापरकन  
कादासयद्रायायावतिः अग्निहोत्राशेषस्य दक्षिणाश्रितासप्रथमाग्निहोत्रेऽलिंगयति ननु प्र  
थमाग्निहोत्रया दुस्य तूसा दक्षिणेऽभयनियामवाक्यमेव स्यात् । णर्बहे च चास्त्रे बा र्थ  
दोषः । यद्वायं । प्रथमायाग्निहोत्रा यदुस्य दिति पादिकी । नु वा दः । अत एव पयो वेति नि  
दर्शनं दध्यादः । राजन्यस्याग्निहोत्रैर्धामुक् स्यानेत्य राजन्यस्य राजन्यैर्बध्निः अजिहोत्रं प्र  
त्यहोतर्धं रुचिजा । स नु स धामुक् । धर्मशील बलिकर शुल्कप्रतिभोगदं डजीवी यो न न  
वतीत्यर्थः । पर्वी स्थितरस्य । इतरस्य बलिकर शुल्कप्रतिभोगदं डजीवी न वतीत्यर्थः । राज  
न्यस्य संबंधाग्निहोत्रं यवसुहोतर्धं रुचिजा । एवं पौर्णमास्य मावां स्याच्चेत्येतो न कंचनित्य ए  
वाग्निहोत्रं ब्राह्मणाय नित्य बल्यदितीवी राजा दद्यात् । धामुको निव दद्यात् । नित्यं होमस्य  
स्थाने न के दद्यात् ।

स्य विधानात् अणं राजन्यस्य विधानात् अणं राजन्ये स्येति तत्तत्पानां कर्तारिवेति षष्ठी राजन्येति  
 धामुर्केण नित्यं होतव्यमग्निहोत्रं पर्वणी तरेणान्यदा रुचिता एव ब्राह्मणस्येव होतव्यमिति क  
 रीरिषष्ठी ब्राह्मणानेव यजमानेन होतव्यमग्निहोत्रे इत्यादिवा एष यद्राजं न्यद्रत्यादिवा  
 स्मणमत्र ननु विश्वस्य कथं धामुर्कराजन्यस्य च द्रष्टव्यं तस्य दृष्टिर्जा विधाता धामुर्कस्य  
 दणमतं तत्रा राजन्यस्येति च तस्य ब्राह्मणस्यापि वत्संति दृष्टिर्जा विधाता तस्य पूर्वस्व  
 तिद्रष्टव्यं धामुर्कस्यैव ब्राह्मणस्य नित्यं तथा चोर्लिंगं स तं च सत्यमग्निहोत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य  
 स तं सत्यं तस्मात् ब्राह्मणस्यैव होतव्यमिति ब्राह्मणस्य तु एव विशेषात् अण्ये ए नित्यहोत्रे कि  
 धीयते तथा ब्राह्मणवत यो राजन्यो वर्तते तस्य नित्यहोम उक्तो ननु जातिमात्रा अण  
 णा अथो यरुतमिव सत्यमिव चरेत्तस्य होतव्यमिति अणोऽत्राशु ब्राह्मणस्य तदिति ना  
 = मधिकार एव नास्ति

बाह्येण नोदिप्रातिपत्ताय रधर्मेण जीव नूदि सद्यः प तति जातित इति वचनात् त दुक्तं। औ र  
 दृका न्वाणलिकान् तया कास्त्वे शीलवान्। त्रेष्वप्य न्वा हृषिकांश्चैव विप्रान् नृषूद्रवदाचरेदि  
 तिस्रश्वन्त्रियत्रपंचरात्रादिपक्षे होमो वाचकशनायदिवानातुरस्य ऋत्रिजादो तद्यां क्रो वि  
 तस्य च विद्विद विदारप्रवसतश्च। अथ समा रोषाग्निं प्रवसेत् तत्रापि दशपि स  
 मासयोर्गर्धं तस्मायं प्रातरग्निहोत्रमग्निमंथनं नवार्यति। तदुक्तं। एवमेवा दूरदूर  
 नमेष्यन्ते समा रोपयत्फपावरो देतो न्का वके वा फक्तं। वा सेन कृणु कृत्येति। एवं  
 रादी प्रवसतः पक्षे होमे स्तियस्यो भयमसन्न विष्ट देहो तत्र होत्रस्य पशुवाहः क्रिया  
 नतः प्रवसतो यस्य कुल्लु संस्था यस्य व्रजे। तस्याग्निहोमवे लायां पचीति वगृहो स्विबा ए  
 पक्षे होमसमा रापि गृहे वा यदि वा ध्वनिः करोति। होमो बौद्धो ह्युज्यते वीरदत्तया। स

दृढबलीव

ये प्रातश्च धिष्ण्येष्टु प्रत्यक्षा यस्थनाग्रयः। यदि च्छित्तिलिगे न जाष्ये तस्मज्ज रत्नवः। स्म  
मेकाशेषात्फक्कात्पुनराधयमुक्तवान्। ऋषिचाण्डोग्ये देषु पक्ष्वाद्वा मस्य पविच्योत्प्रतिनि  
धिर्वाप्रतिनिधिश्चानित्यादा मसाधनोपचारेण भवति ततश्च यथेतरस्य ब्राह्मणयज्ञ  
कृदानेन प्रवर्तितरालादामसंपत्तिः। एवं होमसाधनापचारमन्त्रे दाननदुतेन विषयति  
यो ब्राह्मणयैवास्याग्रता दृष्ट्वा देरेयुस्मक्षुते मेवास्याग्निर्देवो न्रवतीति श्रुते॥ ७॥ द  
शावराय त्रीरुषिर्वा स दधनः। अथ स्यन्नाधायान्यच प्रोष्यन्वा न्य द्रुक्कुत्फप्योगी यद्र  
व्यंग्गुतस्तत्तृदीर्घाप्रवमेत्प्रव्रजेत्। ऋपाहुत्यान्य दनुपयोगितत्पक्वैत्पथ्यः। स  
ब्रह्मिर्बहुबोनुवादः। पादिकानावश्यबदको न चैकः संभवति प्रातरग्निर्देवाद्देव  
सत्यादवती औषणीयेतनिगद्येति पवित्राहुतिः। अनादशः अज्ये ननु देति। प्रास्वा

अस्य यजमाने स्यां पक्वा ब्राह्मण यदा तद्यः।

रा तस्य यै क री कंचै त त प्रयास्यन्निति विशेषेणा दशयुद एणु यो वो बिलोय दिप्रतिव्या  
 तिन तदनुवृत्तती तिय दं न्यं तं तान ऋष्टा वरा संस्था त दपि दश संस्था तद्यत्त्र हि वासाः  
 स्य निमित्तं धनार्थियाः -- वरा निमित्तं मित्य वरा अ द एण संस्था विशेषेण धृति नय को नो वि  
 वा प्रयास्यन्नु दाति सहधन इति यदि सपरिच्छदः याति तदा दुहुया न्नु पंच स्वाः शरीर  
 मात्रेण गवा तददरा गच्छति हि गीदनी वा जुता इति द्वितीया मेतु वादः सहधनस्यैत्र यास्य तउ  
 विधाने इदानीं व्यालिन स्योच्यते प्रवस्यते नार्यया प्रकृष्टे दाश यदा व सेत प्रयो जन वशा  
 तदा वानार्यया सह तदा प्रयास्यं समारोश्या नी नू प्रवसति ऋरणि त्र दं न्यमा धं मित्र  
 निधान न समारोच्य मित्र रद्वयदा वारणी रग्निनिः समारोयिता यदि गत श्रीः सवन्निस्वी निति  
 सार्वप्राधार एण का निप्राया बहुवचनं च नोपपद्यते स्मादपहृते कस्मिन्निगादपेत्प्रविति एण

= निक्षिप्त्वा निक्षिप्त्वा २

आगमो वैदः ३

निक्षिप्तेन च लिखनेन पिप्रवद्व्यतिन ह्येकपात्रां समाशेषं पशवरां एषोऽतिवचनमास्ति  
यातः प्रपन्नयद्विद्यासंक्रियैव दाह्यन्स्रगराणि प्रचत्तीदादादीन्संक्षुद्रां च त्वयि  
प्रवस्यं समाशेषयतीति वाक्यशेषः ॥ आत्मनि वा समाशेषयति वाशब्दो गमनमूचने  
यिन्नुबिक्लव्यायि पात्रदाहान् दिपात्राणि प्रविपाद्य पुनः पात्रादर एभुक्तं । तस्मादस्य  
यस्य निगतास्य च यं विधिः पाद्विकौ द्रष्टव्यः ॥ अतएव पात्राणां दोहः ॥ क्रते  
जीवता धिसमाशेषात्संस्थानमीनृत्तत्वाज्ञानेनोपचारंगदजवनी क्रतेर्निरोधः ॥ सम  
यस्यार्थवशायावदनीतावदन्निक्षेत्रनियोगउत्तं तदुक्तं यदो वैजीयते यदा त्तिमाकु  
तप्याग्निहोत्रं संतिष्ठत इति नीयते वसादीयते आत्तिद्याधिदध्याज्यादौ रथस्मावादाश  
मावाश्च नोप्यिया मग्निदात्रंदग्धा आत्मनेवाग्रयः समाशेषोऽपि तास्फरक्ष्णैर्दिवा एषत्र  
त्माना यज्ज्ञायाजायत क्रतः ॥ अस्मृतिश्च यत लब्धशरीरस्य यस्य नापातति दिति ज्ञार्थय

सद्धर्माच्चरितस्य। इतिवचनात्पद्यतेयस्यानित्यं जायत इति प्रवक्ष्यन् हलत उप तिष्ठते।  
 वक्ष्यन्नुच्यते यस्य गृह्यदन्त्यत्र रात्रिवस्य तिसदया मेन प्रयासस्तस्मिन् नृद निद्रो मकालो  
 अगमिष्यति। इतरथा हि देवस्योवापस्वानंते चाप्रवसति। इत्यादितावत्तत्त उपस्था  
 नः स्यात्। अदिर्बुद्धत्वादिनिनिगदसिद्धा नितिष्ठन्नुजपतीति प्रनियमस्या त्रिषु तो वीप  
 विष्टस्य च विनिवृत्तिषु ते अद्वां॥ ७॥ स्वास्ति॥ पूर्वणो ग्रायणं ऊक्त्वा तव संते यवानां शर  
 त्रीहीणं शरदिव संते पर्वणि अत्रायणं कर्तव्यं यवैर्वसंते। ब्रीहिभिः शरद्विषवी विशेषणः  
 तृशिष्टं पर्ववाक्या यं विदितमवचति यद्विषु मः पर्वणात्रायणं ऊक्त्वा त्वेति वाक्यं तदा  
 संतयवानां शरदित्रीहीणमिति नियमार्थं स्यात्। अत्र शिष्टं पर्वत्रिदशं परि संस्थाना  
 यं पूर्वपक्षादः। अत्रापि कस्येष्टान वस्या श्रीयां त्वेदं द्रव्यां तरं। उतपत्तिशिष्टानां श्रीस्याद

नांयुणोऽत्रपाकस्येति एकवचनं श्यात्यादिविवक्षया तव स्याश्री यादिति श्रुतिः क्रमेण  
हतीवक्ष्यति न वा शनमिति तस्य द्युक्तं ध्यं कालात्तेजति क्रमान्न वा शनैवातिपत्तौ संके  
तस्य सिद्धिमात्रं निर्वपणदुपवमथाहारम्यनउक्ष्मेचिंद्रमसीत्यादौ स तावमात्रे स्यात्  
देनउसर्वेपवसथस्य यावस्य ह तं तावत्क वद्य मतिदेश तदिति ॥ ६ ॥ अत्रे द्वात्रिंशति  
वैश्वदेवानघावा एष्टि वीया शरदि सो मा य श्या मा काना मन्य स्यो पात्रां अ न्यस्मिन्  
अध्वि अयतोऽवसरे द वतानां द विविशे र्षैः संबधा वगतोऽदृष्टवता संबंधोऽत्र इति ॥  
न्यापान्त्री विधातुं अन्य शृष्टु समानजाती यापेक्षौ दृष्टव्यः ॥ अन्यं पशु मालजते त एव मन्य  
स्योऽस्त्र पस्थि यां पात्रां तदसत्सु र्षद्वयं स्यात् ॥ दृष्टं तच्च स्यात् वचनात् न वा त चेत् एके  
नेव उष फलीकरण विभो क सिद्धिर्नियमा दृष्टा श्रुति त् स्य पेल्लिख लादेः तस्माद्दे दमात्राव



वशद्वेयद्याकाष्टमुपलमन्यततद्वत्सूपित्रीऽन्यथायात्रीऽसाभ्येनान्यस्मेतिहास्मकी  
 णुनानिपात्रीणीतिवत्सुतनामन्यस्वामितिप्रवर्तुल्यमस्यान्निर्वीपस्यप्रत्यासन्नत  
 तदसत्प्रकवचनप्रपणतपात्र्यामिति। तत्तदेविशेषणमविवक्षितं एतेनोक्तैपरिधिप्रज्यादिभि  
 तत्रतर्हि यूपकिमतीत्यादिकोवाक्त्तन्निर्वीविधास्फुटेशः। उपानस्यवानपात्रस्यचग्रहणं स  
 माष्टिक्पालस्यऽग्नीनादधीतऽन्यत्रवातस्यऽत्रोपातं चैद्विष्यत इति च का २५६ वि  
 धेयद्विषयोस्फुटेशः। इत्थञ्चोतेनापात्रपातं चोद्विष्यदेचरतः। अमाणांतरस्मिद्धविशेषण  
 उपपद्यमविवक्षितं विशेषणं नवति यत्पुनरविज्ञातविशेषणचोद्विष्टं तद्विधेयवक्तु  
 एववशिष्टमवगंतव्यं। तस्मात्तूत्रीडिलिप्तांस्त्रचैनिर्ज्या न्यस्याणान्निधायनिर्वत्यतः १०१  
 माकानितिपात्र्याः। यदासंनिहृष्टयाऽन्निमश्रुनिं हृदाऽखंति ततश्चां वर्यदृष्टास्व इतिवाइ

नृपात्रियदणसामर्थ्यति। न्यायदन्यथादन्यपात्र्याः प्रयोगसंसादनाद्यथामन्यग्रदण  
 ॥ छान्नाबीजानां धर्मः विधास्यामः ब्रीदिएष्यामाकानां नबीज धर्म इद्वक्त्यति। सामेष्टपिना  
 नाबीजसुप्रतिज्ञायतौ। वषट्कारप्रदानां नोचिककपालानां। एककपालधर्मे त्रिवत्स्यातसे  
 प्याननायेष्टकपालेष्टतिदाशदया प्रतिज्ञायतवषट्कारप्रदानाग्रदणं वृष्टवृष्टदं  
 किमर्थं प्रतिज्ञासूत्रद्वयेनातिदशोनेतेनामिक्तासर्वत्रद्याख्यातेति यन्नानाबीजैककपा  
 लधर्ममिष्टारख्यादिति विचि- यमिष्टदोषः। दृष्टगन्तिमर्शिनं नानाबीजानां शक्यमनर्शक  
 मिदं कर्तुं नानापात्रस्त्रिधा तदृष्टयजे कोन्तिमर्शितं भवति। एवं तर्हि यूपपदन्तिमर्शिनं मान्तर  
 नानाबीजग्रदणदन्यत्र युगपदद्यावच्छेदे। तत्तेति छल्लु। नानावदन्तिमृशे तशेषपुनर्मन्त्रिण  
 द्यारख्यातं प्राचयेत्येवौ युगपसंनवेयुगपदमन्त्रवतोक्तैः। ऊहो। मकमन्नापायुमस्य

मादिषीशात्रात्पवयो एषामदोवे त्पादिबीजग्रहणानाबीजेषु दबिष्कु  
 पुगपन्मुखेषु दोविः लतमाह्वयति ननु वाकानं प्रलतमाक्तं । त्रिलो व दंतीत्यवघाते विनि  
 योगान्नैस्ते वतर्हिदविः लवदीति त्रितैव सूत्रा क्रयतीति सूत्रं विनियोजकं पठितं चं त्रय  
 वाज्पायसाच - स्य नात्तरीयकत्वे नाले गिकं विनियोगिकं भवेत्तु न वा क्य ज्ञदायमन्य  
 ते यथा धर्य वैश्वं न नाधं न्यष्टमसि ब्रह्म न पः अस्मा को सीत्यादेवा ग्विस ग्रंजिपः परि  
 तप्रवशादौ विनियोगः --- यथा संख्यग्रहणे पेशाचिक बाधत्वां तरीयकचैनमि  
 हिस्तस्मादविष्यन्त दोतिय धिर्गादाह्वानं न दृष्टार्थं तस्य मुख्येषु लतवा न्नजमन्य  
 शुभुनः प्रक्रिया कुतस्य पुनराधानपिष्टाप्यषण्डिनिवाएतदेवज्ञापयति प्रयोगविधिः स  
 स्कार्यद्वारः । अनेव संस्कार्याणि निबानित दारक संस्कारो विधेः । एकैकं संस्कार्योक्ति

लघ्वर्ग्येष्टांशं॥ त्रिभाषणं पुनर्द्वितीयपुरोडाशार्थक्रोक्तत्वात्पात्रसंसादनवत् ननु चात्रापि  
संस्कारादीनि त्रीदृश्यामाकादीनि त्रिभिर्नामितेषामभिघाताद्यं भ्रंशं त्रैज्यविष्णुतिसमपि प्रयोज्य  
गविधेः प्रयुक्तं तदुपचारे सते। स तं एव ज्ञातीयकैषु तन्निर्दिष्टं दन्ति एव न दोषो न वद्यत  
ध्रुयुः। प्रेषामन्वाह। त्यादिः। अत्रापि न प्रभृति फलीकरणं तमेकैकस्य। उत्तरार्थे तु वादः।  
प्राप्तवान्निष्पन्नानां तं यवानां तु सदा रश्मिभ्यो न बोधेत स्यात्तु वादः। प्राप्ता चान्नरोः खेषणं द  
क्षितं चातुं दुर्लभं। नोद्येति अतएव प्रकृतावपि निश्चयवत्तां यवानां भवति वाचनिके विदुः प्र  
भृति स्यात्स्यौ। त्वरदादृष्टार्थं निव स्यात्तु। त्रुषप्रवेशनां तं निष्पन्नं फलीकरणं नो वा  
तु। कैवल्यनात्प्राप्त्या सरस्वतीति दोषानां बीजेषु यवानामवचनं इत्युक्तं। अत्रायणेना  
नाबीजाणां वातप्रतिप्रसवो नान्न स्यात्। सिद्धमोपधानात् अत्रादानात् प्रवृत्तिरक्ष्मा

पंनद्वानिचूगनी

जिनस्येत्पारणेऽप्राज्ञेद्रायद्वादशकपालान्येकं द्यावापृथिवीययोः क्रमपर्यमुत्तरीयौ  
विप्रविशेषप्रतीतिसिद्धमाधिश्रयणदाज्ञेद्रमधिश्रित्यवैश्वदेवं च रुमाधि श्रयति ३  
दमपिक्तमाधंस्वस्त्रवत् च रुधने धि करणे ब कृश्चरुशब्दः यद्दत्तपाकाधि करणमणि  
चरुर्नमृन्मयो न वती निर्वचनात्पवित्रां तर्दि ते पयः प्रानी यत्तदुलानोऽयं गुष्टपर्वमात्रं  
कृतीपलाशमात्रं द्यावापृथिवीयमधिश्रित्य यौ म्यं च रुमधिश्रयति पूर्ववदेतानि क्रमाद्या  
निपलाशानि कानि चिदृहानि लघूनि च तत्तद्वृत्त्यपलाशं त्रिगुणमं गुष्टपर्वण इति पश्यामः  
पवित्रां तर्दि तेऽप्यप्राणी यत्तदुलानोऽयं मेरुणे न प्रदक्षिणं च रुमपयति प्रततवाच्चरो च रो  
विधानं तर्दि तं दिज्जीवत्तुलमिति नोक्तमिति सद्य निचारान् च खः पाक विशेषणमिति गम्य  
तोऽत्र न्नपादनात्ततोऽपि विरुतौ ज्जीवत्तुलमिति नास्ति नृद्ये तु वचनात्प्रवति क्रस्मिद न १०३

पवित्रा २

॥ ऐकादिकं चातुर्मास्यादौ

वयद्यथन्निवारद्द तथापि विहृतौ न लभ्यते गुक्तं सिद्धमो वा ममान्ना बीजेषु पिष्टलेपनि नयनं  
किं पृथग् चर मंत्रणे तिनोक्तप्रसंजवादात्रैधा तद्यादिषु किमपिनोक्तं च वड पृथक् तंत्रेण वे  
ति मन्यते एक कपालमन्यस्यां पाच्यामले ऊर्वने निरूपयति न चै नद्यस्यामेव न विष्णो तिस्र प्रथा  
तस्यादि द्वितीयस्यापि प्ररं स्यात् एव तर्हि विहृत्य ष्ठीमन्यग्रदणी यत्रैक कपालो बह्वं  
समस्त वातुर्मास्यादौ इतरथा बद्बएक कपालवद्दवं समस्तु चातुर्मास्यादौ इतरथा बद्  
वएक कपाला एक स्याद् एरग्रतन्नासादनय शादाने स्विष्टे सत्तस्या त्रय तस्या युक्तं  
निकमपि यावदानं स्यात् इति चेत् आशयस्येका शचाहु चरावसि चानियतत्वाच्चा  
न्यापात्री न प्रयुज्यते प्रततादि वैक कपालो स पृथ्वै चै न दर्शनात् पृथग्दर्शनात् प्रयोग  
स्य प्रचरणवैनायां बर्हिषि सा दयिष्वोप स्तीर्थैक कपालं सत्तसर्वमवद्यत्पाशयस्यान्व

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सिद्धिरनिघायोपास्वेककपालेनप्रचरतिववषट्कंतेमध्योपाणिनाजुहोतत्पुं प्रतिष्ठि  
तमाशयेनानिदुहोतियदिपयवित्रेतिब्राह्मणद्याख्यातंप्रसन्नायं --- सत्तदिति किं  
सर्वत्रदणैनेवल्लब्धानेवमध्यातुर्वर्द्धति सर्वत्रदणैस्त्रिदशतिस्पात्रादिचत्रदणे किं सत्ते मध्या  
देवस्या तसर्वमनुद्धितीयानिर्दृष्टा तसर्वत्र विष्यतीति नैव मे ककपालं सत्तदवद्यत्तवाव  
यतीति प्रतीतेऽउपात्रदणं किं यावेनाराजस्रयाकाम्यानिर्दृष्टत्पात्रायाणस्य निर्भर  
काम्यागोपांशुदेवतादृतिस्त्रिदशसत्पात्रं नैव यमाद्येति एतदेवोपांशुमात्रेन्द्रादीनीतिउ  
उपांशुप्रचरत्येतावतिचसिद्धिः एककपालेनेतिवक्तव्यं एककपालप्रचारधर्मप्रज्ञात  
सौर्यात्मककपालं यस्याहुतमित्याद्यर्थं उक्तं च वषट्कारप्रदानं चैककपालानामितित  
दसत्तनैवात्रायणास्पोपांशुत्वं सिद्धपाकद्यत्वात्काम्योपात्तकाम्या ननु चतनमध्यपति १०४

ता योषित् चत्त्यादयो नैभिन्ने मित्रिकोपि अतएव वाचनिकं चोपांशु खंडे विकानामंत्र  
 प्रचाग्यतदुक्तं। सैवानुयोगानुकूल्य इति मध्यग्रदणं समादशोपलक्षणं यंत्रकुतायका  
 वचने मध्ये पुरोडाषाकुतीरिति सिद्धत्वा तत्राहुती प्राचुदीची रायात यती तस्य विधेर्विध  
 नाशं विषट्कृत इति नियमांशं आसदो मादवकिं पयवित्तर प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकुश्चिष्टदणं  
 प्रउज्याकुतीर्नु होतिषड्ग्रदणं मेक प्रवन्ति -- स्वातिविससांशं अत्र द्याज्य तषष्ठीग्र  
 दणं स्वशाखाधी तस्योच वैषणं प्ररणार्थं युंक्तं शतासुध इत्याज्य धानी एक कपालाश  
 यस्य स्विष्टकृते समवद्यतीति च अत्र द्याज्यमवदानधर्म प्रापणार्थं अशयेत स्मिन्नित्या  
 शय। एक कपालाश यन क्रियाविकारणं मुच्यते। यजमान इडाग्रं प्राश्नाति एत इत्यादि  
 प्रदर्शितं इडा इति संबधे षष्ठीदक्षिणा काले वसः। अथ मज्जेदक्षिणा प्रथमो ज्ञानः प्रथमो

पात्राच्चैतु

माज्या २

उपवेशन क्रिया धारं अज्यं॥



जातः प्रथमो यथा नुज इति पंचम्या मजा ताद्युत्पत्त्यां च तत्पत्त्यां प्रियमाणं यां किं  
 पदः प्रथमशब्द इति किं प्रथमा नु रद्याः आहोस्विज्जाता क्रोतोलक्ष्वा र्वननिनयस्य प्र  
 थमं नु इति तस्मात् पूर्वै च कृत् पत्तिर्युक्ता मतिकनीयां समापदा प्रथमं नु इति अत्र तीते  
 नदि सो दरा दीनां पूर्वः पूर्व प्रथमजा इत्युच्यते बुभुक् द्या व्यामो क मध्वा बभ्रुं पिं गलं म  
 स्तरं दद्याद्म नंचा बभ्रुं पिं गल मिति विशेषण विशेष्यभावोत्र वा शब्दच शब्दभावो  
 वि कल्पसमुच्चयोरप्रतीतिः आसन्नरूपेण भावे वसो वस तश्च येनै किमथमिदं  
 सूत्रं बुभुक्षितो न्ना भो वैशरत् पूर्व कालं विना पिशामा केन इक्षु सोमं शपा मा के नुं जी  
 त नु न चाग्र द्रादिनिष्काशः मा केन व्रीह्यादीनपि नुं जीत ऊत नदि शपा मा केनो हृत्यने  
 ना सता आ यण दव ता यष्टं लभ्यतः सोमं स मस्त शपा मा कात्रा येन प्रत्यभिजायते।

ऋषा संनद्धा निष्ठा ग्रायणं न व स्यात् । स्त्री यादिति प्र तिषेध एव वचन स्तस्यान्ना वा स नं अ  
 ग्रा यणं स राक्ष त सर्वत्र द् एष्टु मा ष्म न प्राप्ति तं स्याज्जीव नो र्थे अ काले श्वा मा केन  
 छुनु हे नि ति विप्र षा त् यद् दे व शर दि पु नः श्वा मा कै स्त स्या प्रा रु त्वा द क्षि णा दा तेषु  
 न र्ज व त्पे वा ॥ छ ॥ उ च्वा तु म स्मि न्यार ष्य मानः । वा उ म स्मि न्य नी ति संज्ञा क म्म णां वै श्व दे वा  
 वी नो छु ना सी र्थ प र्व ता नां प र्व ते म नि द्वा तै स्तु ना सी र्थ नि रं न्म णी य स्या ता । पू र्व षो ष्म म  
 सी मु षो ष्या उ य व स ना र्थ मि त त् । प्र ति प दि वै श्व दे व या जै षो ष्म मा स्या मा रं न्म णी या दि  
 हिः । अ त आ रं न्म पि आ रं न्म णी या को न्मि त ए व र स स त्ति तं नि य मो ष्ठ वा दौ यु क्तः ।  
 स्व काले क र्त्तव्या रं न्म णी या पू र्व प द्वा दि प्र ती द्ये त । प्रा ची न प्र व णे वै श्व दे वे न य जे त वै श्व  
 दे वे ने ति । अ सा वा रं ण च । फा ल्यु न्यां चि त्वा व स ते वा व स त त्र द् ए णे वि शा र द्यं ते न सं गतं

# राक्षसि

सं प्रयोऽत यंति ते न प्राप्नुवन् चैत्री न्यं विनापि वसंते वैश्वदेवशाख्यमावास्यायां वा  
 प्रवर्षे वैवाऽपि वा समस्तपर्वार्थं वसंतं ग्रहणं न विवश्वदेवार्थं विवश्वदेवसद्यः वै  
 स्मिमासीत्पुत्रावयं तवाध्याताऽस्ति युष्मिन् धीनः प्रधाननियमः का म्या नो जिवत  
 मसमस्तपदे वै स्मिमा स्यं मष्टकाऽद्वै वसंतं ग्रहणं समतार्थं ननु प्रतिपर्वणे सद्यः  
 वै स्मिमासीमित्युक्तं तद्यपि न विवश्वदेवार्थं किं प्रफालुन्यं वसंतं वैति सिद्धं वै चार्थं  
 स्वदेवी विवरी ग्रहणं स्या नष्टं किं प्राप्नोति यदि कथां तद्गृहणे समस्तायः तद्योचित्री  
 पदमनष्टं किं वैश्वदेवायतिः तैः युक्तं वसंतं ग्रहणं समस्तायः श्रौता ह्यपि  
 मा स्यं समस्ता नीति तदुक्तं तावन्मात्रं दृष्टुं समस्तपदेऽपि प्रतिपदं तपैस्मिमासी २०६  
 पिकन्यपूर्वचातनोपवसाद्यवात्तुर्मास्येष्टुके शश्वजमानावापयेत्तु उपवसद्यः

तिमाचरुतमन्नयरादिषु प्रनिषेध इत्युक्तं। यत्तस्मान्नग्रहणं पत्नी मन्मनुजानीतो कैशश  
 क्रग्रहणं न स्वलोमानि। चक्षुर्मस्येषु च परप्रतिषेधे उपवसथादीनामपवादाऽनर्थ  
 कस्यात्तनैवंधारयातां। प्रसूनः प्रस्तर इति न करोमन्वर्थः। यथा यस्तदेकधामंत्रेण  
 सनस्यतीति इध्मस्यादिहौनागोत्रस्तीमित्यादिसिद्धानामष्टवैभंत्रेण प्राप्तिमाभाव  
 सतेऽतः। तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं इहस्तीमिति न दतीग्रहणं च रुक्पालानिकपालानि प्रथम  
 द्वितीया माज्यस्थानी स्मृचंच आज्यधानपात्रमपेक्षं ह्रितीयेति अदिति - नाहि  
 नेपत्तिरिति स्थानी शिष्टप्रयोगो देवस्थानी मिति वक्तव्ये आज्यस्थानी ग्रहणं अदा  
 नमंत्रार्थः। तत्राज्यस्थानी प्रयोगे तदर्थं हतः आज्यधानपात्री मिति चरुषुपिष्ट  
 भागुषुषा यत्र केन स्या सर्वत्र तत्रास्मापौ सवचनात्तानि द्रापौ सैननवति अत्रे

म

वद्वी० षाधिश्चयतिश्चधिश्चपणकोलेचरुधिश्रयणंदश्रयतिच। कपालोपधानकाल  
एवमनुपूर्वद्विरधिश्चयणंनवतिमारुतमधिरुतयनायंपरिअहोमारुतःससकपाल  
मतिकल्पितस्यस्वतवङ्गोनिरुध्याचात्तस्यैवलक्षणाथमिदंसायंदोदृशदणंदोद  
धर्मार्थितुक्तंनोपेतस्यशाखामहत्पेयादिपतनामिदोसर्वत्रमैत्रावरुणोपय  
स्यादोसमानधर्मैनिधाएववाष्टासमानधर्मैनिधाएवलोद्विचौनियतत्राता  
समानंसंमार्जनयथाउपनृतदानमंत्रस्तथास्वात्म्याःअदितिरसीतिषूषदाज्जमि  
र्षपउपनृतशाष्ट्रयोजेनष्टषदाज्यधानीशब्दस्यःआदानमंत्रेसादनेचदधिविज्ञे  
षणवेदपंधिश्रयणादपिस्थातप्रागग्निधारणादाजिनस्याग्निधारणेनास्त्यत्रान्नि  
थन्तत्राद्यद्यस्तेकिमिति नोक्तमग्निधारणंवाजिनमुत्करेसादयेतस्मिपिमदृणान् २०१

आग्रहणं वाजिन सुक्तेरे सादयेत्सिद्धमपि महे एत प्रागग्रहणं किमनि विधिनिरासा  
यतिवैतपंचहोत्रा निमशयंती यघटवान्निर्मंथं प्रधानादनेतरं घटत एवास्त्रिमश  
नादतंतरं स्याग्रंशह्यस्या निविधित्रा निरासा र्थं च होत्रेति प्रलतं निवत्रये त्वौपदेशि  
कच्चादन्वारश्चेयुरुमानमतिब्रूहीति त्रैष्यान्निः संवा दयंतीति यथा लोपस्थानं ठ  
रुतइति प्रेष्यं लो कसुपस्थापयतीति ब्रूहीति निवचतिविया करणा वा तु मस्मि  
नाष्ये प्रशमंषंडः ॥ ७ ॥ सिद्धमाप्रयाजेत्येञ्जा आ वग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यं प्राह तं च संख्या  
संबंधादिहन वसंख्याय मख्या तु ए विधिज्ञापका यश्च एग्रहण न्नोपष्टत हवी  
दृष्य निघारयंतीति ह्रादग्रहण दनिघारस्य चानुयाजा र्थं लिखानि द्वायां दर्शनाकु  
पन्तिसर्वसमानेन रिक्त्या यां प्राप्तिब्रूते निघार एव स्याद्पात्रान्निघार एवामं सीदि

धर्कं वां पुनर्धर्कं वा सुपचतमंतत इति प्रकृतं तौ पात्रग्रहणा संश्रावता रिचा निघारणं क  
 निवारयति उपाहसु संप्रति वषट्कारप्रदानां एककपालानां उपाहसु चैसिद्धे पुनरि  
 द्रवतं सा वित्रेण त्फयते तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं प्राक्स्थिष्टकृतमर्थादावयमंतथा चक्रमन्त्रि  
 गानां मोमनामानि जुहोत्कर्मयत्र स्थिष्टतीति सिद्धमानुयाज्येभ्यः प्रभृतौ च यंत्रित  
 माश्रवणेण मिदं न व संख्यायानि वारयतो मन्मतिरथाय तपुन रुक्ते वज्रवत्सोपचतु  
 मद्रश्रग्धोदनं मंत्रे वाजवती शब्दः प्राकृतं शुद्धं न नत्वष्ट्वमिति दर्शयितुं संप्रभृत  
 तौ अभिपचते ऽप्यदति ऋद्धिं स्तिष्ठन्वा जिनं नृत्ताति अंतर्विदित्यदंते संबध्यात  
 न हौ मोहो मेपि संबंधं ध्वंति परिधि संधितान वदोरस्य संभवादपेनु शेष समं वे १०८  
 त्रिासमशब्दः संख्या वचन इह ता प्रत्ययात्सद्याः पौर्णमासी संख्या सतमिव प

चणेनपौर्णमासीप्रयोगगद्येक्षपतिस्मसंस्वामात्रंप्रयोगंदर्शयितुं पौर्णमासी  
 रूपसद्यकालानावांतप्रधानकालस्यसद्योत्सृष्टव्रजवत्पाधानदर्शनात्नवत्र  
 तवपरयोगपुनं त्रसंबंधसंनवातुजुष्टेकानृतात्कचर्थप्रायश्चित्तार्थमिदं मां  
 सप्रतिषेधान्धुप्रतिषेधेसतिमधुअस्मातीत्यनुज्ञातमृत्तुगमनवत्ननुत्रवेङ्ग  
 मर्दशानमृत्तुगमनानुज्ञानसादृचयतिकथं मांसनिषेधेमधुनिषेधः अथाचमधु  
 म्रंसेप्राप्तीयादितिज्ञेदनासमासकराणामांसकार्यमधुनोऽपि कारनिषाधलव  
 णस्यापि किंचक्रवृंजंसां यद्येवगम्येततदा मांसनिषाधिधानुमानंततश्चान्यमा  
 निषेधमांससम्बद्धत्यत्र मधुप्रतिषेधेननवतीतिशास्त्रार्थः ॥छा॥चा॥म॥स्य॥ना॥ष्ये॥  
 द्वितीयपंडुः समाप्तः ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥



आषाढी

॥वक्रवर्धनं पर्वसमाप्तं॥ ॥वरुणव्रघासाश्वत्थुषुमासेषु॥अष्टाहंश्रावणी  
वर्षाश्रावणफलाफाल्गुन्यादिकालविकल्पत्रयाऽनिप्रायेनेति॥विश्वदेविकंविष्मंनं धा २  
पंचसंचराणंसंचरंतीतिसंचराणीसर्वेषुपर्वेषुचैत्रेआदीनिसंचरंतीति॥वि  
धानमधिश्रयणादिसत्संनद्धंअतिप्रस्थातायथाभवतितथासंनद्यतिप्रति  
प्रस्थाताष्टशक्रग्रहंणमनुवादेनिरर्थकमत्रैवेकधामनदनयासोहंसंनवंवि  
स्यष्टाश्रिंघा॥एवंष्टशक्रदोदयतइत्यत्रापिस्क्रवपंचमाश्वरुस्थाल्यो॥ननुहं  
॥ह्रिग्रहणमविवक्षितंयथाहेअधीइतिष्टशक्रग्रहणं॥प्रोक्षणादीनांतत्रप्रसंग  
यकनिरस्यलुपात्तंनदंपरिगणनं॥पात्राणंसंतेऽष्टीतुत्रोक्षणीपात्रंअतिप्रस्था  
तापात्रेषुदृष्टेग्रहणंदेवलभ्यत्वचरुस्थाल्यादीनियथास्थाल्योत्विपन्नेपरि॥१०॥

गणनप्रदर्शेनार्थमंदधियेनुग्रहायासिद्धमानिर्वीरैर्ज्ञानकायमिति द्वितीयांक  
न्यासुक्तमिति पययिंदश्येनूक्तममनुवदति यथा कालमाभिद्वेष्टय गतिवति  
यवारिश्च॥ एष्टग्रवचने किंयावेदुक्तशब्दसंज्ञानामति यत्र शब्दो नास्ति तद्विश  
प्रसिधायिकस्तत्र न तावद्विशेषानुष्ठिति रिति दर्शयति ते न ज्ञायते पात्रं प्रायेण ल  
खानं शास्त्रमासितं बहुल्योत्तरुडामाप्रथात्मसंनववा विवातुक्तं तर्द्धुवा तज्जडै र्यथा  
पर्वरिघातं तादृशसितं सयव एषु छानं तथान्यत्रापि एवंचानि प्रणयने प्रत्यु स्वत  
दृशा छिति त्रिषु प्रक्रमे तपु गतेषु छित्यर्थः। अप्रिमिति को न्युक्ते ऊर्द्धमपयि मितं तदशाब्द  
ज्ञात तस्मादनियमोपरिमिते देशान् पुनः प्रक्रमेण कवचना तच्चातप्रक्रमसंबंधव  
दादानप्रवृत्तिधर्मातिदेशो वाक्येन प्रकृतौ वा पद्यते विशिष्टादशविधानायाद्विद्वि

षा वितस्ति इति तृतीयमात्रेऽप्यधारेयः पूर्वार्धे नस्तत्रैतत्पृथः नियन्तावलक्षणसप्तम  
 इतरथा वितृतीयमात्रगति स्यात् त्रिषु प्रक्रमणयवा नात्रादरा स्वयं त्रत्यस्माकं त्र  
 त्रिणा करं स्यादशकालात् प्रक्रममात्रगत उत्तकरस्यात्र तश्चाचालं प्रिमीतोऽन्ययुक्त  
 मपि मौनेः मैतं इति प्राप्नुयवता उत्तकराभिधातहृत्वा स्वंपदान प्रत्यप्नुयव स्येत्प्राप्तिय  
 माथं प्राप्नुयवेग्रहं स्यात्तु स्वनिष्ठा तस्मात्प्रत्यप्नुयवाङ् - कारविद्या उकरं वेद्यंगक  
 ड क्तवस्यैकग्रहणं हि तीयनिवृत्त्यर्थं तत्र यद्यविदिस्तत्रोकर इति सिद्धः अपरेण क्तरो  
 स्मचदरण्यं सार्धशौत्रतत्र हि सोऽप्यनियताथं प्रोक्त एणस्तिष्ठति आ सादनाथं चिपि  
 चन्स्त्विति दक्षिणत शेषे निनीते क्रोद्धि एण सादनाथं पुनः संस्करणं स्यात्पंच गृहीत  
 न निरुक्तमाज्योत्पन्निस्तिष्ठति ततः पंच गृहीतं मृत्सङ्घि ति श्रेतिस्तत्र विद्वत्कं विवंचनत



परिशद्वचान्नास्तिदक्षिणतश्चादवनीयस्योप। एकवचनं न च। तुल्यमाणोविशेषबोधे  
कस्यचिदादवनीयस्यदक्षिणताहीदातुतुल्यमाणाप्रक्षतावगमात्प्रक्षतं वादवनी  
यद्वयं यो। यनप्रणीतस्तस्यदक्षिणतन्निर्देशकश्चातउपयमनीनांयद्वयदृश्यतेति  
प्रबितावाज्ञातिन्ननि। नृदा नितिप्रतिर्थातिउत्तरपरजिम्मा मादवनी यौएवमधिप्रयोगे  
नवतीतिदर्शयति। यद्वादितीयोऽत्रादवनीयसंज्ञानिर्देशार्थं हिवचनं। पृथक्कर्मणि  
रुतपयिनाषार्थंस्त्रांस्त्रापापवादमादृष्टधुः। त्रैषानादेति। युक्तैवैतदेकैनापिसंज्ञो  
वृत्तौ। हाताब्रह्मावापिषार्थमिच्छति। छतिद्वान्म्यामपीप्रसंज्ञेनोपजीवतीत२। अतएवपरि  
गृहितंयद्वांइत्यादिऋत्सेनसमस्तिर्हिप्रसंज्ञे सतिऋदस्त्रैचदयथादिवदत्तनामं२।  
ताःकश्चिदिमागाथायति यद्वादौपितेदर्थः। प्रसंगनापजीवनि। सोऽपिनतदर्थं प्रियतना

युहंतेऽष्टणुतमिति॥७॥चात्रुमस्यजाश्रेचतीयधंडेरुणप्रघासपर्वणि॥उत्तरने  
गादपत्यस्येतिदेशनियमाः॥प्रामयवपिष्ठानामिनेटतीणार्थेषष्टी॥एकोद्विनिशरावाक  
तीनि॥येमात्यानत्तद्यानत्तसपिंडांगोत्रिणलिंगमविवक्षितंस्त्रियःपत्नीमितिज्ञापकात्  
प्रक्षाल्योसंमिषयोः॥स्त्रेष्यतज्जोमशौभवतइतिश्रुतेः॥परःशतान्यधिक्षातानिपरःश  
तादित्यर्थः॥विश्रामिक्षेपाद्योरववेत्तः॥उत्तराधेनुंवादः॥वारुणामेषमारुत्यामानयति  
मेषीमारुत्यांवारुणा॥मितिउयत्रनिर्मप्यः॥अयोगात्गच्छात्सकदाशंकातद्रव्यस्यसं  
स्कारः॥अतिद्रव्यमावर्त्ततइत्यनयत्रअदणंपुरस्तात्प्रसंवावतिष्ठेतेद्विवचनात्पत्नीय  
जमानौजक्षते॥उत्तरतस्तिष्ठन्नपन्यनीपुनरने॥पुनस्तात्प्रत्यवेइतिश्रुतेः॥अध्वर्युःप्रवराइ  
प्रदणीतेप्रयोगंगच्छात्संप्रप्यत्रदणं॥अध्वर्युःप्रेषानितिस्थात्मासनामानिजुहोता

त्तिप्रतिप्रस्थाच निवृत्तये समानीयेन किमवदेया र्थो हि त्रैप्रदेयेतिकथं विक्ता मिथुनो  
 द्वादशतरेतरापेक्षया द्विवचनात्तेन विट्पुममाभाः उजौ बाहिम्सं याज्यानुवा  
 क्ययोऽस्य त्रसंबधचोदावृत्त्यभावसिद्धः प्रयोगो गंगत्वेति न वतिदक्षिणस्मिन्नतिप्र  
 स्थातो न यत्रैति वाद्यो दक्षिणाग्रदणं वै विद्याष्टं त्रिज्यशेषे द्वितीया द्विवचनात्तं तु  
 निःकाषालौ किं कात्रे रनीकमिति त्रिज्योचकायं श्रौचधर्मकमित्यर्थः श्रौचाधारवत्  
 धर्मातिदेशश्च त्र्यहोतस्येति षष्ठी त्रितीया र्थश्चातान्यश्च त्र्यहोतं प्रयाजाष्टं त्र्य  
 संबंधेषु षष्ठी ततः प्रयोगैर्न्यः शिष्टाजुहुयात् त्र्यहोतं त्र्यहोतं पक्षौ प्रयावतु  
 क्तं तदाह र्वदतिशेषेणेति सवविदाना र्थं त्रितीया समिधा वाहरंति समिधा विजिप्रत्ये  
 कसंबधः गार्हपत्यपत्नी तदशनात् दक्षिणस्मिन् प्रतिप्रस्थाता प्रतिप्रस्थाचग्रदण

मन्मनि दृष्टपञ्चिधिवल्लिबादोवास्तत्रै सद्यः। एषो नि का तत्र मध्यो सस्त्राशास्त्रांतसा  
 तद्दतरथातत्तयजमानं तं सद्य एव स्यात्। का। वा। उमा। स्थि। भा। शे। क। उ। धा। कां। ड।। स्त्रा।  
 वरुणप्रघासानामद्वितीयोपवसमाप्तं। का। सा। क। मे। धा। श्रु। उ। षु। मा। से। सु। का। नि। क्यो। मा। अ। शी।  
 ष्यं। दि। मं। ते। वे। ति। प्र। र्व। क। न्य। त्रयं। ए। वी। पौ। ष। मा। सी। दे। मं। ते। अ। नि। यो। ते। त्फ। त्। अ। रं। न। णी। या। म्। त्रै।  
 सिद्धे। ष्टि। पौ। ष। मा। सी। व। त्। सं। ति। ए। त। इति। मा। न्य। त्। नो। ति। प्रा। ग। ब। दि। प्र। ह। र। ण। त्। सिद्धे। ष्टि। रि। ति।  
 पुनरुक्तं। इह। मे। धी। ये। न्य। सी। कं। व। सा। पा। क। र। ए। वं। रं। परि। ना। षिं। वं। उ। व। स। पा। क। र। ण। मं। त्र। नि। दृ। त्। तं॥ ५  
 श्रुतिं। दा। म। धी। या। व। म्। रे। प। रि। ना। षा। य। दि। त्रि। यो। ते। सा। वा। ने। न। क। र। णे। न। सं। ब। ध्य। ता। नु। प। चो। पा। व।  
 र। णं। स्या। त्। क। र्म। ण। --- दो। मं। त्र। व। स्यो। व। न्मो। न्य। दि। ति। त। दि। यं। द। नी। कं। व। त। स्य। अ। नी। कं। व। तं। सा। त। प।  
 ना। या। स। मा। नं। ब। दि। अ। त्। स्त। ना। श। ना। त्। सं। न। द्या। ता। त। द्यु। त्। हि। पौ। ष। मा। सी। दि। ति। नि। री। हं। यो। प।



देशेऽपुनः सनद्धमनिकवर्ती प्रयुंक्तैः अत्र निः पञ्चवात्रदमोपदेशस्तु ग्राह्यतर्कदिषो न  
 र्थक्योत्पन्नह्यतस्तः समानयाद्वयोर्बहिर्नीशून्यन्नां स्तीति बहिर्नु प्रहरतीति  
 किं संक्षेपे संतिष्ठति न सिद्धं प्रहरणं नृदमेधीयाश्विवार्येताशा खोतरातननुष्टु  
 मेधीया- द्यानि बहिर्तिव द्यति अत्रैव सां तपनीय बहिष सं नृदं वमा विज्ञासि  
 ण्ति दशयति तेनेह सुख प्रच्यति सन्नृदनाशं का निवृत्तं विहरति प्रहरतीति व  
 नं ज्ञापकं नापनं यस्तु चो प्रच्यति अनेकाशतं बहिः सन्नह्यतीत्यर्थः स्यो स्पृहते सायमग्नि  
 दोत्र शति नृदमेधीयाश्विवार नृदमेधीयाश्विवारो रे अत्रि दोत्रं दशयति बहिः सं  
 नृद नोत्तरदेशे स्रवणा तृश्रि दोत्रात्समद्यापाराङ्कि क्त्वा तूक्तै एव सिद्धमायमो  
 वने बहिः सन्नृद नोत्तरवचनम कविदाराश्रित्या उ पवसात्तावो नो नार्याश्रि विदारा

वर्दिः सन्न दनचं वर्दिः। तेषां निष्ठु नवति वस्पाकरणावत्। अष्टवर्चातश्च दमेधीया  
श्रीवैलोपश्च। त्रिहोत्रं दशयुति। वर्दिः सन्न दनोत्तरहोमश्च। वणात्। अत्रिहोत्रविहो  
रस्यापराङ्गिकं ब्राह्मणं तएव सिद्धे सा नियमो दानवर्द्धिः संनह - त्रं वचनमेकविहो  
श्रिस्त्युपवसशाभाक्वन्तो नयाष्टेपि विद्वारः। वर्दिः सन्न चं वर्दिः। स्त्रिष्टमिष्टु नवति  
वस्पापाकरणावत्। तद्दामधीयस्यादिमार्थाहोमो - - - रवध्यते। अष्टपराङ्गिणे सायम्  
व्यातसायां क्लृप्तो। तत्रमन्त्रदितीनेयमार्थाः। क्लृप्तश्चति वस्वम्प्रपयतीति यजति चोदना  
कृष्टं देवतासंबंधानि। र्वपतीति तानुप्रपयति। शब्दः। निर्वपिनिष्ठतिः। अष्टवर्चातश्चोदना  
तिहोदधर्मप्रदुत्पष्टं पवित्रमात्रं तौषधाद्देहं न संख्यातननियान्। तं दुर्लभं। क्लृप्त  
निर्वपति। अज्ञानो निर्वपतीत्यादियावदुक्त्यर्थकर्मप्रदं श्रितिः। नियुततरोपहृत्योस्तु

लिचद्याख्यातानितस्यनैवाहुतेः प्रातरग्निहोत्रइति ननु होतएव होमिभः कौडउद्यस्तु  
 रग्निमेषु प्रचरातएव तदिनियमार्थं मान्तरदा छत्वां प्राक्दा माबु दाम्यन्तार शिषु द्युक्ते  
 ते प्रा योनपुनर्येते दशितं मरुद्व्याक्कीडिड यप्रतिनिरुक्तं ब्राह्मणं तेन क्रुडेत्येवाक्की  
 डिमाप्रियाधामानिक्कीडयतिदं हविशितिप्रयो स्फस्त दसतइद्रय यात्रस्यदेव  
 तातद्धितेत्यातषत्क्रोडिन स्याक्रोडिनीषुपंचदशतियाज्यायाक्कीडिनः पयोधा  
 इनन्त्रप्रयो गौतस्मात्तक्रोडिनोयजक्कीडिनोप्रियाधामानिक्कीडिन इदमितिप्रयोग  
 चर्बन्तिः अनेवेदैत्रमितिचतुर्द्वीतस्यासौचमाधारमाधारयतीतिः अत्रकेचित्प्रा  
 कृस्विष्टकृदिति संबंधयंतिः स्त्रैशास्वोदादरंतिः तदसत्तुक्तैः क्रियाविधा ११४  
 नतन् श्रुतौ प्रादश स्यावितिः इत्येगर्भवत्याधारवत् शास्वोतास्वोतावेव तद्वचन

न्मासनामानिववकारस्यात्तश्च नास्ति! प्राक्कुस्विष्टं ततो मासनामानि जुहोति न नृत्तं  
च चारि सा कमेधेष्टीति एवं तोदितं परि संख्यायमा नूवं नानी क्वतादिषु सा कमेधेष्टा  
ननी क्वतादिषु प्राक्कवंतितस्मात् अत्रापि संख्येति केचिद्विहिता इति क्वतादि  
षु अत्राद्यायस्मा कमेधेष्टा वाद्याद्यो त सर्वे प्रधानं च तस्या च द्यपदेश सा कामादि  
ष्वस्मिर्वाणिस्त्रस्यैतौ कामधवा इत्येवमादिना शकारादोरवयवशब्देन व्यपदिष्टं  
सा कमेधेष्टा वयवोन्नीरनी क्वते प्राग्भ्येत्यादिष्विष्टिषु ननु अंगशब्देनाच्छाद्यमा  
स्य ज्ञाप्ये पंचमं धैः ॥ छ ॥ प्राग्दक्षिणचारा इत्यादिनिर्देशकं न भवति उपमूलं बहि  
दीति बद्धवचनं ब्रह्मयजमानापदं अत्र न्यतः प्रस्तरादतीति संबंधः ॥ न पुनरन्यत् प्रस्तरा  
दुपमूलमिति संबंधः ॥ यद्वा न्यतः प्रस्तरादय इधमा बहिः संन्यतीति संबंधः प्रस्तरादय इवा

अस्तरदत्तयमूलदितं यदीष्टं तेन्यञ्जपरोपदिस्तीयेति वाचनिकं ननवतिञ्जनतिदेशा  
 क्त्वा तञ्जन्यतत्रपतितच्चाश्च। एकेकं मदादविश्रयसंस्कृतं तस्माद्वह्निणा प्रात्राणि  
 प्रयुनक्ति। दक्षिणानौ निष्ठपतिपस्त्रिणा वासवापयेति संबद्धातिशास्त्रोत्तनासिलनि  
 श्रयनं सिद्धं। दक्षिणतोऽग्निष्ठा न्निर्वपतीति किमयं गुणविधिः पाद्विकस्या न्निष्ठा न्निर्वपिष्यो  
 तानियमाश्रमिन्निष्ठानुवादनैस्तिचित्तयद्यन्तरः पक्षस्तदापन्या ननवतिञ्जपूर्वस्तद्वह्नि  
 णाश्रतिपात्रां गुणो ननवतिपाद्विकार्यनियमाश्रितवानयोक्तस्य व्याधश्रुतिचित्तसिद्ध  
 माधिश्रयणतत्सिद्धमायवानामधिश्रयणमात्रं नतृपधानं कपालवहं डोकृतपादाग्ना  
 पिपवित्रांतदितं चरुवत्तृप्तपूर्वलोतदतरोयमन्वयः। नात्राद्वायनशास्त्रीयमनोनानिष्ठा  
 मयेतत्वरुक्तामणकश्रमन्त्रमःपुराडाशश्चेतच्चातृष्ट्वचाद्वासिद्धमात्रिवासनातृव

अस्त्वचं ग्राहयतीत्यत रतेति। अपरिमिते वावकाशेऽपरिमिते वाक्यशशो विशेष  
णविशेषाच्च निष्काधिकरणसमर्थः। त्रिषु प्रक्रमेष्ववकाशार्थमुत्सृष्टेषु पुण्या  
परिमितितरेता वावकाशं संचरति कुम्भं। प्रतिचउरात्रेति नोच्यत कुष्टाष्टकुष्टाना  
तद्वह्निणादित्यादि। एकोऽनुकुं धमदग्धकाष्ठगो मयं वापयुदप्रतस्सी मप्रवचा  
मन्त्र एपरिक्रियापदेशो तत्रस्सीमभिषायेत्यादि च त्रस्सीमधिप्रयणत्तदस  
त्रहोतजातावकाः प्रादशोचवतिषष्ठलेपं निनेयेत्यादिउत्तरतः। प्रोक्षणीतास्तु  
त्सपगार्दपेत्यान्नवीयगृह्णाति ननुषुक्तमातिषुचाउमीस्येषु चउर्गृहीतानि इत्था  
उयाजप्रभृति उपचरता गृह्णाप्रयाजानुयाजस्य सं गृह्णातीति एवं मन्यते। उपच

न्याधविबन्धा निवान्याय

[illegible]

श्वं त ग त उ वि श ति ऋ ष य य श्वा स्त्री न मं त्रे ण वि न दा स्व स द स्य । अ तः । उ प वि श ति ऋ ष  
 य य श्वा स्त्री न म त्रे ण वि त दा स्व स द न स्या अ त उ प वि श ति क र्त्तव्यो ऽ त्र य नः । उ त्ते रा ता ब्र  
 ह्मा किं मा प द्वा त र श ह् ५ ति य त नी यं । ष ट् ष्ठ त्व रि र नि धा रा ण न । क्क वा य द क्षि ण व द्य  
 ति त त उ द ऽ ऋ ति क्क म्प ति द क्षि ण ति ष्ठ न द क्षि ण मु ख द्द त्प र्शः । ५ द ध मी प त्प र्श स्म नु  
 द्द वि शेष मा व धा य द्द ङा पा त्री न च व ति म ति द श्ति न मं श्म मि ङा पा च्छो ऽ त्वा ति श क्ते  
 क्क म्प यि च । दै वा य ज्ज ति यु क्ते च्चे त त् य दा प्र श म्प दे व श ह् प्र यो ग दा क्षि ण ग्नि कौ । वा  
 च नि कं स शं सु वा का न पू र मा प्राप्ति वे द स्त र णे नि त्पुं च व ति उ द को ज लि प्र च्छ ति ऋ  
 न्य ङा मा दि त्प नु वा दः । स्तै ति ष्ठ पिं ङा उ द वा चा वा द्द म्प नि द धा ति स्मृत वा का यु त ष ष्ठा  
 दा र म्पा वं चो वा ची नो स रु द्धै प नि मा र्जु नं ना मो ष्ठा र ण का ज स मं ऋ त्र पि त र द्द त्पा द्

स्मृत्या फो ण



वचनां ते यो ज्यं तत्र ते दरी । उदरे सित्यपरेण नगौ । विवहितं पिंडा निति बहुवचनं । न  
 मधुमपिंडं पत्नी न कृत्यतो । वदध्यापतितां वेदिस्त्रेषु त्रुणे सुदयमानेषु वेदिमेषु दशतिय  
 या ॥ ७ ॥ उत्तरतो गार्हपत्ये स्ते त्पाद्य सर्ववाद्या बहुक्तं चैव कान कस्यचिद्विकारः । नूत  
 त्वादिषो तस्तमयतीति निर्वपिं त्रस्तीमुपचारितग्रहण यथा त्रस्तीमुपचारितां व  
 ने ककपालानि त्मादौ । ननु यथा देवतमभिधा रयति तदा पात्रत्रस्तीमभिधा रण  
 सिद्धं । अग्निघ्रा रणं वक्तुं तद्यपि निर्वपिना वा देव संबधना वस्तु यानि हो मका  
 देवता संवाधान विष्णुत्वात् न मंत्रेण मान्त्रं च दाज्या निर्वप  
 मात्रं बहु बहु दारव तत्र त्रुणमुक्त्वा योमित्यर्थः । पयची नदरती शरीरां तज्जप स्तीर्वि ॥ १ ॥  
 मधुमपत्सि सर्वेषां समवदानं अथ दानधर्मो जातधर्मो पादशा कलादवदाय पदस्य ॥ १ ॥

तदुक्त २

चंय गा दायपु रो हाशानेके के होवाऽन्न तं ता न्यजुमानाय समाच रीतिश्रितिनि  
 र्वचनात एके के सवनिवपति त द्यजमानाय समावपंति वचनं घटते समिधावदमे  
 तीतिय कर्त्तृद्योत्रयनः उद्यतेति स्थितिः प्रदक्षिणं त्रितय वयुच दवटति स्तत्र  
 द एण त् इति रयानार्थं किंति स्तृष्टस्यात् उदस्योद स्थेति वीप्सा बल्लकचथा  
 जुच्यते विनृष्टाया च त्रुता धाम्न इति तच्छा रद्याते त छुष्टस्य कोऽर्थः त एके के ऋ  
 पा त्य कर्त्तृ क जा दं त री वचना त कश्चिदिति ऋरूणा दक्षि क मूल्या य मर्थः धाम्नो धा  
 न्न इति तत्तच्छा रद्यानं ऋस्र एण त एव सामवोन न वति ऋदि त्या येत्या दिये त्यादिः  
 परस्मिन्नन्नि ते त्रः आदित्ये नेति व द्यति त तश्च म्याय प्राप्नो न वै त तेने हापि द्रष्टव्यं  
 ए तावत् सरी यीस्त्र समिष्ट य जु ऊँत्विति सिद्धो छिरीति ऊँ त र वेदि के बहिरनुब्रह्म

रणादारञ्जेति तत्साहचर्यतियजमानं त्रेणतन्यदित्यस्यष्टयकसंस्थासंतिष्ठतइत्य  
 स्यान्नावाखुनासीयंचिउरुषुमासेषु फाल्गुन्याचैत्र्यावसांतवसतिसद्यः त्रतिपद्विपो  
 सुमासीश्रमश्रवपनांततस्मद्यउपवसथादिचतुर्दचउद्देगतेवाचउद्येदन्पक्रम  
 पंचमेयागः शीष्पीवावेष्टदेवनद्यास्थातमान्मेयोऽष्टाकपालनियोगः प्राचीननि  
 योगतः प्राचीनप्रवणनह्यतिकदेशोऽयं कितदिचातुर्मास्यधमास्मिंबहिः सन्नदना  
 दीनां साधारणामपि स्तत्रनिर्वापत्वेन तत्र तत्र सर्वास्विष्टिषु प्रवृत्तिविकारचोणि  
 प्राचीनप्रवणमानसप्तम्येति वेदग्रहणात् प्राक्स्विष्टदेतनिवृत्त --- कस्तुनासीय  
 मान्नूतत्रानिदेशिका निविकल्पेष्टासद्याष्टयोनिचत्वारिंशद्यद्यप्रतिपश्चसतं दाम ११  
 सन्नामान्कृत्वा निद्याख्याताशं कानि दृष्टव्यानि ता निमाकश्चित्परिगणनं यद्देन

तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं मासं बंधाद्यर्थे होन्यधिकरणेनामजुहोतीति द्वादशभिः सुक्तं  
सधामाध्वर्युयद्यपि सद्यः स्फुत्तरावापोऽसौ सी संस्त्रानमन्ति तथापि येन समा इति  
कर्मव्यविधिमात्रे च तस्य यथा तन्नावाव न च इध्मा बहिः सन्नद नो जावपि दपि च व  
शात्ते एव मिदं पर्वयो रं त रास्यो मे न यज त किं तस्मिन्नेव निवीणे त्पादपर्वणीति उत्तम  
धस्तातुव सं तत्र हणं समस्व सवीर्यमि तो वषी सु प्राशदि च समास्तिः सर्वाभिरिज्यते इत  
रथा पर्यत्र हणं सम स्याथं स्याताय तो न सांव सरिकेऽनुनासी राणं पौः समासी समा  
स्ति रमावा स्याद्यवधानात् न च पर्वशब्दस्य विहितो ह्युवाच कस्यामे वृत्तिः पन्नश्च मु  
पादानं युक्तं तस्मात्तयदिव सांतपर्वणी एष वीणि हृदये केयजे त दापर्वणीति पौः  
मासार्थमपि युज्यते तथा च दृष्टान्ताचार्यः सवर्षवर्तिव सांतवषास्त्रिचया गगतद्येवो

च दत्त तदृष्ट गज्या निष्ठा रणं प्रतिपर्वणि यो मे नियत वचना तपश्च यं । तं समाधीयः कु  
 तः ॥ अतं न एति वचना दनं तर मै व स्याद्यदि पर्वणीति न स्यात् ॥ ७ ॥ अथ संवत्सराणि  
 अष्टेति चतुर्मास्यो तर प्रक्रां शो तिसां वत्स रिको न्ये ता नि अष्टादानी पंच स्या वत्स रिको  
 णिव कुं प्रहता स्त्विति वै श्वान र पर्व न्येति स्वरां तं द्विती यं पदं बहु ब्रीहिः समा म् अ  
 रं न एणीया तं त्रे नारं न एणीयाः संबध्य ते न पुन रा वतीति प्रति सी वत्स रं यु त्तं चै तत् प्रयो  
 गजेदा त् प्रति सिद्धेः प्रथमः संवत्सरः सां वत्स रिकैः समा नमित्प र्थं सा दृश रतु हे मासि वै  
 ति पश्चात् तद्या वत्ती छिनु माद । त स्यां ते या इ वै नि म् नै य दि फाल्गु ण्यो मा रं न ए सत्वा  
 फाल्गु ण्यो व त स्यां ते - - - त्वे च्छा रं न एणी स्तदा चै त्रीति त्र सिद्धिं द्विती यः ॥ सो पि फाल्गु  
 ण्यारं न एः ॥ चि च्छा रं न ए वा यो जरा तां विश्वे दे वा येति वचना तत्तथा च - - - एवं सोऽपि ॥ १५

अस्मिद्धत्पथी। तस्यां ते न्यासी प्रतिपत्तौ स मासी तस्य तृतीयस्य संवत्सरे स्यां तौ  
सायं प्रतिनित्यं नमु रघु या उक्ते तद्याये वत्ते तदति सो षव स पृष्ठु पूर्व स्यां त प्याह  
तीय इत्येने न पूर्व स्यां सु नासी रे स्यां न फाल्गुनी चैत्री वा उत्तरा तां शुक्ला सीर्या यो  
पव स धादि। एतदेव संप्रति त्र दणं ज्ञाप --- मासी शब्दः संप्रत्यवयाग स्यां तं  
निवृत्तये संप्रति त्र दणम्। स मु माग्र नी षे का दी निप मा कृत्या देवोऽसृज्जनि मि  
त्यभिप्रायः॥ ऋजू स्त्री निष्ठा वल्लुष्टि मु तस्त्वे ते तिस्रस्ते वै श्व देव न च त्रां मा स मु त  
स्त्वे ति क्व ना द्विचि च्चारं ज ए प दे प्र सिद्धश्च त्रुथः। संवत्सरः। यथा यो ह्यो ---  
त स्यां ते या एव त स्यां सु ना सी र --- मात्राणि प्र सिद्धा दृण तया पंचमः। यो त्र रा तौ

वेष्ट्वदेवाप्रचरितथायथोत्तरासाकमेक्षित्यपंचसंवसरायसाकमेक्षास्तेभ्य  
 ऊर्ध्वपंचसुमासेषुवैशार्यांज्येष्ठोचोपक्रमोदतत्रत्राकुःपंचसुमासेषुसुना  
 सीरेचवमनेरुद्वौपराद्वैतिनिरुध्योततथावाराहसूत्रमात्राविरुद्धंमन्यतेफा  
 ल्पुन्याप - नादमीसमस्य नास्त्रीनिष्ठाचैत्रीसमापरोक्षोयनाणंचतुर्मासा  
 तरलत्रात्रिर्वरणेऽत्रचोच्यतेशास्त्रोत्तरबातपंचसुमासेषुमनुनासूत्रितेयद  
 वापंचवि - मासैर्द्वौसंवसराविष्टोत्तवतिइतिमेधेतदेशांशटत्रिंशतिविना  
 रस्योचत्रविंशत्यामुपसंपादयतेतमभियजि - तंत्रयोदशमोऽयंतादयः  
 पंचस्थितिसदातमन्नियुजतस्तुनासीरेण ननुमनस्या - - - - - वतस्यानेत्यर्थः १२  
 प्रागंमोमन्नाथं स हूँ ॥ अंथसंख्या ॥ २२० ॥ कुमा रे लनाथं समाप्त ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

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